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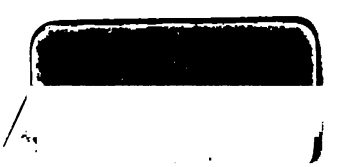

THE

CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

CONDUCTED BY

Members of the Established Church.

FOR

THE YEAR 1862.

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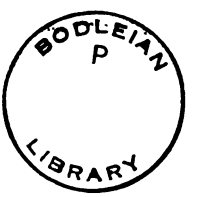

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PREFACE.

We should be ungrateful to many friends, and wanting both in gratitude and in reverence to Him who alone commands success, were we not to acknowledge the encouragement we have met with during the last year.

It has been a year of severe trial in several respects. Commercial depression has existed to a great extent; not so much, we believe, from the actual falling away of trade and commerce, as from the apprehension of approaching evils. Yet it has been sufficient to produce a spirit of caution, and to put a restraint upon enterprise, of which publishers and booksellers have been naturally amongst the first to complain. We have every reason to be grateful that our own circulation has not been affected by it. We believe that, without vanity, we may assign this to the Scriptural truth and general ability which have been characteristic of our pages. The Christian Observer is not the reflexion of one mind, but of many; and amongst its contributors are some whose names are well known in the higher walks of literature, of science, and of the secular as well as of the clerical professions. Its unanimity is that of many friends combined in one grand object, the promotion of true religion, and, as a means thereto, of the interests of our national church. On looking over the contributions to one of our last numbers, we found that it contained articles from twelve different writers. The late Archbishop of Canterbury was pleased sometimes to make our pages the vehicle of placing his thoughts before the public, as did other great and good men who have passed away. Of our living contributors we may not speak, except to thank them cordially, one and all, for their assistance.

Turning to graver matters, the year has been fruitful of exciting,

though painful discussions. The Essays and Reviews have been bearing fruit. It is true, "their vine is of the vine of Sodom and of the fields of Gomorrah; their grapes are grapes of gall, their clusters are bitter, their wine is the poison of dragons and the cruel venom of asps;" they undermine all the foundations of social happiness and private morality, and present no foundation on which the foot of man can rest for time or for eternity. The flood-gates once opened, the tide of unbelief is rushing in with a fiercer torrent, and we have no reason to suppose that it has reached its height, or that our duty of resistance is approaching to its close. Then again, Dissenters, whose boast it is that they "keep the law" in a degree of purity unknown to us in the Church of England, have, as it seems to us, broken it in one of its strongest links. They have cast aside that "love" which is "the fulfilling of the law." They were of course quite right, if they thought fit, in observing the bicentenary of the fatal St. Bartholomew's Day of 1662; and had that been all, we are not sure that we should not have been willing to join with them in a solemn act, at once of praise for the example of the 2,000 ejected ministers in patience and in suffering, and profound humiliation for the severities they underwent. But it has been made the occasion of a rude assault upon the Church of England, and especially upon the Evangelical clergy, who are charged with positive dishonesty and other misdemeanours of the baser kind. We have had no great difficulty in dealing with these attacks; and had our mood been such, we should have had none whatever in showing that Dissenters of almost every class have far more to be ashamed of in their own short, though by no means simple, annals, than we of the Church of England. We know there are Dissenters not a few, who appreciate our forbearance, and who feel, as we do, that Dissent has gained but little, while the Church of England has lost nothing, in this unprovoked and unnecessary conflict. In one instance, we have felt it necessary to become the assailants. We believe that all the Plymouth Brethren are wrong in their views of Church government; and not only wrong, but utterly unscriptural. Their theory of a perfect Church is impracticable; and further, it is contrary to the canon provided by the Lord of the Church Himself: "Let both grow together till the harvest." We never knew, never heard of, any

rigid system of Church government, which did not immediately expose itself to the charge of "rooting up the wheat" in its rude endeavours to "weed out the tares." But it was not to this point that our censures were directed. Under the plea of a spiritual religion, one large section of the Plymouth Brethren have adopted errors in doctrine of the most serious kind. Some of these, we have pointed out, and we hope not without a good result. We have received cordial acknowledgments from several quarters for our cautions, from those who felt that there was something wrong, as they tell us, in the writings to which we have referred, and who yet were allured to their perusal by the air of superior sanctity with which they profess to be invested.

But it must needs be that offences will come. From one quarter or another the Church will always be assailed; it will be a Church militant while here on earth, until the Lord come. We cannot indulge the flattering hope, that our conflicts are ended, or even near their close. Some enemy will always lurk under the walls of Zion, and the faithful watchman must still stand at his post upon the tower. Even this watchfulness is not without its dangers, we admit. Truth herself, incessantly assaulted, may become censorious. In every shadow she may begin to imagine danger, in every new face she may learn to see a foe. Retaining her fidelity, she may forfeit her genial, loving spirit, and her catholic heart. But "the grace whereunto *she* is called" is sufficient for all her wants; resting upon this, she speaks the truth in love, and with her Lord's fidelity, catches something of His tenderness. It is in this spirit that we would resume our work, commending it to the reader's prayers and to the compassion of our Great High Priest.

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THE

CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

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THE JEWS IN EUROPE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER I.

OF the three nations whose representatives stood around the cross of "Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews," one alone still remains in its integrity a distinct people. The Roman soldier, the Greek traveller from philosophic Cyrene, and the Jewish priest, there met together as deputies from the civilized world. And when that closing scene was over, and with it the old economy was finished, they parted to tell (though often as unwilling messengers) of the commencement of a new era in world-history; of an era pregnant with "wars and rumours of wars, distress of nations with perplexity"; with the dissolution of the whole fabric of then existing empire and society; with the fall of Jerusalem and extinction of the independence of the Jewish nation, in order to the rise and spread of the new kingdom of peace upon earth, and the establishment of His government which shall have no end.

Through the partial fulfilment of these great oracles of God, the world has since then witnessed greater changes on its surface, in not quite two thousand years, than in the four milleniums which preceded. Ere long Rome had ceased to be earth's imperial city; Greece was no longer learned; and the Jews were found scattered as dwellers in all lands but their own. The conquering and the conquered alike became enslaved to the nations of the north, who had with one accord precipitated themselves on the south. Society, government, laws, literature, the wonders of science, and the arts of peace, disappeared on this return of Chaos and ancient night. Nationalities were extinguished, languages became fused, and the world was turned upside down.

But amidst all this war of the elements in the moral and

political firmament, one race continued unchanging and unchangeable. The same sure word of prophecy, which had sealed the fate of the Jewish nation, had with equal certainty predicted the preservation and return from exile of the Jewish people. That people, as of old, was still to "dwell alone and not be reckoned among the nations." Though Judah was to "go into captivity," to "dwell among the heathen," and "find no rest" in a worse than Chaldean exilé; though her annals, like her prophet's roll, were to be "written within and without with lamentation, and mourning, and woe," forming the saddest of all the sad chronicles of the middle ages; and though she was no longer to stand like the cedar on Lebanon, but to bend like the bulrush in Jordan before the blasts of the cold winds of adversity and persecution; yet her children were to have this solace in their banishment, that they were still unchanged. The same physical characteristics belong to the Hebrew now, which marked the children of the "Syrian ready to perish" who "went down into Egypt to sojourn there," and from the head of a small clan became the father of a mighty people.* The oval outline, high pale forehead, dark protuberant flashing eye, raven hair, and bushy beard, identify the Jewish countenance of our own day with that of the alien race sculptured and painted at Nineveh and in Egypt. They not only furnish a striking example of the permanence, in all ages and in spite of all climates, of the Caucasian type, but also seem to preserve some lingering traces of past glory, though debased by a sense of humiliation, and scarred by the hatred and contempt which have been their peculiar inheritance in that world in which the Jews have been sojourners every where, rarely citizens, and with which they have continually mingled, but have never amalgamated.† Indeed, this indelible type of countenance is an apt emblem of their national immortality; of their distinct existence, which is a perpetual miracle; of the marked identity every where of their mental character in their customs, laws, language, and literature, in spite of the marvellous pliancy with which they have accommodated themselves to the most diverse

* "Spurzheim, speculating on the influence of climate upon the organization, concludes that man, by his intellectual faculties, opposes its influence. He illustrates his position by appealing to the Jewish people, who, dispersed over the whole world, preserve their primitive and characteristic organization in all countries..... As a moral historian, I must assign other causes why the Jew has preserved, in all climates, his primitive characteristic." (Disraeli, Genius of Judaism, chap. vii.)

† Wordsworth's true perception of beauty thus expresses itself in a poem on a Jewish family:—

"Such beauty hath the Eternal poured
Upon them not forlorn,
Though of a lineage once abhorred,
Nor yet redeemed from scorn.
Mysterious safeguard, that in spite
Of poverty and wrong,
Doth here preserve a living light,
From Hebrew fountains sprung;
That gives this ragged group to cast
Around the dell a gleam
Of Palestine, of glory past,
And proud Jerusalem!"

countries, civilizations, and forms of government; and may perhaps result in part from that cohesiveness with which they have clung together while tossed on the ocean of humanity like foam upon the waters.*

It does not belong to our present subject to go through the history of the Jews immediately from the time when their independent nationality, religious establishment, and political constitution were annihilated at the fall of Jerusalem. We cannot do more than glance at the chief points in their annals before the Teutonic and Mongol invaders gradually dismembered the Roman provincial system, finally swept away the Roman state, confounded at once in a general community of suffering the Jew and his oppressor, and, by closing the book of ancient history, opened the page of that of the middle ages.†

Under the Flavian house, which in the person of Titus had ruined their fortunes, the Jews, who had so long, by the evil element in the national character of exclusive patriotism, outlawed the rest of mankind, were themselves condemned to a more fatal outlawry; lost their centre of unity; and endured the accumulated evils of expatriation, extortion, and persecution: nor were they released from the capitation tax, imposed on them by Vespasian, till the time of Origen. The Cretan Nerva relieved them from spoliation and personal injury; favours which they ill repaid by raising the standard of rebellion in Cyprus, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Cyrene, against his adopted son Trajan, whilst engaged in the Parthian war. For this they suffered by an edict (of Trajan's nephew, Adrian) of perpetual exile from Cyprus, an island long endeared to them by its proximity to Palestine, and by the loss of 600,000 of their nation; as well as by his further enactments interdicting circumcision, reading of the law, and observance of the Sabbath. The foundation, by the same prince, of the colony of Ælia Capitolina and the shrine of Jupiter on the site of "Jerusalem the holy" and the temple of Solomon, provoked them to further revolts under the false Messiah, Barcochab, supported by Akibah, the greatest of the literary noblesse‡ of the Rabbins; and Dio Cassius reckons that 580,000 Jews perished by the sword alone before the rebellion ended in the fall of Bither. They were forbidden to enter the new colony on pain of death, or even to approach so near as to see its heights and towers.

* Causas, cur Judæi post tot acceptas clades adhuc superstites sunt, investigant Guisbertus Voetius, in disput. select. P. ii. p. 90; Hottinger, in Thesaur. Philolog. p. 122; Schudt, in Compend. Jud. Hist. p. 477; Schudt, in Jud. Christicidâ, p. 275.

† Jost, "Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccabäer;" Schudt, *passim*; Basnage, "Histoire des Juifs," (a desultory and by no means trustworthy work).

‡ So Michaelis (Comment. on Laws of Moses, Vol. i. Art. 52) represents the Levitical Order; and when, in Christian times, "Distinctio tribuum Judaicarum periit, fatentibus ipsis Judæis," (Wolfius, Observat. Miscell. de Jud. Bib. ii. p. 1101), the Rabbins seem to have filled much the same position.

Under the mild Antoninus Pius,* though forbidden to proselytize, they recovered all their lost privileges, except that of dwelling in Jerusalem and its environs; and for a long period after they flourished in peace. The Rabbinical school established at Jamnia, toward the close of the first century, had become developed into the Sanhedrim and Patriarchate of Tiberias, which served as a bond of union, partly spiritual and partly political, for the western Jews till near the beginning of the sixth century; while those to the east of the Euphrates recognized for a time the supremacy of the Prince of the Captivity at Babylon. These chiefs, by their legates, communicated with the scattered congregations of Jews everywhere; who, with a firm attachment and voluntary submission, paid them tribute, and often received their officers from them. The children of Jacob long seem to have found more favour in the eyes of the Roman government than the Gentile Christians. They were allowed to demonstrate their hatred of Christianity, as at the martyrdom of Polycarp,† and to maintain and defend the faith of their fathers in conferences like that of Trypho with Justin Martyr. Even where popular feeling was against them, its manifestation was repressed by the strong hand of authority. Zenobia might delight to honour her kindred at Palmyra, in grateful remembrance of her supposed Hebrew ancestry; but her conqueror Aurelian could only be influenced by the accustomed spirit of Roman tolerance to all forms of religion not supposed to be hostile to the unity of the empire and the dignity of the emperor.

In the troubled days which followed, till Constantine planted the banner of the Cross on the seven hills by the side of the Tiber, and by the shores of the Bosphorus, it was the policy of the rival emperors to secure the allegiance of so energetic, intelligent, and wealthy a community. The pagan Maximus ordered a synagogue at Rome, which had been wantonly burnt by the populace, to be rebuilt at the public expense; an example afterwards followed by the Christian Theodosius (the Great), who also, on his death-bed, issued an edict for full toleration and imperial protection to the persecuted Hebrews. And before this latter emperor stereotyped their privileges, Constantine had allowed them to hold the rank of Roman citizens, and put their Rabbins on an equality with the Christian clergy, so far as regarded exemption from civil and military offices; and Julian, in his crusade against Christianity, had only been prevented, it is said, by eruptive fires from reinstating the ceremonial of the Mosaic law, and rebuilding the Temple in the capital of Palestine.

* "The Jewish writers . . . have ventured to inform us that Rabbin Judah Hakkadosh converted the imperial polytheist to Judaism, and that it was for this philosopher on the throne he collected in writing the oral law of his nation."—(Disraeli, Genius of Judaism, chap. vi.)

† Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. Book iv. c. 15.

After the failure of this imperial apostate to re-establish the religions of the past on the ruins of the religion of the present —Paganism and Judaism on the prostrate fabric of Christianity —we know little of the shifting fortunes of the forlorn people, till Justinian ascended the throne of Byzantium. Justin I. had recognised their value as citizens, when the freedom of the Empire had become a burden instead of an honour; and had protected them by imperial edicts in the legal enjoyment of the rights, while he compelled them to fulfil the duties, of citizenship. But the testimony of an Israelite was still inadmissible in a lawsuit, unless both parties were Jews; and he was disqualified in that orthodox court (in the same manner as a heretic) from holding high civil and military offices. The milder character of the legislation of Justinian moderated the rigour of their civil disabilities. While we find him in the Digest forbidding a Christian to turn Jew, we also learn from Procopius* that his efforts to enlist these rebellious recusants under the banner of the Cross were rewarded by the conversion of many Jews. Great numbers of them had before (in the fifth century) become professedly Christians in Minorca and Crete: but it may be doubted whether most, if not all, of these last were not cases of forcible conversion; like those effected through such means in Gaul by Childeric, king of Paris and Soissons, and in Spain by the Visigoth monarchs; who hoped, apparently, to obtain remission for impious violation of the Christian virtues by savage zeal for the Christian faith.† And that such was in that age the prevailing character of attempts to induce Jews to embrace Christianity seems clear from the conduct towards them of Gregory the Great; who, though he acted with all the severity of a pontiff against heretics, yet disapproved of compulsory conversion or injurious treatment of the children of Abraham, as we see from his letters still extant to some of his suffragan bishops, Vigilius of Arles, Theodore of Marseilles, and Peter of Terracina.‡

The names of Justinian and Gregory remind us that the world is again on the point of becoming barbaric; and that the prayers and bribes of the church, and the victories and legislative bulwarks of Belisarius and Narses, cannot avail for long to roll back the flood of northern invasions. And when the deluge which had already overwhelmed Belgium and the Rhine land (even as the Zuyder Zee has in later times flooded so large a portion of the coast) swept over the west of civilized Germany, Gaul, Italy, and Spain, the Jews were for a time lost to sight amidst the debris of the Old World. But

* De ædificiis Justiniani, lib. vi. c. 2.

† Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. vi. c. 17. Launaius, "de vet. more baptizandi Judæos, et infideles." C. i. pp. 700—704.

‡ "Pontifices quosdam Romanos Patronos habuerunt Judæi."—Vid. Schudt. in Memorab. Jud. P. i. lib. iv. p 296, &c. Wolfius ii. p. 1106.

before long, after each successive wave had passed over his head, the Israelite, who had bent, like a lowly shrub before the storm, raised it again unscathed when the fury of the blast was past; while the loftier trees of the forest, his Christian neighbours, more deeply-rooted in the soil, had, in their more stubborn resistance, been finally overthrown. For the Jew, on the whole, must have suffered far less than the territorial holders in those evil days. The want of a fixed residence, of local ties, of landed property, and of immovable effects, so keenly felt under ordinary circumstances, seemed thus to render him less obnoxious to the prevailing desolation. He was always prepared to change his abode with the composure of a citizen of the world, and to carry with him all his more valuable property; often he only fled, to return when the flood had subsided or retired, to enjoy the waifs left behind by it, and triumph in the spoils of the uncircumcised. The exile from Jerusalem and the Temple on Mount Zion could see the cities of the Gentiles and the churches of Christendom kindled in flames and levelled to the ground, without a sigh or a tear. His own humble dwelling, and hardly more pretentious synagogue, he was content to leave behind him in the hour of danger; for he had no peculiar attachment to any spot in the strange land of his captivity. Like the founders of his race, he dwelt a wanderer in habitations as shifting as Nomadic tents; looking for the time when he should either return to the land which his soul longed for, or be carried by the angels to join his brethren of every age in Abraham's bosom.

We are now standing at the portals of the History of the Middle Ages. They frown upon us almost as darkly, and seem to lead us to the sight and recital of well nigh as much misery and torment, as did the gate which Dante saw in the Inferno, bearing above it the inscription,*

"Lasciate ogue Speranza voi che'ntrate."

But before we pass through these gates of darkness, to behold Europe and its many tribes fast bound in misery and iron during a thousand years of cloudy night, with only now and then a solitary star, like Charlemagne, Alfred, and St. Louis, made to gleam suddenly forth upon the darkened world, and, after shining for a while with singular brightness, as suddenly to disappear, we may be allowed to pause.

The chronicles of the middle ages, at all times hard to decipher from the scanty means and few supporters of literature, are even more illegible than their wont when they refer to the annals of the lone house of Jacob. Not only have the details of its woes been oftentimes well nigh washed away by the streams of blood which flow down every page; other causes

* Dante. Inferno. Canto iii. 9.

have co-operated to increase the difficulty of arriving at the true tale of their doings and sufferings in the mediæval period. It was not till the press came to convey to distant ages the sighs of the oppressed, that Jewish historians arose to relate the revolutions of Israel through an entire millenium. The "tribes of the wandering foot and weary breast" may have been too much occupied in transplanting themselves to foreign soils, or in exercising their industrial talents with their proverbial success; may have been too negligent, or perhaps too indignant, to record their own story. That story could but have worn a melancholy sameness. The scanty tithe of suffering, which has been recorded, serves but as a sample of those which have been "blotted out by the sponge of Lethe"—a harder fate, says the Greek poet, than the suffering itself. The Jews of the middle ages had no faithful Eginhard, loving Joinville, picturesque Froissart, or acute De Comines, to tell the tale of their isolated race. It was left to the genial influences of advanced civilization and reformed Christianity to call forth the effusions of Jewish feeling, as well as to enlarge the genius of Judaism. Then, and not till then, learned Jews, not always mere Rabbins, but often physicians, military men, merchants, and scholars in other literature than that of the Talmud,* came forward (chiefly in Holland) to preserve the remembrance of the rankling animosity between the stubborn Judaism and the barbarized Christianity of preceding ages; and to perpetuate the traditions of the relentless persecution of the believers in the old revelation by the followers of the new; detailing woes scarcely surpassed at the fall of Jerusalem, and tortures exceeding those of the Front de Bœuf of fiction, or the Earl of Cassilis of real history. From these later writers we must draw as our chief sources of information; filling in the picture with such side lights from cotemporary Christian chroniclers as may happen to spare a few touches to darken the character, or paint the enduring constancy, of this anomalous people. Should, therefore, at the end, our results appear scanty, it must be remembered that our materials have been scanty also.

Milman says† that "the history of the modern Jews may be comprehended under three heads:—1. Their literature; 2. Their persecutions; 3. Their industry." In taking up, from time to time, these three "threads," as they run throughout the web of mediæval Jewish history, we shall find the first, though most difficult to follow, very deserving of our attention, from its

* "Hebræi in præsente rerum conditione nihil integrum habent relictum, nisi quod animum ad studia et scientias appellere possunt," is the statement of Simeon Luzzati, a Jew of Venice in the 17th century, and one of the first of these later writers.—Comment. "De Stat. Judæorum." xvi.

† History of the Jews, vol. iii.

close and consistent union with the character of the nation; the second, from its sanguinary dye, can be traced but too easily by a more superficial observation; while the third, besides its intrinsic interest as the link between the ancient and the modern systems of international commerce, suggests in itself, to the political enquirer, problems the most curious, and speculations the most profound. We shall find, also, in using this three-fold clue to arrive at the real condition of the Jews in the middle ages, that we shall often be able, from the more distinct thread of evidence visible in one country, to fill up our deficient information in another; assuming, as Müller did in his History of the Dorians, that whatever we can predicate of one family of European Jews we can predicate of the rest. For we have the most competent authority (Leo Juda) for asserting that in the middle ages of Europe, as at the present time, "there is scarce any difference between any nation of Jews, how far soever removed one from another." *

C. E. O.

ENCOURAGEMENT AND DIRECTION FOR THE COMING YEAR.

THEY who trace God's wisdom and goodness in the order and arrangement of everything connected with our earthly life will see a beautiful evidence of it in the recurrence of stated seasons, which call to reflection, and afford opportunity for self-examination and close approach to God. All must feel the need of this. The necessary tendency of our earthly life is to dim and deaden our perception of spiritual things; the claims of home-relationships absorb our affections; recurring anxieties fill the mind with overwhelming care; and the pressure of each day so engages the thoughts and occupies time, that no leisure is left for the deeper concerns of the soul and God. In this point of view, the weekly recurrence of the Lord's-day is found a source of inestimable good; the strings of our souls go down by contact with the world; and the services of the sanctuary, and the peaceful meditations of a Christian Sabbath, bring them up again to a higher tone of spiritual harmony and communion with God. Thus much is felt even by the watchful Christian, whilst those less careful know that they owe even more to the regular return of Sabbath ordinances, and that spiritual life would long since have died out in their souls, had they not been thus summoned, one day in seven, to turn their backs upon the world and its pursuits, and enter into the pre-

* "Distinctio tribuum Judaicarum hodie periit, fatentibus ipsis Judæis."—Wolfius, Observat. Miscell. de Jud. Bib. ii. p. 1101.

sence of God. In a similar way, the seasons as they come round, and the very alternations of day and night, are voices calling the thoughtful to realize God; for these are the fulfilment of His promise: "While the earth remaineth, seed time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night, shall not cease." But in a special degree do we feel the power of those warnings, which speak to us of longer periods of time passing away, and which suggest the solemn thought, that they have taken with them errors which cannot be corrected, and opportunities which cannot be recalled. Few are insensible to the reflections thus suggested by the departure of the Old Year and the commencement of a New one. Hearts which have been untouched by the appeals of the preacher during the past twelve months, respond in some degree to the warnings and exhortations which he draws from the irrecoverable past or the unknown future; whilst the most spiritual and peaceful mind acknowledges the fitness of the season for serious review and holy resolutions. Instead of banishing thought, by dance or revelry, at the very moment which seals up the Old Year and brings in the New, the believer, in the retirement of his closet, reviews God's dealings and his own short-comings during another year of long-suffering mercy, and thus prepares himself to enter, with strengthened faith and higher aspirations, upon whatever may remain to him of his earthly pilgrimage.

Let us suppose ourselves thus in our closets at the point of time of which we have been speaking; God reveals Himself to our souls, and we hear, as it were, spoken over again the words which possibly, when engaged in birth-day meditations, God spake of old to the great father of the faithful: "When Abram was ninety years old and nine, the Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am the Almighty God, walk before Me and be thou perfect." Here is ENCOURAGEMENT and DIRECTION for the coming year.

1. ENCOURAGEMENT. This we need at every stage of life and in every respect; for if there be one lesson which more than another multiplied years and increased experience serve to teach us, it is that of our own weakness and dependance upon divine support. Man sets forth upon his earthly course with sanguine hopes, and elastic step, and firm reliance upon his own powers; the day-dreams of early manhood are full of successes to be accomplished, victories to be won, and posts of honour to be occupied; and if difficulties present themselves, it is only that they may be surmounted, and render the triumph more glorious. But the stern realities of life, its struggles and its conflicts, dispel such visions, and man learns to feel that there is a higher will to which his own will must be submitted, a profounder wisdom by which he must be directed, a mightier

strength by which he must be supported. He perceives that this earthly course is full of vicissitudes and dangers, and his only safety is to breathe forth the prayer, "That which I see not, teach Thou me:" "Hold Thou up my goings in Thy paths, that my footsteps slip not."*

Especially, in setting out upon a fresh stage of life, is it necessary thus to exercise and strengthen faith. We know not what a day may bring forth. The political horizon is dark and lowering, and events seem to be hastening onwards with rapid strides to the great final crisis. Within our own family circles there may occur separations and bereavements which will rend the heart, and make home desolate; and each one may have before him forms of temptation and assaults of Satan, of which even they who know something of the plague of their own hearts, and of the power of indwelling sin, can scarcely anticipate the overwhelming power and agony. There is one, and one only, remedy for man's ignorance, man's weakness, man's misgivings and fears; and that is an assured faith in the almighty power of God. Let God be viewed not merely as the great God of the universe, but as the reconciled and covenant God and Father of His children in Christ Jesus. That is, let the attributes of love and wisdom and all grace be combined with that of Omnipotence, and a foundation is laid upon which we may fearlessly and securely build our hopes for time and eternity. No grander instance of Christian heroism can be conceived than that recorded of two ladies who, when the Kent East Indiaman was in flames, and every hope abandoned, stood calm in the noble confidence of faith, and encouraged their trembling companions by reading Psalm xlvi.: "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. Therefore will we not fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea; though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof. . . . . The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge."

We may inquire, however, more particularly in what respects the revelation of God as an almighty God is a ground of encouragement.

First, In relation to *temporal* things. It gives support and assurance with respect to the supply of our wants and the removal of our difficulties. In the case of the patriarch Abraham, a promise had been given of temporal happiness through the birth of Isaac. Sarah failed to connect with this promise the almighty power of Him who made it, and the reproof of her unbelief pointed to this as the ground of it: "Is anything too hard for the Lord? At the time appointed I will return unto thee, according to the time of life, and Sarah shall have a son."

* Job xxxiv. 32; Psalm xvii. 5.

The firmness of faith by which Abraham on his part grasped this same promise, was derived from the consideration of God as revealed to him in the character of the "Almighty God." The apostle shows that that which kept him from staggering through unbelief, which gave strength to his faith, and enabled him thereby to glorify God, was the full persuasion "that what God had promised, He was *able* also to perform." God is glorified, then, when faith silences the murmurs and stills the fears of unbelief by falling back upon the Almighty One. How insignificant are our utmost wants compared with this source of supply and comfort! True it is that God often appoints for His most favoured servants a life of privation; but this is only to teach them dependance upon their heavenly Father's love and power, and to magnify the truth of His promises and the sufficiency of His support. The patriarchs seem to have kept much in mind this declaration of God to Abraham; when Isaac sent forth Jacob, it was with the prayer, "God Almighty bless thee, and make thee fruitful, and multiply thee." With like words Jacob committed his beloved Benjamin to the care of his brethren, and dismissed them upon their anxious journey to Egypt: "Take also your brother and arise, go again unto the man; and God Almighty give you mercy before the man." And again, conferring his choicest blessing upon Joseph, he prays that his hands may be made strong, "by the God of thy father who shall help thee; and by the Almighty who shall bless thee with blessings of heaven above, and blessings of the deep that lieth beneath."

We may rest upon the same attribute of God in every thing which affects our temporal concerns during the coming year. The promise of the Old Testament has been endorsed and confirmed to us by the apostle in the New: "He hath said, I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee." So that we may boldly say, The Lord is my helper, and I will not fear what man shall do unto me."* Let us trust our God in the great affairs of life, and trust Him equally in little things; trust Him when we can see the way in which we can walk, and when clouds and darkness are before us and around us; trust Him when means are at our command which appear suitable for the furtherance of our purposes, and when means are insufficient, or altogether fail us. Whether our anxieties be caused by the apparent failure of our plans, or the insufficiency of our worldly means; by the pressure of our families, or the want of openings for those who have to go forth into active life; by the prospect of sickness in our households, and the loss of those most dear; whatever is actually resting upon us, or whatever gloomy fears anticipate, here is the all-sufficient remedy: "I am the Almighty God." He can command the ravens to

* Heb. xiii. 5, 6.

minister to the wants of His servants; or, to magnify His power in another way, can make a poor and helpless widow, ready to die, the instrument of His purpose, multiplying her handful of meal and cruise of oil, so that the prophet, and the widow and her house, should eat thereof many days.* He can give back in other forms, or in the same, things already withdrawn, as He did with Job, and as He promises by Joel: "I will restore to you the years that the locust hath eaten, the canker-worm and the caterpillar and the palmer-worm, my great army which I sent among you."† And in every pain and sorrow, care and trouble, vicissitude and privation, there is abundant solace in the assertion of the psalmist: "He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty;" so that we may well say of the Lord, "He is my refuge and my fortress: my God; in Him will I trust."‡

This attribute has to be viewed, secondly, as the ground of encouragement to the believer in *spiritual* things. Man may seem to exercise some controul over nature, and to enjoy some degree of independence in the possession of wealth or the exercise of power; but when he comes to the things of grace, he has to learn and to confess his utter weakness. He cannot grapple with sin and Satan, nor can he give that Spirit which, as the wind, bloweth where it listeth; but he finds all that his spiritual need requires in the operations of an Almighty God. We will trace this out in some of the more important respects in which this attribute is developed in the believer's spiritual course.

1. In *Conversion*. When we look upon the world, the overflowings of ungodliness are such as to make us afraid; the prince of this world seems to reign supreme, and sin, in its most heinous or more specious forms, ensnares and holds captive the great mass of mankind. The struggle of the servants of God, and the advance of the cause of Christ in the face of such difficulties, is apparently hopeless. When the Israelites received the command, "Thou art to pass over Jordan this day, to go in to possess nations greater and mightier than thyself, cities great and fenced up to heaven: a people great and tall, of whom thou hast heard say, Who can stand before the children of Anak?"—God added this ground of encouragement: "Understand, therefore, that this day the Lord thy God is He which goeth over before thee; as a consuming fire He shall destroy them, and He shall bring them down before thy face; so shalt thou drive them out and destroy them quickly, as the Lord hath

* In margin—or a full year. In 1 Kings xviii. 1, many days is equivalent to the three years of famine. So in 1 Kings ii. 38, 39, many days denotes three years. † Joel ii. 25. ‡ Ps. xci. 1, 2.

said unto thee."* It is interesting to observe how, under similar circumstances, the little band of early Christians rested upon the arm of the Almighty One. Liberated from prison, they hasten to their fellow-believers, and report all that had been said and done to them. This calls forth an exercise of faith in God's power as the creator of the universe; and "they lifted up their voices to God with one accord, and said, Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is. . . . And now, Lord, behold their threatenings; and grant unto thy servants, that with all boldness they may speak thy word, by stretching forth thine hand to heal; and that signs and wonders may be done by the name of thy holy child Jesus." The prayer was answered; the place was shaken; the Holy Ghost came down; timid hearts waxed valiant, and faltering tongues no longer wavered. They spake the word of God with boldness; a power greater than that of man was amongst them, and with them, and in them; and by that power, in spite of opposition, persecution, and the enmity of the great and the learned,—nay, in spite of the obduracy of the hearts of those to whom they preached,—the word of God grew mightily and prevailed. If, in the ministerial work, our hearts are downcast and dispirited, let us learn where our real strength lies. Gideon overthrowing the hosts of the Midianites with his three hundred men; David going forth against Goliath in the name of the Lord God of Israel, and so defeating the giant with a sling and with a stone; the humble and unlearned twelve undertaking to confound the wisdom and confront the power of the world by the preaching of the cross; —these, and many like instances, declare the great truth, that in the conversion of souls, and in withstanding the dominion of sin and Satan, the excellency of the power must be acknowledged to be of God and not of man. This will be the secret of success in winning souls during the coming year.

But this point may present itself, not so much in relation to the ministerial work and its progress, as in respect to individual cases. The conversion of particular persons, of children, or of relatives, may be much upon our minds. We have seen year upon year pass by, and a variety of means brought to bear upon them, but cannot perceive any satisfactory result. Perhaps there is no subject which causes Christians, particularly Christian parents, such anxiety as the eternal welfare of those who have derived from them their very being, and thus become, through their instrumentality, heirs of happiness or of misery which can never end. They are taught that the children of grace are "born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." To God, then, they must take

* Deut. ix. 1—3.

the case of those most dear to them; they must bear them ever upon their hearts before the mercy-seat; and whilst in the exercise of this or other means, the thought that they are dealing with an Almighty God will sustain and strengthen them. Thus, when our blessed Lord had surprised and alarmed the apostles, by telling them that it was "easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God," He meets the exclamation, "Who then can be saved?" by referring them to the omnipotence of God: "Jesus beheld them, and said unto them, With man this is impossible, but with God all things are possible." God was *able* of the very stones of Judæa to raise up children unto Abraham. God is *able* to graft in again even the unbelieving nation who crucified the Son of God. As we bow the knee, let us hear Jesus whisper into our ears words which He once used upon earth, "Believe ye that I am *able* to do this?" and let us rest assured that according to our faith in God's omnipotence shall it be done unto us.

2. *In giving abundant grace,* God displays Himself as the Almighty God. Thus the apostle writes: "God is *able* to make all grace abound toward you; that ye, always having all sufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work." This consideration is one very full of encouragement in the conflict which the believer has to sustain with indwelling sin. The experience of each day gives him a consciousness of his own weakness, and a deeper sense of the enormity of sins committed against Light and Love. He would fain sin no more; he would have every ambitious thought, every earthly desire, every carnal lust, subdued within him; he would be conformed in every respect to God's will, and guided absolutely by God's word. But in these struggles, noble and glorious as they are, inasmuch as they are the result of God's Spirit striving with our spirit, he finds nevertheless "a law in his members warring against the law of his mind, and bringing him into captivity to the law of sin which is in his members." The cry of agony finds its only relief in resting upon Him who "is *able* to save to the uttermost all who come unto God by him."

Nay, this view of the indwelling power of the Saviour in His people invests with dignity this stern and bitter strife. This is one of the mysteries which angels desire to look into. The strength of Jesus is made perfect in our weakness. That strength is sufficient for our utmost needs; it will never fail us, it can know no defeat; so that in the blessed experience of Christ dwelling in him, working with him, fighting for him, triumphing over sin and Satan through him, the buffeted apostle learnt to say, "Most gladly, therefore, will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon

me. Therefore I take pleasure in infirmities . . . for Christ's sake; for when I am weak, then am I strong."

If, again, the believer is giving all diligence to add grace unto grace, and to perfect the Holy Spirit's work within him, how can he support himself but by the thought that God is able to make all grace abound towards him. He is conscious, for instance, that his soul is too drooping and downcast. He is not honouring God by that cheerfulness and holy joy which ought to characterize him. He allows outward circumstances to exercise too depressing an influence. He fears that thus the impression of religion which he leaves behind him does not give a fair and adequate representation of the privileges and happiness of God's servants. Such an one will best attain that "joy of the Lord, which is the soul's strength, by meditating on the majesty of God as condescending and addressing itself to our lowest estate. He may lift up his eyes to the "High and Lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is holy"—the mind of man cannot have a nobler or more glorious object—and then assure himself that He who thus "dwelleth in the high and holy place dwelleth with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble and to revive the heart of the contrite ones."* Or it may be that he is suffering under outward trials which he knows not how to bear. He desires that patience should have its perfect work, but fears that he shall yield to murmuring and discontent. The thought of thus dishonouring God is grievous to him. Let him follow the advice given by Eliphaz to Job, cast himself upon God, having regard to His greatness and power: "I would seek unto God, and unto God would I commit my cause: which doeth great things and unsearchable; marvellous things without number."† These are simply instances of the necessities which arise in the progress of the spiritual life; but in every effort to cultivate and advance that life, it is out of the fulness of Jesus that all must receive.

The same encouragement meets our wants when called to the discharge of duties for which we have not strength in ourselves. An old writer well remarks, "The wise and merciful God commands nothing, but He finds or makes it possible. His commands are not snares, but rules, yea, and helps. When a master commands, power and assistance wait not on his commands; the servant's strength must perform the master's will. But here are the commands of a Father, which, when they outstrip His child's strength, are still accompanied with his own assistance; and the chair which the weak child cannot bring in He helps to fetch Himself."‡ Thus God, in prescribing a duty which exceeds our natural strength, graciously lays Himself

* Is. lvii. 15. † Job. v. 8, 9.
‡ Stule's "Remedy for Wandering Thoughts," Ch. iii., Sect. 1.

under an obligation to "make all grace abound towards us" in this respect, that "having all sufficiency in all things we may abound in the good work" to which He has called us. This has ever been the encouragement of the servants of God. "Certainly I will be with thee," was the word which upheld Moses. The same promise was confirmed to Joshua: "As I was with Moses so will I be with thee: I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee. Be strong and of a good courage." And Caleb went forth to drive out the heathen from the inheritance which God had given him in the same spirit: "If so be the Lord will be with me, then I shall be able to drive them out, as the Lord hath said." It is with a view to His own glory as the Almighty God that the weakest and most imperfect instruments are often called to the performance of the most difficult duties; so it especially is in respect to the ministry. It was founded upon this very principle: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations." And the apostle Paul sets forth the divine wisdom herein, when he so frequently enlarges upon his own weakness and that of his fellow labourers, in contrast with the momentous issues of the charge entrusted to them; and deduces therefrom this conclusion: "We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us." We must beware, then, lest, when called to arduous duty in the ministry, or in any other way, we allow false humility, or a morbid sense of our own wickedness and insufficiency, to obstruct our way. Such feelings may be the cloak of indolence or self-indulgence. We shrink from toilsome work, and from the cross which may be connected with the service which God would have us do. Let the warning voice, "What doest thou here, Elijah?" rouse us to fresh exertion; and, encouraged by the thought that the Almighty God whom we serve can by His mighty hand and outstretched arm remove every obstacle, let us yield ourselves willingly and confidently to the teachings of His providence and the performance of His will. Such a course may sometimes seem to involve sacrifices, and stand in the way of our own advancement or interests; but the consideration of God's power meets this suggestion of worldly policy. When Amaziah asked the man of God, "What shall we do for the hundred talents which I have given to the army of Israel? the man of God answered, The Lord is *able* to give thee much more than this."* But Almighty God can make good every sacrifice; fill up every void; encourage in every distress; level mountains of difficulty; duty is ours, His it is to ensure success, and work out by our instrumentality His own purposes; God helping us, we shall thus attain to the experience of St. Paul, "I can do all things through Christ, which strengtheneth me."

* 2 Chron. xxv. 9.

To other minds, anxiety may arise from the contemplation of the final issue of the struggle in which they are engaged. "He that endureth to the end shall be saved." But the bright hope of this happy consummation is often dimmed by the remembrance of past backslidings, the experience of the tempter's power, and a keen and increasing perception of our own weakness. The only remedy for such misgivings is to renew our faith in the faithfulness and covenant love of our God in combination with His almighty power. He that is able to make all grace abound towards us, is "*able* to succour them that are tempted," and is "*able* to keep them from falling:" "yea, they shall be holden up, for God is *able* to make them stand." Adam's soul was committed to his own keeping, and he failed in the solemn trust; our souls are not in our own weak hands, but are safe in the keeping of the second Adam, our blessed Lord and Saviour; as members of that mystical body of which He is the Head, they are "kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation." It was upon the almighty power of His heavenly father, that our Lord himself grounded the safety of His flock: "They shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand; my father, which gave them me, is greater than all; and no man is able to pluck them out of my father's hand." Lift up your head then, fearful and dispirited believer; if you can cast your trembling soul upon the Almighty God, and know that beneath you are His everlasting arms, you may walk more happily, because in stronger faith, throughout the coming year; and whether it be your last, or God prolong your term of life, you will anticipate with calm confidence, nay, haply, with holy joy, the summons which shall call you hence; the tear is wiped from your eye, the foreboding fear has ceased to agitate your heart, because you have been taught to say, "I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is *able* to keep that which I have committed unto Him against that day." Thus relieved, your spirit will sometimes take even a bolder flight; still sustained by this attribute of omnipotence, you will pass the boundaries of this earthly state, you will delight to dwell upon the glory that shall be revealed in you, when you shall be like Christ, and see Him as He is, and know as you are known. And such meditations will have in them nothing of self-confidence or presumption, because God's word hath taught you thus to look for your Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change your vile body, that it may be like unto His glorious body, according to the working, whereby he is *able* even to subdue all things unto Himself.

3. *In Answering Prayer.* Of prayer, almost more than of any other thing, may it be said, that we are not straitened in God; we are straitened in ourselves. On God's part, there is a listening ear and a free hand, which He is ever opening to fill

all things living with plentiousness. Every provision is made, and help afforded for our access to the Throne of Grace: "The Spirit of God maketh intercession in us; for we know not what to pray for as we ought;" and the Son of God ever liveth to make intercession for us before the Throne in Heaven. Nevertheless, we are backward in approaching God in prayer; and when we do come, we bring a cold heart, and speak with stammering lips, and feel a relief when the duty has been performed. We limit our expectations of what God will give us; we bring to our Heavenly Father the unworthy thoughts which we have towards our fellow men, who take it ill that we ask them for too much, or importune them for help too frequently, and carefully measure the obligations under which we place ourselves towards them. Thus we forget that "God's ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts." And much of this comes from imperfect and unbecoming conceptions of the almighty power of God. We conceive of Him as subject to the limitations of our own weakness, so that what He gives to us He has not at hand to give to others, and what He gives to-day detracts from the store which He has to dispense to-morrow; whereas the exercise of almighty power and infinite love in answering prayer is like the outpourings of some vast river, whose copious streams spread fertility over a whole continent, and yet diminish in no respect the supplies of the never-failing and inexhaustible source from which they flow. In answering prayer, the Almighty One is presented to us as "*able* to do exceeding abundantly above all that we can ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us." The church, in her distress, pleads with God upon this ground: "Let the sighing of the prisoner come before thee; according to the greatness of thy power, preserve thou those that are appointed to die." The Great Head of the Church was sustained by a like consciousness of the omnipotence of His heavenly father. "In the days of his flesh, he offered up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears, unto him that was *able* to save him from death." Why are we so backward in availing ourselves of the like privilege?

O Lord! how happy should we be,
If we could cast our care on Thee;
If we from self could rest,
And feel at heart that one above,
In perfect wisdom, perfect love,
Is working for the best.

How far from this our daily life!
Ever disturbed by anxious strife,
By sudden wild alarms;
O could we but relinquish all
Our earthly props, and simply fall
On Thy *Almighty* arms!

Could we but kneel, and cast our load,
E'en as we pray, upon our God;
Then rise with lightened cheer,
Sure that the Father, who is nigh
To still the famish'd raven's cry,
Will hear, in that we fear.

The sin of idolatry was, that it rejected the authority of Jehovah, and refused Him the honour due to His majesty. Its folly was, that it addressed its prayers and presented its offerings to nonentities, inanimate objects which did not possess even the senses and endowments of their worshippers, and were consequently less powerful than themselves in the day of necessity.* When Jehovah made His covenant with His people, He claimed their homage, and encouraged their service and obedience by an express reference to the almighty power which he had manifested in their behalf. "The Lord who brought you up out of the land of Egypt with great power and a stretched out arm, him shall ye fear, and him shall ye worship, and to him shall ye do sacrifice."† Thus, "all religion and worship," writes Charnock, "stands especially upon two pillars, Goodness and Power in God; if either of these were defective, all religion would faint away. We can expect no entertainment with Him without goodness, nor any benefit from Him without power." And this our Lord would seem to teach, by directing us to close the form of prayer which He gave for our use, by the remembrance and the acknowledgment, that to Him whom we have been addressing belongs "the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen." Were this attribute of God thus made the foundation of our prayers, it would impart enlargement to our petitions, vigour to our pleadings, and life to our expectations. In asking for temporal mercies, or for spiritual, "He is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think;" "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;" "The silver and the gold are his;" promotion cometh not from man; "God is the judge, He putteth down one and setteth up another."‡ All nature obeys His command; all gifts are at His disposal; the hearts of men are in His hands, to turn whithersoever He will; the dispensations of Providence are simply the working out of His purposes; with Him are the issues of life and of death; the angelic hosts wait His directions and do His pleasure. From the minutest atom, from the very hairs of the heads of His people, or the sparrow that falleth to the ground, to the worlds that roll in space, and the Cherubim and Seraphim that surround the Throne, all is sub-

* Ps. cxv. 1, 2. † 2 Kings xvii. 35, 39.
‡ Ps. xxiv. 1; Hag. ii. 8; Ps. lxxv. 6, 7.

ject to, and all is controlled and directed by, the Almighty God. The same Almighty One can break the stony heart, can cause the tears of penitence to flow, can make pure as snow souls defiled with sins red as crimson. With Him is the residue of the Spirit; He can open the windows of heaven, and pour down blessings greater than we know how to receive. There is no restraint to His power in grace, any more than in providence. Take the sublimest thought that the Holy Spirit ever put into the heart of man, or the highest and most comprehensive petition that He ever caused to spring up from the depths of a sanctified soul: God is "able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we can ask or think." Let us go to the mercy seat throughout the coming year, in the full belief of this blessed revelation of God's omnipotence as exercised in our behalf. We shall thus derive comfort and strength to ourselves, and give glory to the Almighty God.

W. C.

SCHOOL HISTORIES OF ENGLAND.

1. *Historical Series. No. I. The History of England. Published under the Direction of the Committee of General Literature and Education, appointed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.* 1844.
2. *The History of England for Junior Classes. By* [*Dr.*] *Henry White. Edinburgh.* 1857.
3. *Elements of the History of England. By J. Curtis, B.A. Religious Tract Society.* 1861.
4. *Pinnock's First Steps to Knowledge. History of England. London.* 1861.
5. *Landmarks of the History of England. By the Rev. James White. Routledge, London.*

WHETHER the "Revised Code" of the Privy Council be eventually maintained in its original form, or, on the other hand, be modified or suppressed, we anticipate that the History of England will continue to be a subject of instruction in our national schools as it has been heretofore. It is too obvious to demand a single line of argument, that if the children are to be taught anything beyond the circle of religion, they are entitled (probably before all other things) to a knowledge of the history of their father-land. The Code, in its present or its future form, may preserve silence on the subjects of instruction; but it may be confidently expected that the managers will provide for the History of England being amongst the books in which

the children are practised in the useful art of reading; unless, indeed, a school-book suitable for the purpose cannot be procured.

But is there at present in existence a history really appropriate for our national schools; a history that we could place in the children's hands with a reasonable expectation of its interesting them? We know of none that can be adopted with satisfaction. This branch of instruction is at present to be prosecuted under difficulty and discouragement. In every successive year there are thousands upon thousands of children ready to be taught the story of their country. They are excellent customers, for they wear out their books with alacrity by their hot and restless fingers, thus creating a rapid demand; and yet, under circumstances so favourable for authors and publishers, and notwithstanding the special advantages enjoyed by powerful societies which profess to assist the work of education, and have ample resources for the purpose, there is not as yet any book which commands general approval, or which is not rather endured than cordially adopted. Managers will say to you, without any hesitation, "We use this or that history for want of a better," or "as the best we have been able to discover;" but they will promptly add, that it fails to interest the children. This is a great evil, and we are anxious to see it remedied.

The books whose titles head this article may be taken as fair samples of the commodity actually in use, excepting the last, the only one which could be read with pleasure.

In national schools, you most commonly encounter the history published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. But can anything be conceived more dry, dreary, and cold-hearted; or of which the language is more difficult for children to apprehend?

The Edinburgh book on our list is more readable, as being somewhat less stiff; but it is bald and lifeless.

Mr. Curtis's "Elements" are better still, adding, in occasional paragraphs, a kind of information which the children may receive with some interest, and which may set them to compare other days with their own. But it provokes no enthusiasm.

Pinnock's "First Steps" happen to be steps which cannot be the first, and must rather follow than precede the acquisition of some amount of knowledge from other sources. It is more meagre than can easily be conceived.

All of these books signally fail for the purpose of instruction in elementary schools for the poor. They are obvious abridgments of larger histories; the well-picked bones of stouter volumes. There are similar attempts, which call themselves "outlines" of history. The books just mentioned are such in reality, without the name,—outlines with no lights or shadows,

no filling-up of the scenes which they simply declare to have occurred. Take any one of our portly histories, open it at the table of contents, turn those contents into a narrative of the most curt description, and you have the like to these "Histories of England for the use of Schools" and of "Junior Classes." Alas, poor children! The reading is a task in the performance of which no eye sparkles, and not a smile can be extorted from any countenance, except by a school-fellow's blunder.

Now, we admit without any hesitation that it is not easy to write books for children. The failures in well-intentioned attempts have far outnumbered the successes. Amongst the latter, it need not be surprising that we have not yet been so fortunate as to discover any history of England suited for a national school. But the difficulties are not insuperable, and we do not yet despair of the work being done to our heart's content, and (which is more important) to the enjoyment of the juvenile students.

Whenever it comes, it will be the production of an author who brings to the work a thorough and intelligent acquaintance with his subject, a quick and correct appreciation of character, and a facility for conveying his impressions to other minds by a few felicitously chosen words. He must wield that power of the pen which is often called graphic; writing sentences which in a moment summon up scenes full of life before the reader's eye. He must also be able to touch chords in the heart which will vibrate with a natural response. United with all the other requisite qualifications, and giving them a proper direction, must be sympathy with children, such as those only who are fond of them and understand them can really feel. The story must be told in writing, just as it might flow by word of mouth from one who has the happy art of awakening the interest of children, and of holding their attention to his tales.

We do not ask for a book half-sermon and half-story, nor for "improvements" in the form of far-fetched moralisings; but we do want the production of a thoroughly christian mind. Conduct must be weighed in christian balances; and the overruling operations of an All-wise Providence must not fail to be noticed, through any fear of the censure of sceptical critics. Nor must the history of religion, and of the church of England, be confined to a thread rising here and there to the surface in the general texture, but it must take its rightful place, and that is a prominent one; for the history of our country is imperfectly told when its religion does not stand out as one of its most important features.

In the management of his subject, the writer ought to make up his mind to leave out altogether many parts of the story in order to make room for a more just treatment of those which he

selects. He must not spoil his pictures by crowding them with incidents. He must often be content to do nothing more than point out a further field of inquiry as inviting the researches of those in whom he may be happy enough to awaken a thirst for more knowledge. The history has its own obvious divisions, independently of the deaths of kings, and their accessions; and he must beware of measuring out type by the inch to centuries or to reigns, and rather resolve to take the salient points wherever they lie, and to be guided by them to the contraction or expansion of his narrative. When wars claim attention, their causes, aims, and results should be held to deserve as much consideration as their characteristic achievements; but these are not to be neglected. Often a few good anecdotes of a battle will be effective, where a mere statement that it ended in a great victory, or was distinguished for the prowess displayed, would be read only to be forgotten, having nothing to lay hold on the memory.

Comparisons with our own times, and contrasts also, when skilfully drawn, will place events and persons in a peculiarly interesting light. Especially welcome will be descriptions of the manners, customs, and general condition of the people, of their dress, wages, furniture, habitations, manufactures, commerce (including the dates of the introduction of articles still in use), and the mutual interdependence of the various grades of society. Again, how right to trace out, even before children, the progressive growth of the British constitution, till it reached the state in which they find it to subsist, the relations in which the sovereign has stood towards the people, and the changes effected in those relations in the progress of time.

We cannot urge too strongly that the aim of the child's historian ought to be, not to supply so many pages, nor yet to give its sentence or paragraph to every event or person of which a ten-volume history might speak, but to make such use of somewhat narrow limits as to interest the children in the story of their country, and quicken in them, if possible, a desire to learn more of it; to provide them with a book which they shall always open with pleasure, and close with something like regret.

If the necessity which demands brevity and cheapness be somewhat inconvenient to the writer, yet it does not throw an insuperable difficulty in his way. As the history need not aim at completeness, its length, and therefore cost, may be accommodated to the limited means of schools. The fifth of the volumes on our list consists of 280 pages, quite as many as our schools in general would require. The author of it has found room within its compass for that freedom of action without which the result would be nothing but a tame and spiritless production. The price is eighteen pence, which price is probably the outside

amount that would command a sale. The right book, whenever it appears, will secure a regular sale sufficient to render even a smaller price highly remunerative.

The work to which we have last referred fulfils, to a considerable extent, the conditions on which a school history ought to be written. It is conceived in evident but unobtrusive sympathy with those for whose instruction it was prepared. Its sketches are animated. It helps the reader to appreciate the merits and demerits of the persons and questions with which it deals, and puts a value on the events which it has to notice. It is pleasant, cheerful, sprightly, often playful; and it is long enough, and not too long, to meet the requirements of our schools for the poor.

But it is not a child's book. It was not originally intended for children. It consists of lectures delivered before a Mechanics' Institute (in the Isle of Wight), and contains passages which could only have been addressed to adults, and which the young could not understand. It occasionally employs unguarded expressions (which, however, might be eliminated on revision). We cannot say that religion is made less prominent here than in the other histories before us, but rather that it is more so; yet still Christianity has not its due share of attention. The corruptions against which Wycliffe was raised up to contend, his labours and their fruits, have no place in the volume; and the Reformation, though hailed and honoured as emancipating the human mind, is not regarded, in the highest point of view, as recovering God's truth from concealment or distortion, and bringing it once again before men in its original purity, together with the Scriptures which reveal it. If the mixed audience at a Mechanics' Institute curtailed the lecturer's liberty, and forbade him to enter upon these subjects, there are no reasons why they should not be drawn out with much fulness for the information of our children. On the contrary, there are strong reasons for helping them to the attainment of as much knowledge as there is time and opportunity to offer them.

These are reasons why this book, in its present form, will not answer the purposes of a school history. But it comprises much of what is wanted. The easy style, the vivacity of the narrative, the judicious selection of prominent points, the evident good will towards the audience, the detestation of what is mean and degrading, the appreciation of excellence, the value put upon religion, are characteristics which ought to be conspicuous in a history of England for the use of schools. We can even conceive of the author adapting his work to that purpose, without much either of difficulty or labour; applying the pruning knife here and there, and introducing notices of the religious condition of the country, and especially of the rise and growth of the blessed Reformation, and of the necessity which called for it.

For the more distinct elucidation of our views respecting this class of school books, we had intended to have put side by side some extracts from the *Landmarks* on the one hand, and a few of the dry chips, gathered out of the remaining books, on the other. We might have selected as specimens the first paragraphs of these several books, and have shown how the "Landmarks" open the ears to catch all the information that is coming from one who evidently has something to tell; while the others make no effort to enlist the sympathy of their readers, but coldly commence their work after this manner:—

"About fifty-five years before the birth of our blessed Saviour, Julius Cæsar, who was afterwards the first emperor of Rome, resolved on attempting the conquest of the country now called England."

The battle of Cressy, the wars of the Roses, the civil war of 1642-6, the revolution of 1688, or indeed any passage in the whole history, would have afforded examples illustrating the way in which the work ought, and ought not, to be done, so far as regards style, animation, incidental instructiveness, vividness of delineation, and sympathy with those for whom the history is intended. But we have written enough, and are content simply to suggest to our readers to institute such a comparison for themselves, satisfied that the result will be a complete conviction that the one is on the very borders of the best method of treating history for the instruction of children, and that the others have missed it altogether.

It has been said that the songs of the people have more influence in forming the national character than the laws of the land. We wish that some qualified person could be induced to try how much might be effected by a well executed history of England, adapted to the children in our national schools. The field is open, and competitor there is none.

The Greek Testament, with Notes, Grammatical and Exegetical. By William Webster, M.A., and William Francis Wilkinson, M.A. Vol. II. Containing the Epistles and the Apocalypse. Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1861.

Six years have now passed since Mr. Webster and Mr. Wilkinson issued the first volume of their eminently useful edition of the New Testament. The reason of the delay is equally novel and valid. Dr. South once told Charles the Second, that he was obliged to write a long sermon, because he had not time to write a short one. The present editors creditably

reverse this language. It would have been comparatively easy to have written several volumes on their vast theme; but they had stated their intention of confining their work within a given compass, and they have rigorously preserved their self-imposed limitations. It was necessary that they should write comparatively little, and therefore they have been occupied comparatively long. This is one of the most remarkable instances on record of wise reticence and editorial self-restraint. Not unfrequently the morality of authors is scarcely proof against, the potent temptation of multiplying words. Dean Alford originally intended that his work should not exceed two volumes; but the editorial mind succumbed to temptation, and his work has virtually expanded itself into five. Messrs. Webster and Wilkinson, with an amount of pains which it would be difficult to over-estimate, have succeeded in compressing their Commentary on the Epistles and Apocalypse into a single volume, without the sacrifice of any of the objects which they originally proposed to themselves.

The constant progress which late years have witnessed in the reverent and scholarly study of the New Testament, is a matter for the sincerest gratulation. The example of Germany has led our biblical critics to a more scientific study of archæology, lexicography, and grammar; both directly and indirectly, we are indebted to the large and increasing school of orthodox divinity in Germany. How vastly, for instance, is dean Alford's first volume indebted to Stier, and Trench on the Parables to Olshausen! The regret is, that the so-called epochs of Illuminism and Restoration have exhibited so much that is banefully alloyed, and so much that has been entirely evil. It has always been felt, that in the old works of the great English divines there existed a splendid and massive literature that could more than bear comparison with the theological library of the Continent. It is, at the same time, instructive to remember, that German scepticism owes its origin to England; and that Lessing himself was taught by Hobbes and Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Living English divines have not been slow to follow in the wake of German criticism and exegesis, with a soberer pen and as exact a scholarship. Simply in the list of biblical commentaries, we have the works, varying greatly in value, of Alford, Wordsworth, Stanley, Ellicott, Eadie, Trench. Lastly, we have the concluding volume of the noble edition before us. We almost feared that one result of the unavoidable delay might be, that, among so many works, the present one might be practically superseded. The result of our examination is, that this is certainly not the case, that the present commentary occupies a distinct field of its own, that it possesses practical utility claimed by more ambitious works, and, moreover, several points of excellence peculiarly its own. It is not difficult to

detect the single aim with which, as it appears to us, this volume has been produced. Its direct object is practical utility. What is ingenious, is always sacrificed for what is safe; what is ostentatious, for what is necessary; what is decorative, for what is useful. We never meet long and exhaustive enumerations of the varying opinions of different commentators on contested passages. The fatiguing extent to which this has been carried in a most popular modern commentary, has done much to reduce it to a mere *variorum* edition. A large gain of space has been secured by this means. Neither is the body of each page occupied by a huge digest of various readings. We trust that we duly appreciate the importance of textual literature; but we are convinced that a division of labour is absolutely necessary in these studies; that the editor and the commentator fulfil distinct offices; that the ambitious attempt to combine them, from the limitation of human powers, must almost necessarily be futile and disappointing. This error has been avoided; and the result is, that we have a further additional gain of space. It is only right to say, that, so far as we see, every really important variation of the text is duly noted, and that the whole range of literature, from the patristic writers down to the latest German commentators, is made to furnish judicious though scanty contributions. This prudent management and compendious method have enabled the authors to make their exegetical commentary peculiarly rich, and not inferior, in the amount of matter, to any critical edition of the New Testament with which we are acquainted. The merits of the work, as a grammatical commentary, are very great. Constructions, moods, particles, and tenses, are explained with ease by the authors, and rendered easy to the student. There is a perfect wealth of classical citation; the present writers are worthy followers of Wetstein. Useful to all classes of competent readers, the present volumes, to an especial class, must prove peculiarly valuable. To those who are about finishing the classical studies of their university career, and are upon the threshold of the sacred ministry or of their own independent study, who are lingering over that familiar literature, and are casting glances not altogether undismayed on that untravelled ocean on which they must venture, this edition will be a most useful auxiliary. It will help them both in what it will recall, and in what it will teach; it will teach them to turn their old knowledge to a new and profitable account, and will be a clue and guide to them amid the labyrinth of modern criticism and speculation. It will be especially valuable as indicating the substantial links that bind together the old pursuits and the new; and in showing the substantial identity that exists amid all honest labour and all careful thought. It would be especially happy, if, by means of

such works as these, that large and important body of men who carry their classical studies to an advanced point, should be induced to enter on a study which, merely in an educational sense, is imperatively necessary. The supremacy of the scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is due to their combination of biblical with other literature. The best judges have always intuitively felt that there is no jurisprudence more deserving of study than that of Moses; no poetry more noble than that of Isaiah; no oratory more moving than that of the great master of eloquence who pleaded before Agrippa. We know that we are assuming comparatively low ground; but those may be won to the higher regions of faith and devotion, who, in the first instance, only seek to study the wonderful language of St. John, or the philosophic argument of St. Paul. It is remarkable how men of the highest genius, who "rule our spirits from their urns," have obtained their weapons of keenest temper from the sacred armoury. However much men may study those great classics in which noble thoughts are set to noble words, like perfect bars of music, still, in the language of Milton,

> "Let Zion's hill
> Delight thee more, and Siloah's brook that flowed
> Hard by the oracle of God."

The first question which the consideration of this work suggests, and which the writers fully deal with in their preface, is that connected with the text. Messrs. Webster and Wilkinson have adopted, we think judiciously, the *textus receptus*. Any other text would be but imperfectly available for the majority of readers. Two other courses were open to them; and as each of these has been followed by distinguished editors, we will permit ourselves to make a few remarks. The first of the two courses would be the formation of a new text, on a revision and comparison of preceding editions. As we have intimated, we think that textual criticism is better left to those writers who, like Mr. Tregelles, have made this department their peculiar study. It is impossible that a single critic should competently deal with all questions of text, philology, authenticity, genuineness, authority, and specific character of New Testament writings. A further objection would be this, that the editor can scarcely avoid becoming biassed by his opinions. And this bias cannot fail to act injuriously when he commences his labours as a textual critic. Dean Alford affords us a remarkable instance of the employment of this method. In the first instance, the dean attempted a *provisional* text. He was as willing as Messrs. Webster and Wilkinson to accept the received text where the variations were unimportant; but, unlike them, when the sense was affected, he did not relegate the other readings to margin or foot-note, but constructed a

text on the testimony, where unanimous, of the elder manuscripts. In all discussions respecting the text, it is most satisfactory to remember that even if we admitted, in every instance, the worst readings of the worst text, these are not such as would affect the doctrines of the Creeds and Articles. At that time Dr. Alford forgot that, though the authority of uncial manuscripts exceeds that of the cursive manuscripts, yet these last may be copies of manuscripts even older than those of Beza and Cyril Lucar. This supposition, thanks to the labours of Mr. Scrivener, may now be looked upon as established. In his later editions, dean Alford has practically abandoned the system of compromise which he attempted; but we may question whether the present system of treatment, which he has recently brought to a close in the issue of his last instalment, is, on the whole, much more satisfactory. He now admits the later manuscripts to a new share of consideration, and bases his text upon a union of the two. In addition to the external and, so to speak, diplomatic testimony, Alford has attempted to give due weight to another system of treatment, namely, the importance to be attached to subjective considerations. The text is conjointly based, (1) upon testimony; (2) upon argument. The criticism is obviously provoked, that the case may arise, when opinion leans all the one way, and the evidence lies all the other way. In such a case, is the testimony to weigh down the subjectivity, or must private judgment countervail objective evidence? It may be useful to have indicated the nature of this method, and the results to which it must necessarily lead. We think that the present editors have done well to have avoided this plan, and that our readers will agree with them in thinking that the success which has attended it is scarcely "encouraging."

We now turn to the second plan to which the present editors might have resorted, if they had decided to depart from the received text. They might have adopted the text of any editor upon whose judgment they might have felt disposed to rely. They have, however, declined to do so; and, while expressing their sense of the valuable labours of German and English critics, they avow their conviction that no text is, as a whole, superior to that of Stephens; and that no other text which they could have selected could have secured them from animadversion, if they had accepted all its readings as genuine. The text which, in some quarters, there has been a great disposition to receive, is that of Charles Lachmann. To illustrate our meaning by examples, as Dr. Alford served as an example of the first method, Professor Jowett shall discharge the same office for the second. In the two editions of his notorious work, the professor follows implicitly the text of Lachmann. Mr. Jowett upholds Lachmann's text with a degree of abso-

lutism which Lachmann himself would be the last man to sanction. Lachmann's text, as Tholuck points out, and as may be shown from Lachmann's own writings, is not a critical edition of the New Testament. It is only a preparation for a critical edition of the New Testament. Yet Mr. Jowett follows Lachmann with an obedient docility which he would be slow to accord to apostles and prophets. In their preface, the two editors of the work before us have given us some excellent criticism on Lachmann's undertaking. The object which that excellent scholar and critic proposed to himself was, "the reproduction of the text of the New Testament Scriptures as it was received and read by the eastern churches of the first four centuries." Critics such as Mr. Jowett appear to be of the opinion that Lachmann solved the problem of biblical criticism, and has afforded the certain means of ascertaining the real apostolical text. It will probably be of service if we indicate the substance of the valuable remark which Mr. Webster and Mr. Wilkinson make upon the subject. Lachmann had assumed that the restoration could be successfully effected only by the exclusive collation of manuscripts whose date is previous to the close of the fourth century. But why is this date to be accepted as an arbitrary line of demarcation? So arbitrary and unbounded is Lachmann's assumption, that because he has chosen to assign St. Augustine a date seven years later than the date he has fixed, he has thought fit to exclude him from his list of authorities. For critical purposes, all beyond the fourth century is void and limbo. We have reached Lucretius' *flammantia mœnia mundi*. The *sorites* of Chrysippus might be deservedly applied in the present instance. Why should we not alter the line by a year or two on the one side or the other? Why, if he had lived, might not Lachmann himself have expanded his limits by a whole century? Tischendorff has shown that in various instances Lachmann has himself abandoned his own principles. The editors dwell strongly on the fact to which we have ourselves alluded, that amid the vast mass of materials which Lachmann abandons, are various manuscripts, indubitable transcripts of those earlier than any extant texts, and which exhibit the strongest internal proofs of their value. Lachmann is reduced by his system to only eight Greek manuscripts, most of them fragmentary, the ancient Latin version, Jerome's Vulgate, two Greek and three Latin fathers. Do these materials really secure to us the primitive text? When his few authorities vary, his canons only show the respective value of the variations. Such an edition simply gives us a collection of readings current in the fourth century; an era when it is certain there was already considerable corruption of the text. Moreover, when Lachmann asserts that the united testimony of his authorities is to outweigh any

amount of testimony in favour of a different reading of a later date, he is assuming a state of antagonism which is not, as a matter of fact, found to exist. There does not, in fact, occur a single instance in which the junior testimony is all one way, and the senior testimony all the other. On these grounds, we think the editors have acted wisely in declining to reject the received text in favour of any other; and in refusing to accord to Lachmann that excessive and ill-founded deference which in too many quarters has been assigned to him.

Before we turn away from the Preface, it shall supply us with an extract:—

"The opinion has been industriously promulgated, that philological criticism, applied to the language of the New Testament, is unfavourable to the doctrines known under the term 'orthodox,' as well as those which are appropriately entitled 'evangelical.' A rigid scrutiny of the numerous passages usually quoted in support of those doctrines, and of the few that can be alleged in opposition to them, proceeding upon the severest critical principles, will, we are persuaded, establish in the minds of most earnest and conscientious students the perfect assurance that the creeds of the ancient church, and the articles of our own, may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Writ; and that the vast majority of pious and intelligent Christians who have searched the Scriptures of the New Testament through and through, with the single object of acquainting themselves fully with the way of salvation, of which the authors of those Scriptures were the professed teachers, have not utterly failed to apprehend their meaning. The Deity of the Lord Jesus Christ, the expiatory character of His death, the reality and efficacy of His intercession, the personality, presence, and action of the Holy Spirit, the triune nature of the Godhead, the corruption of human nature, the criminality of each man's life, the utter incapability of the species or of individuals to effect their own spiritual restoration, the necessity, in order to salvation, of a personal interest in the sacrifice and intercession of Christ, that is, of justification, and of the direct operation of the Divine Spirit in the soul, bringing it into conscious affinity with God, which is regeneration and sanctification, the appointment of faith as the condition and means of individual appropriation of the blessings of redemption, the Divine commission and Divine authority of the instrumentality by which the will of God has been revealed—these are doctrines and matters of fact patent on the surface of the New Testament Scriptures, interwoven with their structure, and underlying their whole substance, most of them frequently presented with the explicitness of propositions, all of them naturally and immediately deducible from statements actually made. We do not hesitate to testify that, in our own experience, close attention to the order and connexion of thought, and the strict application of grammatical analysis, have had the effect of bringing those truths into greater prominence, and rendering it indubitable that in the minds of the writers themselves they were the very elements and substance of Christianity. And we venture to offer the result of our labours as

an humble contribution to the elucidation and support of those doctrines which have ever formed the foundation of the Christian hope and supplied the principles of the spiritual life, because they have been believed, and truly believed, to constitute the answer given by the oracles of God to the most momentous of all inquiries—'What must I do to be saved?'" (Pref. pp. xvii. xviii.)

In the introductory matter to the various epistles, one disadvantage is apparent, inseparable from the singularly condensed style of the authors. As a general rule they give us results, not processes, when it would often be desirable to account for the results at considerable length. Their sparingness of quotations is also, at times, a source of regret. The Prolegomena of several modern editions of the New Testament possess an increased value, by a careful selection of passages, admirable for point and beauty, from works not generally accessible to the student. We might instance the use which dean Alford has made in his last volume, perhaps to a too liberal extent, of Dusterdiëck and Ernst Sartorius. The matter of the Introduction is almost too compendiously arranged, and is wanting in the flowing historical narrative and ample criticism, which are so calculated to attract the student into the paths of such investigations. We do not very much like the novel method of citation employed. A. 3 : 15, does not so much please us as the familiar Acts iii. 15. Among the conspicuous merits of this edition, we ought to mention the copious and useful indices, (1) of Greek words, (2) of matters. Even a bad index is of essential service; a really good one is a boon as valuable as it is uncommon. An index, in a critical edition of the New Testament, was becoming almost a rarity. There is one other excellence in this commentary, which ought to be duly noticed, the catholic and charitable spirit that pervades it throughout. We have no explosions of wrath against the Harmonists; no tendency to brand opponents with ugly names; no indulgence in distasteful invectives against those who have adopted a different system to their own. So far as we can recollect, we cannot recall a single instance in this work of the violation of christian love and literary courtesy. The writers have fully exemplified their own noble language, which in several quarters we might recommend for respectful consideration: "The truth of the gospel can only be promoted in the spirit of the gospel. It is essential to the success of an attempt to ascertain and establish the true principles of Christian faith and Christian hope, that it should itself be an exemplification of the still higher principle of Christian charity."

An examination of the contents of the Commentary involves an examination of the Method of Interpretation. This is not simply a grammatical commentary, or a historical commentary, or a grammatico-historical commentary, or a dogmatical com-

mentary. The writers have avoided the errors of an exclusive devotion to any one of these systems, and have subordinated the use of each to the rules of sound judgment and sound scholarship. The language which they use is as follows:—"We have avowed our adherence to the method of grammatical and logical analysis, with a due regard to those historical circumstances which must ever exercise an important influence upon the modes of thought and expression, whether of an age, a class, or an individual." It may be worth while to examine and illustrate the meaning and force of these expressions. Let it, moreover, be always borne in mind, that every unlettered reader who prayerfully and thoughtfully studies his Bible, exemplifies the most valuable canons of interpretation. A man who never has heard of Ernesti, may indubitably comply with whatever is most valuable in the Institutio Interpretis. The most indispensable rule is, that we must search the Scriptures: "bonus textuarius est bonus theologus." Moreover, we must remember the wisdom of the Greek father, *βούλει θεόλογος γένεσθαι; τήρει τὰς ἐντολὰς πρᾶξις ἐπιβασις θεωρίας.*

Interpretation may be defined, "the discovery of the method and meaning of Holy Scripture." Properly speaking, critical labours on the text, and grammatical expositions of the force of words, are external to interpretation. The question has of late been frequently discussed, ought the Bible to be interpreted like any other book? In one point of view, it ought. The sense which a chapter of the Bible conveys to a Christian, is the sense designed to be conveyed; but certain limitations arise, which, under another point of view, in our mind distinctly show that the Bible is not to be interpreted like any other book. Is it maintained that that is the only meaning which the words originally bore to him who first heard or first perused the sacred utterance? The Scriptures, inasmuch as they are the word of God, must be looked upon as no work of earthly origin can be looked upon. The Scripture itself reveals its own system of interpretation. Let us see how Scripture interprets Scripture. Examine the instances in which the ancient Scriptures are interpreted by St. Matthew in his gospel, and by St. Paul in his epistles. Had not St. Paul himself so instructed us, who would have detected an allegorical meaning in the narrative of Sarah and Agar? The typical meaning of Scripture must be fully and broadly maintained. It has been well said, "the very narrative itself teems to overflowing with mysterious purpose." The inspired writers themselves must frequently have been ignorant of many of the wondrous qualities of the word which they delivered. The first of the books of Prophecy is not the word of Isaiah, but the word of the Lord. A messenger frequently cannot comprehend the full import of the message with which he is intrusted. But let us state the

point in the words of bishop Butler: "If one knew a person to be the *sole author* of a book, and were certainly assured that one knew the whole of what was intended by it, one would be assured that one knew the whole meaning of that book. But if one knew a person to have compiled a book out of memoirs which *he received from another of vastly superior knowledge in the subject of it*, especially if full of great intricacies and difficulties, it would in no wise follow that one knew the whole meaning of the book from knowing the whole meaning of the compiler. To say, then, that the Scripture can have no other or further meaning than that others thought or had who first recited or wrote them, is evidently saying that those persons were the original, proper, and sole authors of these books, *i.e.*, that they were not inspired; which is absurd, whilst the authority of these books is under examination." So far bishop Butler. No one can aspire to be an interpreter of Scripture, who has not attained this humble modesty of a really great thinker. A further consideration is, that this book differs from all books of human origin in this, that it is the word of God, who only partially reveals Himself; that it is veiled in part in intentional obscurity; and that this is one means of our probation here.

The present editors rightly entitle theirs a Grammatical Commentary. Every commentary necessarily rests upon a grammatical substratum. "The knowledge of the sense," says Luther, "can be derived from nothing but a knowledge of the words." The constant use of the grammar and lexicon, both of classic and Hellenic Greek, is absolutely necessary for this. The essential relations between thought and language are now better comprehended than before. Words are more than the dress of thought; they are the body of thought. Even the very inflections of language have their own significance, and correspond to the outward facts of national character or peculiarities of race. To believe that expression is accidental, that particles have no definite meaning, that different tenses are arbitrarily employed, that moods and cases are convertible, is to deny to language the possibility of exactitude, and to refuse to revelation the possession of coherency. The phenomenon presented by New Testament literature is the presentation of Eastern thought under Western forms. The case is admirably expressed by Mr. Westcott,* in one of those works which have a real value of their own:—

"What more fitting vehicle can we conceive for the enunciation of the highest truth, than that Hebraizing Greek, which unites all that was noblest in the forms of Hebrew thought with all that was richest in the stores of Greek expression. . . . . When the apostolic writers use a Greek dialect, variously modified by Eastern thought, they are not

* An Introduction to the Gospels. By Brooke Foss Westcott, M.A. Macmillan. A work valuable both for its results and its method.

removed from the pale of strict criticism, but rather present a problem of unusual interest from the various relations of the elements which it combines."

If we assume the Attic as a standard, one might as well deny a grammar to the early Homeric as the later Hellenic. One might as well ignore the dialectical variations of Homer as of St. Paul. One must, therefore, base all interpretation on the intelligent analytical study of words, idioms, rules of syntax, and the principles of language.

The converse to this system is that monstrous school of criticism which considers the philology of the New Testament as quite uncertain. Mr. Jowett, for instance, considers that St. Paul writes in a language with which he was but imperfectly acquainted. He scans the Greek of the epistles as he would look over the Greek prose of some inferior Balliol man. There can be no doubt, however, that the ordinary language in which St. Paul wrote was not Hebrew, not Aramaic, but Greek. We shall not stay to prove a point which even Bunsen concedes. We have favourably alluded to the subdivision of work, where such a man as Mr. Ellicott makes his Commentary purely grammatical. But it must not be forgotten that the knowledge of the whole is essential for the knowledge of a part. There is a tendency in those who have exclusively adopted this study, to examine the text as an assemblage of words, without fully considering the plan of the book and the sequence of ideas. This leads us, in the second place, to the logical method on which the present editors lay deserved stress. By this we understand, using popular language, that we ought to form the best acquaintance we can with the mind of the author, to carefully analyze the process of thought, to endeavour to realize the scope of the design. The grammatical method is concerned with the form, the logical with the spirit, of Scripture. The first deals with the simple meaning of the text; the second with the religious development of that meaning. No mere logical faculty, no amount of intellectual power, will admit men into those secrets which wisdom and prudence alone cannot reveal. We cannot too strongly distrust the irreverence of mere human logic and human criticism, which find their consummate absurdity in the Tübingen school. It may generally be said, that when the commentator sinks into the cold-blooded intellectual anatomist, he loses that light and warmth which can alone impart to his subject life and breath. In perusing Holy Writ, far from us be that cold acumen with which we should investigate the periodic structure of the sentences of Demosthenes, or the sophistic element in the dialogue of Euripides. The love and appreciation of an author is necessary for a really valuable criticism on his works; and if even the pale cheek of the dry scholar sometimes lights up with enthusiasm over his subject,

the biblical student will find a material aid for faithful and adequate exposition, if he reverently acknowledge both the innate claim to the highest reverence, and the influence of the thousand memories and associations that cluster around the page.

The *historical* system of interpretation is valuable both for the lessons which it teaches and the warnings which it conveys. We should remember both its pre-eminent use and the caution which it requires. The Acts of the Apostles, with those notices in the Epistles that constitute the earliest chapter in ecclesiastical history, especially require and repay historical illustration. We are better able to understand the Athenian audience whom St. Paul addressed, from some knowledge of the Stoic and Epicurean sects. A flood of light has been thrown upon the voyage and shipwreck of St. Paul, by the labours of Mr. Smith, of Jordon Hill; and Dr. Stanley's historical illustrations of the Epistles to the Corinthians are both numerous in the aggregate and important in result. It cannot be a matter of unimportance to realize the modes of life and thought among those to whom the Divine words were originally addressed, and to ascertain, as nearly as we can, the fresh meaning which the words first conveyed to them. The method is not free from a danger of which professor Stanley himself has afforded signal instances. There is the danger that permanent truths should be resolved into what is simply historical and phenomenal. The words which were designed for humanity cannot be restricted to an era or a land. We dare not explain away an eternal meaning by a theory of a local colouring or fugitive allusion. We need scarcely say, that the present editors have strictly borne in mind these necessary limitations. One more principle of interpretation ought, perhaps, to be mentioned, which, though it is not expressly laid down in these pages, is nevertheless consistently observed: we mean that all interpretation is to be subordinated to what, in old and familiar language, is called the *regula fidei;* the observance of the "proportion of faith" (*ἀναλογία πίστεως*). The commentator must always recollect that Scripture is to be interpreted by Scripture, and that one divine truth cannot be antagonistic to another. In the study of all great works, we necessarily assume a unity of design; we are unwilling to believe in contradictions and inconsistencies; and we feel that the work ceases to be great in proportion as these are discoverable. Much more, then, must we assume the consistent harmony of Scripture. Every portion of Scripture must be so explained as to be in harmony with the great summary of truth contained in all other parts. The neglect of this rule is the groundwork of more than half the sectarianism that exists. Huge systems of error have been founded upon texts that have not been interpreted according to the analogy of faith. Let, therefore,

Scripture be interpreted according to the *regula fidei* that has been arrived at by the conclusions of religious thought. On this ground, also, there is no want of a necessity for a correspondent caution. Valuable as is a scientific theology, there is something to be guarded against in dogmatic systems. Scripture is to be interpreted not so much by formularies of faith, or the results of ecclesiastical history, or the accumulative wisdom of holy men, as by Scripture itself. The interpreter must hold himself free from the dominion of preconceptions. He too will guard against the Idola; his investigations will be conducted in the very spirit of the *Novum Organon*.

We subjoin a specimen of the annotation; we select almost at random :—

"1 THESS. 2. 5. *οὔτε γάρ ποτε ἐν λόγῳ κολακείας ἐγενήθημεν, καθὼς οἴδατε, οὔτε ἐν προφάσει πλεονεξίας, Θεὸς μάρτυς,*

"5. *ποτε.... ἐγενήθημεν*] 'ever,' 'at any time,' i.e., in my whole ministry everywhere. He is speaking generally, as just before (3, 4) and after (v. 6) *ἐν λόγῳ κολ. ἐγενήθημεν*] *ἐν* thus used denotes 'occupation or position,' Jelf, § 622; 'habit' (v. 3), or 'characteristic feature,' Green, c. viii.; '*were in the practice of*,' '*were characterized by*.' Cf. Plat. *Phæd.* § 5. *ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ εἶναι*, 'to study philosophy,' Hdt. ii. 82. *οἱ ἐν ποιήσει γενόμενοι*, 'poets.' So 2 C. 3 : 7, 8, *ἐγενήθη ἐν δόξῃ...ἔσται ἐν δόξῃ*, 'characterized by glory.' E. 6 : 2, *ἐντολὴ.... ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ*, 'characterized by promise.' By the *λόγος κολακείας*, is meant, speaking *πρὸς ἡδονήν*, such teaching as panders to the natural corruption of the human heart, to pride, worldliness, sensuality, and which therefore 'pleases men' (v. 4). The Apostle further describes it in R. 16 : 18, speaking of those whose exhortation was *ἐξ ἀκαθαρσίας*, he says, *διὰ τῆς χρηστολογίας καὶ εὐλογίας ἐξαπατῶσι τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀκάκων*. So Col. 2 : 4, *ἵνα μή τις ὑμᾶς παραλογίζηται ἐν πιθανολογίᾳ*. He calls such *φρεναπάται*, Tit. 1 : 10. Cf. 2 P. 2 : 3, 18, 19. See Is. 30 10. The expression is illustrated by the whole passage in Plato, *Gorg.* § 42—§ 47, in which Socrates maintains that the art of rhetoric is *κολακείας μόριον*. Note especially the definition of *κολακεία* in § 45 : *τοῦ ἡδέος στοχάζεται ἄνευ τοῦ βελτίστου*; and in § 44 : *τοῦ μὲν βελτίστου οὐδὲν φροντίζει τῷ δὲ ἀεὶ ἥδίστῳ θηρεύεται τὴν ἄνοιαν καὶ ἐξαπατᾷ* (cf. R. 16: 18 *supra*) *ὥστε δοκεῖ πλείστου ἀξία εἶναι*. The word *κ.* is found here only in N. T. In constr. *λόγος κ.* is used as *λόγος σοφίας λ. γνώσεως*, 1. C. 12 : 8. *καθὼς οἴδατε*] We are not to attach these words to the preceding, and *Θεὸς μάρτυς* to those of the next clause *severally*; he appeals to their knowledge, and to God's, of his innocence of both flattery and covetousness; to their knowledge especially as to his conduct while among them, to God's generally as observing him at all times and everywhere. *καθ. οἴδ.* and *Θ. μ.* here are equivalent to *ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες κ. ὁ Θ.*, v. 10. *ἐν προφάσει πλεονεξίας*] His behaviour (*ἐγενήθημεν*) was not a pretext for covetousness. Some would wrongly understand *προφάσει* as the attributive, and render 'concealed, covered covetousness.' So Tynd. 'cloked;' Gen. 'coloured;' reversing the mutual relation of the words *in regimine* from that in the previous phrase, *ἐν λόγ. κολ.*, which they translate as in A. V., 'flattering words.' Thus in 2 C. 9 : 13, *ἁπλότητι τῆς κοινωνίας*, 'liberal distribution,' A.V., where, just before, *τῇ ὑποταγῇ τῆς ὁμολογίας* is rendered 'professed subjection,' see n. The genitive is *gen. auctoris*, expressing the antecedent notion, i.e. the notion which precedes that of the (so-called) 'governing' noun. The Apostle means to say that his whole conduct, and especially his teaching, was not a mere 'pretence arising from covetousness,' 'with some pretence which covered our avaricious views,' pretence to a Divine mission proceeding from motives of self-interest. The difference which we perceive between this expression and the former, *ἐν λ. κολ.*, lies not in the syntax, but in the fact that only one of the nouns in the former has a bad sense, in the latter both have; hence we understand the writer as making a double denial in the latter;

he *was* ἐν λόγῳ, but not ἐν λόγῳ κολακείας: his λόγος was not a λόγ. κολ., but he was neither ἐν προφ. πλεονεξ. nor ἐν προφάσει; there was no πρόφασις at all, much less προφ. πλ. It is to be observed that προφάσει is generally found alone, as in Phil. 1: 18. L. 20: 47, where it is used adverbially, and means 'by pretence,' 'hypocritically.' S. Paul, long after this, felt it necessary to defend himself against the imputation of πλεονεξία in reference to his conduct at Ephesus (A. 20 : 33) and Corinth (1 C. 11 : 18. 2 C. 7 : 2. 12 : 17, 18), places in which he resided for a considerable time. It was a charge which probably might be truly made against most itinerant teachers among the Greeks. Note the connexion between false teaching and covetousness in Tit. 1: 10, 11. 2 P. 2 : 3. θ. μάρτυς] an ordinary elliptic form of obtestation; so in v. 10. The full form is found in R. 1 : 9. Ph. 1 : 8. 2 C. 1 : 23."

At this point we conclude our notice of the work before us. We need scarcely say that there are a multiplicity of points suggested well worth discussion, where the present commentary would be of great value. One of them, which we had noted for especial comment, is the question of the authorship of the epistle to the Hebrews, where the editors retain the commonly received belief in favour of the authorship of St. Paul. But we turn aside, heartily commending the work to our readers. For size, price, compass, convenience, they will find it most serviceable for a constant text book, to be supplemented, when necessary, by the use of other works. It is a true saying, that every man is a debtor to his profession; meaning thereby that every man ought to contribute something to its service. This debt the present editors have discharged after a truly illustrious fashion. We cannot conceive any occupation more fraught with usefulness and happiness than has been theirs. We trust their labours will obtain that public recognition and reward to which they are so emphatically entitled.

MONTALEMBERT ON MONACHISM.

The Monks of the West, from St. Benedict to St. Bernard. By the Count de Montalembert. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1861.

A DEFENCE of Monachism in this the nineteenth century sounds very much like an anachronism. But extinct systems have a tendency, after having slept in the darkness of the grave for a period, to revive, and to "revisit the glimpses of the moon." This is a fact of which we frequently see proofs, and of which the work before us is a signal instance. Some man or other, who seems to have been born altogether out of his own proper age, rises up, and re-asserts a principle, or advocates a system, which we had thought dead and buried, and turned into dust and ashes long ago. He startles us by his paradox; we are astonished at his audacity, and look with an eye of foolish sur-

prise, for the moment, at the antique novelty which he has presented to our view. We gaze at it, hardly able to believe in the testimony of our senses, till, after a while, our wonder subsides, upon our discovering that it is not a *living* object we are called upon to contemplate, but only an exhumed *mummy*. Such, beyond all question, is the whole system of Monkery. In a museum of curiosities, a work in which this is embalmed might find a fitting place; and it is purely as a curiosity we turn our attention (this, at least, is our first feeling) to *The Monks of the West, by the Count de Montalembert.*

There is, however, another feeling that springs into existence at the name of the author. When a writer of such note comes before us, whether it be to defend an old system or to propose a new one, we are bound, by the laws of critical justice, to give him a candid and respectful hearing. Difficult as it is not to prejudge in a question that has been so long closed, it is but right that we should open our minds afresh, to give reception to truth, if truth there be which we have not before seen, lest haply we should all this while have been in error. Monachism has been universally condemned of late days, (that the Count de Montalembert admits,) but not, he argues, upon sufficient grounds. It has merits and wholesome uses, he maintains, which have been overlooked. Judgment has gone against it in error; and what the illustrious Frenchman asks of the present more unprejudiced generation is, to be heard in appeal. It is in the very nature of Englishmen to accord him a hearing, though it is equally in the nature of Englishmen not to be swayed by a writer's enthusiasm, or the splendours of his theory, but only by the balance of dry, hard, unelastic facts. If he can show that we have been mistaken in our judgment of the monastic system, and that it is, after all, as he styles it, "one of the greatest institutions of Christianity," we must, of course, reverse our opinion, mortifying as it may be to be obliged to do so. Prejudice is strong, but Truth ought to be stronger.

Surprising as may be the fact, there is too much truth in our author's statement that "in the nineteenth century the religious Orders everywhere reappear." (p. 7.) In our own country, at least, monasticism is reviving. Monasteries and nunneries are springing up in all directions; and this furnishes an additional and most cogent reason why we should not pass by unnoticed such a work as "The Monks of the West," or refuse to examine, candidly and honestly, into the principle upon which the monastic institute is based. If it can be proved to be, as the author, in another place, terms it, "the living image of Christianity," that proof, we may be certain, will be made clear and incontrovertible by so able an advocate.

This remarkable work is dedicated "to Pope Pius IX.," in whom the Count de *Montalembert* "reveres the minister of in-

fallible truth"—a euphemism, we must suppose, for the infallible minister of truth; since the Count de Montalembert is himself an ultramontane Papist. Coming to us through such an infallible channel, we have a right to expect in it something that approaches very near to truth infallible.

It is a very unfortunate circumstance, to begin with, for the system of life which the Count de Montalembert would vindicate, that from the death of the righteous Abel to the birth of the ardent Peter, there is no solitary example of it recorded in Holy Writ. For though the case of Elijah the Tishbite, or of John the Baptist, or of Samuel and the school of the prophets, may look something like it, upon examination it will be found to be something very different. Neither of these holy men shut himself up in a monastery, or inflicted upon himself bodily macerations, though each of them may have worn a rough garment. And when we look in the face of Christianity, with its mild, domestic, home-loving smile, we are the more struck with the contrast between this and the monkish system to which the Church of Rome has given her high sanction. "Can it be possible," we say to ourselves, "that a system so against Nature, so gloomy, so repulsive, can have derived its origin from the religion exhibited to us in the New Testament?" That it has prevailed in Christendom to an almost universal extent, is undeniable; that it exists still, though with greatly diminished glories, and is even reviving, is to us a melancholy, though to some others it may be a hopeful, fact; and we cannot refuse, if we would, to look at that fact in the light in which it presents itself to us in this the illumined nineteenth century. Let us be candid. Perhaps, after all, we have been mistaken.

From almost the earliest days of Christianity down to the present time, the marriage of the clergy has been regarded by some as polluting to religion, and by many as improper. Celibacy, though certainly not instituted in Paradise, has long been exalted into the highest of virtues, and, not being human, has been represented as angelic. Among the ecclesiastical heroes of the many centuries that followed the first up to the sixteenth, it was scarcely possible, we frankly admit, to point to one who was not, in this respect, an imitator of Paul rather than of Peter. All the ecclesiastical writers of those ages were in the habit, more or less, of lauding the superior sanctity of the unmarried to that of the conjugal state. This prevailing sentiment ripened finally, in the eleventh century, into a law under the pontificate of Hildebrand the Energetic, and was henceforth enforced by edicts and anathemas, by rewards and penalties. But at length, in the sixteenth century, nature triumphed over factitious piety, and proved too strong for Councils and for Popes. The clergy, following Luther's example, took to themselves wives, and lived as did Adam and St. Peter. It is only, however, in the communities of

reformed Christianity this restored identity of the God of nature and the God of revelation has been recognized, and turned into a practical fact.

There cannot be a doubt that the celibacy of the clergy was a direct offshoot from the establishment of Monasticism. The transition from the one to the other is but a step, and it is immediate. They were monks and abbots who first preached up the superior virtue of a single life. The Pope, who enforced it upon all the clergy, even to compulsory divorce on all who had wives, was himself of the monkish order. What the great council of Nicæa had attempted in vain, Hildebrand accomplished at once, effectually, and for ever.

In examining, then, into the question of Monasticism, we shall be virtually examining into the grounds of an enforced celibacy; for the two things stand or fall together. The monastic life is voluntary celibacy—the priestly life is enforced celibacy: the one has respect to an individual, the other to a corporation. If we are to believe the advocates of this system, God (if we may be allowed so to speak) made a great mistake when He created woman, and gave her to be a "help-meet" for man.

Not, however, to prejudge in the case, we will hear what the Count de Montalembert has to say in favour of a system which Protestants have universally agreed in condemning and putting aside, as not consonant with the laws either of nature or of God. What, then, is the ground on which the author bases his defence of the monastic ordinance? To what does he trace its origin? "In the depths of human nature," he says, "there exists, without doubt, a tendency instinctive, though confused and evanescent, towards retirement and solitude." (p. 20.) To this supposed natural instinct he ascribes the rise of the monastic institution; but here, in the first place, he betrays an ignorance of human nature, and overlooks fact. So far from human nature exhibiting a tendency to solitude, it has always exhibited a tendency to society, (hence the congregation of men in cities and towns); and so far from man's instinctively loving privacy or loneliness, he has from the first yearned after communion with others of his own kind, and especially after communion with his second self in the female sex. The reverse, at least, has been the exception, and not the rule. It is true, persons of a poetic temperament, or of a strongly reflective turn, are fond of occasional retirement and solitude; and also that, under bereavements and bitter disappointments, almost all human beings will flee from society for a time; but those who have shut themselves up in monasteries have been anything but poetical in their temper, and our author himself maintains that it is "an error to regard it (the monastic institute) as a refuge for sorrowful souls, fatigued and discon-

tented with their lot in the world." (p. 26.) The monastic mode of life is, we must observe, much older than Christianity, which of itself proves it not to have been specially Christian: and it most certainly did not take its rise originally from the love of solitude; for the monk of Thibet or of India, who existed long before the monks of the Romish church arose, seeks publicity rather than privacy, and is ostentatious of his devotions rather than otherwise. A much more probable origin of the system is the opinion, which very early got possession of men's minds, of the inherent corruption of matter, and the desire to purify it by some self-invented human means. To this the Count de Montalembert himself has traced it, and unwittingly acknowledged its true origin in his statement, that its object was "the expiation of its (human nature's) native guilt by a life of sacrifice and mortification." (p. 12.) Here, then, we have Monasticism identified with Natural Religion or Heathenism, in its moving principle and tendency; and this, together with the date of its first appearance, fixes at once its ante-Christian as well as anti-Christian character.

The monastic life, under its christianized aspect, it must not be forgotten, arose first in the East—that genial region for abstraction and contemplation, for hair garments and meagre diet—and not in the West: that was, too, the native region of Gnosticism, and its first cousin, Manichæism; and though it assumed there the anchorite rather than the cenobitical form, yet, in all its essential characteristics, it was the same with that of the West. Both systems germinated out of the same deep-hid law of human nature, the law of *self-justification*, rather than the love of solitude. Between the Christian monks of Nitria, and the Therapeutæ of the older faith, the Essenes of India, and the monks who held the creed of Zoroaster and of Buddha, there is a substantial agreement. In no respect is the Monachism of Antony, of Pacomius, and of Hilarion different, except in form, from that of the wildest oriental fakir. The Teutonic character only infused into the monks of the West more of the energy of active and laborious self-denial, making them spiritual Athletes, where the others were only Contemplatives.

There were many things to recommend Monachism to earnest minds in the middle ages. With the monks of that period, there was a species of knighthood established to attract and to gratify worldly ambition under the form of religion. To enter the lists of a monastic Order was, to the high spirits of that day, like what it is to our young men to enter the army. It was a system of spiritual Don Quixotism in fighting with the devil under every imaginable form of fantastic chivalry. Charlemagne entitled the abbots of his empire, *Chevaliers de l'Eglise:* Montalembert styles them *Chevaliers de Dieu.* We *can* quite believe that at that period "noble spirits, hearts

truly independent, were to be found nowhere more frequently, than under the cowl" (p. 33); but though this be a fact, this by no means justifies the perversion of human energies, and of God's best ordinance, which the system involves.

Our author is most enthusiastic, as might be expected from so thorough a Romanist, in his admiration of the monastic Orders. "I owe to them," he says, "in a point of view merely human, my thanks for having reconciled me to men, by opening to me a world in which I hardly ever found either an egotist or a liar, an ungrateful or a servile soul." (p. 36.) This is high praise, and, were it well founded, would do much to reconcile us to the system; but things, we know, take their colour from the medium through which we look at them; besides, an institution may be pure at its first rise, which, from its very constitution, soon becomes corrupt. There are two sides to every question. Admitting that there was much in the monastic institute that was noble at its outset, and that it numbered in its ranks some individuals of the purest virtue, what shall we say to the iniquities of the Alexandrian Cyril, to the crimes of Innocent III., to the ferocious proceedings of monks against heretics, to the murders and bloodsheds that have stained their annals? Where could we find more atrocious miscreants than the Abbot Arnold, or Peter the monk of Vaux Cernay? The truth is, if history be true, that the monks, taken as a body, sinned against almost every virtue human and divine, against respect for the other sex, against charity and kindly feeling, against tolerance and equity, against faith and godliness; their perfection of which they boasted consisted of a congeries of imperfections, of moral contortions and monstrosities. Breaking all family laws, setting at nought all feelings of tenderness and affection, and often even the first principles of justice, to carry out the ends of their institute, they constituted anomalies in Humanity, and became fossilized Christians rather than living, warm-hearted, loving benefactors among their kind. For their whole religion, under its best aspect, consisted rather in chastising their own natural desires, than in sharing others' burdens, or in promoting others' happiness.

The Count de Montalembert, being a Frenchman, evidently appears to have had his judgment biassed in favour of the ancient monkish system, by what he has witnessed and experienced of the habits of society in these later days. Hence he speaks of them as "burying in the cloister a grandeur and a power of which the diminished grandeurs, ephemeral and unconsidered, of our modern society can give no idea" (p. 57); and he describes them as "good men, who were able to live at an equal distance from the unrestrained license and the abject servility which alternately characterise our modern society." (p. 36.) We sympathise fully with his hatred for despotism and his love of freedom; but we differ entirely from him in his opinion

that Monasticism presented "the highest ideal of Christianity." Nor, though the monks were the friends of freedom in feudal times, when the world was governed by a few absolute tyrants, can we regard their system as an example of true freedom. The monks were rather strange compounds of freedom and oppression; of love of truth and dread of investigation; of independence and servility; and their obedience was rather passive submission to a prescribed rule, than enlightened deference to a living law. Their system necessarily generated that hard unfeeling bigotry which is the worst of all tyranny, and which always springs up in associated bodies, be they Protestant or Romish, which have a sectarian character.

It is a beautiful description of the monastic life, that which the Count de Montalembert gives us; with its solitude and its quiet; its freedom from domestic cares and worldly anxieties; its continually recurring rounds of prayer; its hours of calm and cloudless contemplation; its silence and sober cheerfulness; its happy absence of the torments of ambition; its sociality, without the family's annoyances, where "all are blended," as he expresses it, "in the holy equality of a voluntary humility." (p. 56.) This is the poetry of religion. It might, indeed, be called *playing* at religion; for, to quote the words of St. Chrysostom, "they (the monks) wage war with the devil as if they were playing." He uses this expression to describe the cheerfulness, the freedom from all sadness, with which the monks carried on their holy warfare. It was, we must suppose, this factitious aspect of what was termed the religious life, or apparently holy beauty, that fascinated our own Dr. Johnson, when he thus spoke of it, as quoted by the Count de Montalembert: "I never read of a hermit, but in imagination I kiss his feet; never of a monastery, but I fall on my knees and kiss the pavement." There was much in good old Dr. Johnson's temperament to dispose him to look favourably upon monastic institutions, though we can hardly realize to ourselves his unwieldly form falling on bended knees to kiss the pavement! His constitutional melancholy, his strong natural superstition, evidenced by his prayers for his dead wife, will sufficiently account for his all but adoring reverence for monkhood. But there is another way of looking at the matter. If the whole system were a mistake, it was a fearful mistake, pernicious in time, and tremendous in respect to eternity. And in reference to this, we cannot do better than quote the words of the eloquent Bossuet, though a Romanist: "Place happiness where it ought to be, and it is the source of all good: place it where it ought not to be, and it is the source of all evil."

To discover the root from which the system sprang, which so speedily overran the whole of Christendom, we have only to cite the extravagant language used by its promoters in *regard to* its spiritual merit. "Give me," said St. Eloy to his

master, "this site, that I may construct there a ladder by which you and I shall mount to the celestial kingdom." Another devotee, Count d'Orlamunde, declared, "He who erects or repairs a monastery builds himself stairs to ascend to heaven." So completely had the monastic system taken possession of the Christian mind in the middle ages, that the word religion came to mean a religious Order; and to become a *religieux, entrer en religion,* signified to enter into a monastery or a nunnery. St. Bernard was himself the father of 160 monasteries. From the seventh to the ninth century the Benedictines "gave to the church" Belgium, England, Germany, and Scandinavia. The remains of monasteries are to be found everywhere in Ireland and Scotland. So universal, indeed, had these institutions become throughout Europe at the time of the Reformation, that one-fifth, we think it was, of the whole soil was then in their possession.

The Count de Montalembert is greatly concerned that so widely ramified a system, realizing, in his imagination, the true ideal of heaven upon earth,* should have been subject, as it has been in these later (he would not say more enlightened) ages, to so general a condemnation, and to so ruthless an overthrow. "It has been calculated that in five years, between 1830 and 1835, three thousand monasteries have disappeared from the face of Europe. In the kingdom of Portugal alone three hundred were destroyed under the regency of Don Pedro; two hundred others were drowned in the blood of Poland; and now the destruction is further spreading through that garden of the Papacy—Italy itself."

It would be hardly possible to realize what our own England was in respect to monasteries at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. Almost every peculiarly fertile spot, where there was fat pasture and plenty of water for fish, was occupied by one of them. Their ruins, or antique remains, testify to this day to their gigantic structures. And what was their social effect upon the neighbourhood around? That the monks were eminently charitable in the sense of alms-giving—prayers and alms being their two great functions—no one will deny. But what did this create? A host of beggars; so that monkery and mendicancy walked hand in hand. So completely was the land overrun with them upon the suppression of the monasteries, that they had to be put down by force of law. By acts passed in the reign of Henry VIII., every penalty, except that of imprisonment, was enacted against a beggar. Almsgiving to a beggar was made a crime. A mendicant was to be whipped for the first offence, branded for the second, and hanged for the third. In the reign of Edward VI.,

* "There is nothing which approaches nearer to heaven than a monastery inhabited by monks who have willingly separated themselves from the world." (p. 274.)

beggars might be seized on as slaves, and for a second offence might be held in slavery by any one who would claim them *for life*. Immense numbers of sturdy beggars were hanged in the reign of Elizabeth. These were severe measures, undoubtedly; but they serve to show at this day what an Egyptian plague social vermin had become. The fact is, the monasteries kept alive a turbulent class of sturdy beggars, who, finding themselves fed gratuitously, would not work. It may, indeed, be laid down as a rule, that all societies of idlers are an evil; and they exaggerate the evil, when they maintain a host of mendicants around them. For, as Dr. Vicesimus Knox has well said, "though to feed and clothe the poor is good, to teach them how to feed and clothe themselves is better."

"Monasteries were never intended," the Count de Montalembert tells us, "to collect the invalids of the world" (p. 25); and yet, on the same page, he speaks of the ruin of the religious orders as a "public calamity," on the ground of the frightful increase of suicides, as testified each year by the criminal statistics. If they did not exist as hospitals, what social good did they exist for? They certainly did not help to provide the State with useful subjects. And this the Count thinks to be the greatest of their alleged crimes; namely, that they "stayed the progress of population." But here he steals a triumph from political economy. "We know," he says, "what has become of that reproach now-a-days. It is almost as if God had waited till the lie had achieved its triumph to overwhelm it with confusion." But we have a better authority than Malthus. "In the multitude of people," says Scripture, "is the king's honour; but in the want of people is the destruction of the prince." (Prov. xiv. 28.)

There is one thing the Count fully admits, and that is the general corruption of the secular clergy in the middle ages. Nor does he deny, but most sternly condemns, the corruption and degeneracy into which the Regulars fell in the period just preceding the Reformation. This is his testimony with regard to the first: "There were more saints, more monks, more believers than in our days; but I do not hesitate to say there were fewer priests; I mean, good priests. Yes, the secular clergy in the middle ages were less pure, less exemplary than ours; the episcopate less respectable, and the spiritual authority of the Holy See less sovereign than now." (p. 210.) With respect to the second, though he admits the ultimate corruption, he defends the system. According to him, the monks were, in their early uncorrupted state, the greatest benefactors that ever set foot upon the soil of Europe. They saved the decaying remains of the Roman empire. They restrained and humanized the northern barbarians, who had made their desolating inroads upon it. "The Roman empire without the barbarians," to use his own words, "was an abyss of servitude

and corruption. The barbarians without the monks were chaos. The barbarians and the monks united recreated a world which was to be called Christendom." (p. 281.)

No doubt there is some truth in this. The monks, like megatheriums, cleared forests: they were the pioneers of civilization among comparative savages, doing its rough work. But in all this, we may easily believe they were unconscious instruments in the hands of a higher Power. Their ultimate object, there can be little question, was the aggrandisement of their own Order by the subjugation of mankind to their system of pseudo-Christianity; and in this they succeeded to such an extent that they became at last, by the confession of our author, "the greatest corporation and the largest landholder" in Europe. No wonder that with this they became corrupt. It was but the natural law of wealth. The only question is, whether this consequence was merely an accident, or whether it was the inherent genuine tendency of their association. No one who knows human nature need be at any loss for the answer.

What is the definition of a monk, as given by the Count de Montalembert? "A monk is a Christian who puts himself apart from the world in order more surely to work out his salvation." Again: "To make sure of his salvation, he would do more than is necessary to save him." (p. 288.) Here we have the *inner* principle of the system enunciated. This stamps it at once as a system of self-righteousness, and of hideous presumption towards God. Such a statement as the one we have quoted betrays a fearful ignorance of the evangelical system of justification for a sinner, as clearly set forth in the Bible, and of the whole grounds of evangelical obedience. The true Christian obeys the law of God *because he is saved,* not *in order to be saved;* and so far from having the presumption to think that he can do more than is necessary, when he has done all, he acknowledges himself an unprofitable servant.

But the crucial test of monastic Christianity was its triumph over the laws of nature and of God in respect to the married life. In order to accomplish this, the monk separated himself from his kind, shut himself up in a cell, wore a hair shirt, subjected himself to long fasts, and to macerations and flagellations so severe and shocking that even to read of them is no light penance; in some cases ate grass like an ox, instead of cooked food; and when he had thus ceased to be human, imagined himself to be divine! A strange perversion in a man's vision must have taken place before he could discern the slightest correspondence between this kind of religion and the life presented in the New Testament, enjoined by St. Paul, and exemplified by St. Peter.

The Count de Montalembert thinks that he finds examples of the monastic life in such persons as Samuel, Elisha, the Recha-

was of Christian origin. The rites of Cybele existed long before Christianity was introduced; and when her worship, originally intended in honour of virginity, passed into Greece, we know what it became, practically, in the Eleusinian Mysteries. The monks of later times were but the "Corybantes" under a Christian name. The Romans had also their "Vestals," till they were abolished by Theodosius the Great. Virgin purity is to be honoured; but where has God ever enjoined the virgin state as of religious obligation? And how can a human quality—one, too, which may be the mere accident of birth or of condition—form a proper ground or object of worship?

The crowning condemnation of the monastic system is, that it sets up an antagonism between the religious and the social virtues. What greater insult could be offered to every natural feeling than the case of Euphrosyne, which is thus recorded with marked approbation by the Count de Montalembert:—"There was the beautiful and learned Euphrosyne, who, at eighteen, deserted her father and her husband; and to escape the better from their search, obtained admission, by concealing her sex, into a monastery, where she remained thirty-eight years without leaving her cell." (p. 326.) The following are the terms in which the author speaks of these violations of the law alike of Nature and of duty. (Euphrosyne, it must be borne in mind, was a noble Roman lady, who left her husband for a monastery, and practised a lie to conceal her sex—she, a woman, living for thirty-eight years among men as a man!) "This is," he says, "a type of innocent vocations, and the first detailed and authentic example of those contests between the cloister and the family, which have been renewed during so many centuries for the glory of God and the salvation of souls." (p. 330.)

If we are to admit the principle upon which Monasticism is based, we must believe that one half of human kind, and that the gentler half, are essentially polluting. Even to speak to a woman without the presence of a third person, was treated by St. Columbanus as a crime, to be punished either by "two days fasting on bread and water," or, which was the other alternative, "two hundred blows." "He who, on a journey, should have slept under the same roof with a woman, had to fast three days on bread and water," or to accept of its equivalent in "three hundred blows." (Vol. ii. p. 450.) Thus woman, who was given of God to man to be his companion in life, and the preserver, not the corrupter, of his purity, and whose society, under the wise restrictions of the moral law, has a softening and refining influence, is treated by the monkish institute as a creature always to be avoided—a pollution to man, of whom she is the better part. How can this possibly be the case,

when marriage was instituted in the time of man's innocency? It was the Almighty Himself, not Adam, who said, "It is not good that the man should be alone." An inspired apostle has also pronounced that marriage is "honourable in all." Woman, beyond denial, has some peculiar weaknesses; and when she once becomes corrupted, is turned into the most vicious and corrupting of creatures; but woman, when the weak points of her character have been corrected by judicious training, and she has been taught to know her proper place and duty relatively to man, so that, instead of yielding to, she guards against those dispositions and tendencies which would destroy his happiness by destroying his reposeful confidence, is the very best blessing a God of mercy has bestowed upon man, constituted as is his nature, and trying as is now his condition. It is she, in fact, who throws sunshine, with all its healthiness, into his earthly existence. But her moral security, as well as his, lies in the married state; and when to the amenities there are added the sanctities of domestic life, there is no higher or happier state for them both on earth. It is a ferocism to represent that state as impure; it is purity itself to the sexes, because it is *oneness*, as Adam, before Eve was taken out of him, was one and perfect. The marriage state was re-enacted under Christian sanctions, not placed under a ban, as being the great conservator of man's chastity; and he who forbids it, as in anywise corrupting to man, forbids what God has enjoined, and charges man's Maker with folly.

"It is better to have scandal than a lie," our author says in one place; and in this we quite agree with him. But if the monks are not very much belied, anything but strict chastity prevailed among them, in the proper sense of the word. History has charged them with even unnatural crimes; and at all events there is too much ground for believing that the exclamation of St. Francis d'Assisi was founded in some sinister experience. "Alas!" he exclaimed, "at the moment when God forbad us wives, Satan has, I fear, given us sisters."

At the distance of only thirty years from the death of the founder of the Franciscan Order, we find Bonaventura, the greatest of his successors in the government of that Order, thus addressing his provincial ministers: "The indolence of our brethren is laying open the path to every vice. They are immersed in carnal repose. They roam up and down everywhere, burthening every place in which they come. So importunate are their demands, and such their rapacity, that it has become no less terrible to fall in with them than with so many robbers. So sumptuous is the structure of their magnificent buildings, as to bring us all into discredit. So frequently are they involved in those culpable intimacies which our rule prohibits, that suspicion, scandal, and reproach have

been excited against us." What, too, is the confession of another ardent admirer of St. Francis? In the 22nd book of the *Paradiso,* the Milton of Italy writes:—

"So soft is flesh of mortals, that on earth
A good beginning doth no longer last
Than while an oak may bring its fruit to birth.
Peter began his convent without gold
Or silver,—I built mine by prayer and fast;—
Humility for Francis won a fold.
If thou reflect how each began, then view
To what an end doth such beginning lead,
Thou'lt see the white assume the darkest hue.
Jordan driven backward, and the sea, that fled
At God's command, were miracles indeed
Greater than those here needful." (*Wright's Dante.*)

The man who can defend a system that is so spoken of by its own adherents and admirers, must be acknowledged, at the least, to possess all the chivalry of a Don Quixote.

But even in the lowest depth there is a lower deep. Our author tells us, approvingly, of some "who reduced themselves in some degree to the state of savages, and who were surnamed *Browsers* (βοσκοι), because they had no other food than the mountain herbs, which they cut every morning with a knife, and ate uncooked." (p. 342.) What, too, is the description given of himself by Francis Xavier, the famed missionary of the Jesuits? He describes himself as a man (to use his own forcible language) "so abhorred of the earth, that the very vermin which crawled over him loathed their wretched fare!"

How does the true monk pass his days? What is the kind of life to which he addicts himself? Behold him! Clad in the coarsest of garments, he stands apart from his kind, an austere and solitary man; with a heart formed for tenderness like others, yet mortifying even his best affections; his time is passed in a round of petty observances or uncommanded austerities; the service he renders is mechanical rather than reasonable—passive rather than spontaneous; he has given up his own will only to be subject to the will of another, neither wiser nor better than himself; he resorts to strange unnatural means of tormenting his senses by way of subduing his own natural passions; though his spirit craves for sympathy, he cuts himself off from all communion with others; to become a saint, he makes himself a voluntary pauper; he imposes upon himself absolute silence; he is dead while he lives. Now, contrast with this the married clergyman, as he may often be seen in happy England, in his modest home and amidst his family—his wife as a fruitful vine upon the walls of his house, and his children like olive branches round about his table. He aims at no *perfection* but such as may consist with the

every-day cares, the common duties, and the innocent delights of our social existence; he is a man among men; his sympathies go forth freely to all around him; he lives loving and beloved; now communing with the wife of his bosom; now prattling with his children; now visiting and holding intercourse with the poor; his religious duties are all free-will services; he is awake to every gentle voice, alive to each cheerful aspect of nature and to each beauty of art; he responds alike to every divine impulse and to every human feeling; he rejoices in gladness and thankfulness of heart for all God's goodness; he sanctifies every gift, every relation, every act, by the word of God and prayer; no chord is unstrung in his renewed spirit, but all blend together in harmonies as rich as David's lyre, and as varied as the vicissitudes of daily life; he lives the Christian, and dies the humble believing sinner, amid the tears of his beloved ones and the benedictions of his people.

Need we ask which of these two modes of life is the Christian? or which is the preferable? Heart and soul all Protestants will be in favour of the married minister's. He who will be wiser than his Maker is only presumptuously wise. He who will seek to become divine by ceasing to be human, will become at best a distorted prodigy. A monk is but a piece of *truncated* Humanity. Ambiguous as are some passages of Scripture, obscure and indistinct as the line of Christian duty sometimes appears, he who can discern things that differ will have no difficulty in discerning that self-adoring pride is the fountain-spring of Monasticism, whether in the Heathen or in the Christian world. But, as he is a martyr who has the spirit of a martyr, so evangelical perfection consists in having the disposedness of mind which, even while participating in all the joys and sorrows of life, and deeply affected by them, prepares the man to renounce the one or endure the other at any moment in a cheerful compliance with the will of God, when the act is evidently seen to be for the glory of Christ.

There is yet another difference between the married clergy of the church of England and the unmarried clergy of the church of Rome. The celibate state of the latter makes them, wherever they are, conspirators against the rest of mankind, more attached to their Order than to their country, adherents to Rome under all governments, without one feeling left in their bosoms that can interfere with their exclusive allegiance to the Papacy. Living among us, but not of us,—valuing their privileges as citizens only for furthering their ends as churchmen,—men in whom the heart of the husband and the feelings of the father never throb,—necessarily selfish from having none but themselves to care for,—teachers of duties which they cannot themselves practise,—conversant through the confessional with all that is polluting and nought that is refining in human

nature,—the priesthood of the church of Rome remains to this day a gloomy and loathsome monument of the triumph of Superstition over Religion and of perverted sentiment over pure Christianity.

Such being the wide gulf that separates between the Monastic system and Evangelical Christianity—such the difference in their origin, their principles, their tendencies, and their fruits, what can account for the unbounded admiration with which the monastic life is viewed by the Count de Montalembert? The Count, though Papist he be, is an ardent lover of freedom. He has lately signalized himself in the cause of Poland, where the Latin, and not the Greek, church (though this, of course, has nothing to do with it) is the national faith. He would have liberty established all over the world; and what he maintains is, that never was there such true freedom among people as in the middle ages, when the Romish church reigned sole and supreme. His proof of it is the free discussion of all questions then permitted,* and the free comments allowed upon persons and things, of which the Satires written by the different Orders of monks one upon another are evidence. There is partial truth in this, but it is not the whole truth. The Church of Rome allowed every subject to be discussed, *except her own pretensions*, and upon the one condition, that her own authority was not called in question. The freedom then enjoyed, therefore, was just that sort of chained freedom which Dr. Arnold, in his Lectures on Modern History, has so truly described: "To a man not in earnest the principle of church authority is a very endurable shackle. He does homage to it once for all, and is then free." This is a sort of freedom which no Protestant would value. For it is the freedom only of a squirrel in a cage, going for ever round and round in a curriculum of rotatory action and of fancied progress within its own moving yet stationary prison-house, insensible to the narrowness of the world in which it is cooped up.

There was one respect, however, in which, beyond doubt, the monks, in their earlier days, were the friends and defenders of freedom. They stepped in between the barbarian conquerors of Southern Europe and their subjects; they restrained them from violence; they assuaged the savageness of incivilized warfare; they pleaded for the equality of all men in the sight of Heaven; and so checked the wantonness of tyranny, and the excesses of autocratic power. They also, in the middle ages, curbed the too often arbitrary domination of feudal chiefs over their vassals, by taking the part of the weak against the strong; upheld municipal independence; withstood usurpation in temporal authorities; asserted the rights of local govern-

* "They drew back from no enquiry, from no discussion; they gloried in placing boldness on a level with faith." (Vol. ii. p. 396.)

ment for the people; and in this way, we admit, we owe many of the privileges which we enjoy to this day, to the dogged resistance offered to encroachments on liberty by those corporate defenders of freedom—the monks of the West.

We can hardly wonder, then, that the Count de Montalembert, who has felt in his own person the iron pressure of the absolute despotism that now holds sway over France, where even to publish an independent opinion is a crime, and where no free discussion is allowed, should sigh after the freedom enjoyed by the members of his own church in the middle ages, and should contemplate with regret the decadence of monastic institutions which were the great bulwarks of that freedom. There is something touching—more touching, perhaps, than true—in the lamentations which he pours forth over this supposed great general calamity—over its completeness and hopelessness, and in the description which he gives of the state of things that has supervened. The following is one of the most powerful passages in his work:—

"Of all the human institutions which have been assailed or overthrown by revolution, something has always endured. Monarchy, although weakened and shaken, has proved that it can reassume its ascendancy. Nobility, although everywhere, except in England, annulled and degraded, still exists amongst us. Industrial and mercantile wealth has never been more powerful. The ancient monastic orders alone have been condemned to perish without return. The only one of all the institutions of the past which has been totally spoiled and annihilated, is the most useful and the most legitimate of all—the only one which never had an abuse of strength, or conquest of violence, to reproach itself with,—but which all the violences and tyrannies have joined hands to annihilate by the vilest of aggressions, that which kills in order to rob." (Vol. i. pp. 165, 166.)

If we are to believe the noble author, there never was a more felicitous condition upon earth than the state of things in the middle ages—generally spoken of as the "dark ages." When he touches upon this, he glows into eloquence of a high order. Here is his description of that period:—

"Religion governed all; but she stifled nothing. She was not banished into a corner of society, immured within the enclosure of her own temples, or of individual conscience. On the contrary, she was invited to animate, enlighten, and penetrate everything with the spirit of life. . . . The memory of Redemption, of that debt contracted towards God by the race which was redeemed on Calvary, mingled with everything, and was to be found in all institutions, in all monuments, and at certain moments, in all hearts. The victory of charity over selfishness, of humility over pride, of spirit over flesh, of all that is elevated in our nature over all the ignoble and impure elements included in it, was as frequent as human weakness permitted. That victory is never complete here below; but we can affirm without fear that it never was approached so closely, since the first great defi-

ance thrown down, by the establishment of Christianity, to the triumph of evil in the world, never, perhaps, has the empire of the devil been so much shaken and contested." (pp. 207, 208.)

This is a zealous Romanist's view, it must be remembered, of the spiritual triumphs, the beneficence, and all pervading Christian principles of his own church, when the sacerdotal power was supreme, when her despotism was unquestioned, and when the Monkish Orders were the petty monarchs of society under the headship of the supreme Pontiff. It would be easy to set in contrast to this (we have already done so in part) the other side of the picture, as sketched even by illustrious members of the Romish communion, living in those same middle ages. Baronius himself might be called in to fill up the sketch. But we have not space. Nor is it needful. Monasticism has become a thing of the past. It is now fast disappearing from the face of Europe. Though its dying wick flickers up here and there, it is shorn both of its splendours and its power. The monks were in their day the reserve force of the Church of Rome. They saved her in many a critical moment, when her hold upon mankind had declined, and her overthrow seemed inevitable. But great as were their services, not to Christianity, but to the reigning Church, we cannot contemplate these Orders with the complacency with which the Count de Montalembert views them. Still less can we view the condition of things that existed in the middle ages as the *beau ideal* of healthy Christian life. Evils which we now can hardly realize, even in conception, were then rampant; and though there was an exhibition of stern vigour in the monks, which had its effect even upon civilians in that age, it is impossible not to think such a picture as the following overdrawn:—

"All was war, dangers and tempests in the Church as in the State; but all was likewise strong, robust, and vivacious; everything bore the impression of strife and life. On one side faith—a faith sincere, naïve, simple and vigorous, without hypocrisy, as without insolence; neither servile nor narrow-minded; exhibiting every day the imposing spectacle of strength in humility; on the other, institutions militant and manful, which, amid a thousand defects, had the admirable virtue of creating men, not valets or pious eunuchs, and which, one and all, ordained these men to action, to sacrifice, and to continual exertions." (p. 213.)

What, it is evident, has imposed most powerfully upon the imagination of the Count de Montalembert, was the energy of purpose, the decision of self-denial, the dauntlessness of courage, which the monks everywhere exhibited in carrying out their self-chosen mission. "I do not hesitate to affirm," he says, "that the monks, the true monks of the great ages of the Church, are the representatives of manhood under its most pure and most energetic form—of manhood intellectual and moral—of

manhood, in some manner condensed by celibacy, protesting against all vulgarity and baseness, condemning itself to efforts more great, sustained, and profound, than are excited by any worldly career; and by this means making of earth only a stepping-stone to heaven, and of life but a long series of victories." (p. 27.)

Doubtless there was something morally grand in the victories which the good among the monks achieved over themselves, and in the fearless boldness with which they went to the task of subduing others; neither shrinking from pain nor trembling at power. In this they contrast favourably with our more feeble temporizing age, when the advice, "Spare thyself," is much more frequently acted on than "Deny thyself." We are a prudent generation. Our first thought is, how to act so as to bring no reproach, suffering, or loss upon ourselves. The god of our worship is *success*. Hence there is too much truth in this observation of our author: "We live in an age of concessions, of failures, of base compliances with everything that has the appearance of strength. Fear is our Queen." (p. 227.) The monks, on the contrary, achieved self-conquest by giving up everything of their own from the outset of their career. This girded them with a high moral power for other difficult achievements. To him who feels he has nothing to lose, it is comparatively easy to dare. There was a moral discipline, beyond question, in the monastic institute, which operated with tonic force to create a robust, hardy, dauntless character. The monastery was at once a school of originality and a school of energy. Within it were developed those qualities in Religionists which now make men great in the field of battle, and win lasting renown for our Nelsons and our Wellingtons. Much of this we have lost under the more effeminate *regime* of our day; and the distinctive character of our age, in consequence, is weakness, and not strength; timidity, not boldness; indecision, not daring; self-saving, and not self-sacrificing. On this point we go to some extent with the Count de Montalembert when he says, "I remain sadly impressed by the spectacle of the debasement, feebleness, and growing impotence of the individual man of modern society. Does not this stupid and servile apotheosis of the wisdom and power of the masses menace us with the extinction at once of every personal initiative, and of all strong originality, and with the annihilation at the same time of all the proud susceptibilities of the soul, and of the forces of public life?" (p. 221.) It cannot, we think, be denied, that a progressive empire of mediocrity marks our day, and threatens to become universal, if it be not stayed by the revival, in individuals, of high heroic christian principle.

The thing which, perhaps, above all others, stamps the *religious* spirit of our age in our own country, is the state of

vassalage in which christian men allow themselves to be held to *character*. This holds them in unconscious bondage to the world. Conventionality controuls them, rather than Christian principle. Under its influence, they continually sacrifice duty to a reputed respectability. It is not what they ought to *do*, but what will be *thought* of them, that is their governing consideration. Character is a high thing, doubtless; but, morally, to be above character is a higher. And it may be set down as certain that, unless a man is prepared to sacrifice his own reputation for prudence and right feeling, to abandon all worldly expectances, and to be forsaken, if it must be so, by every friend he has on earth, he has not that spirit in him which Christ so frequently insisted on as essential to His disciples. No one can assert that this spirit is common. It is quite possible for a man to have such respect for his own character as, in reality, to make a god of it, and to worship it, to the exclusion, practically, of the one true God of all worship. Every one, then, should take it as an axiom in Christian morals, that, unless he can subordinate even *character* to duty, he is no Christian.

Conventional morality, which is, generally speaking, only the world's finger-mark upon the pure page of Truth, is continually overlaying and obscuring the distinctions between the purely right and the expedient. Hence it comes to pass that the expedient gradually and imperceptibly supersedes the right in men's apprehensions, and rules, without their knowing it, their every action. It matters not, the world cares not one straw, what outward type of Christian profession men may take, whether the evangelical or any other, so long as their general course of conduct conforms with what is conventional. Conventional Christianity, we need hardly state, is that standard of Christianity which the world in any age has tacitly agreed to tolerate. It may be, and often is, totally different in one age or generation from what it was in another. We all know how very differently the evangelical system was spoken of and treated by men in general sixty years ago from what it is at present. It behoves all, therefore, who profess evangelical religion, to take good care that the conventional does not take the place of the true, and the ecclesiastical spirit (which is a widely different thing) substitute itself for the Christian. The monastic Orders are a warning to us in this respect. With much that was good in individuals of those Orders at the commencement, the spirit of the system soon superseded what was Christian, or overlaid it with such a thick coating of formality, that the fossilized self-righteousness which we now see in it was all that remained. Nothing is easier than for individuals to deceive themselves into self-satisfaction by a conventional Christianity. Because this attempered-to-the-age system of

life saves them from all practical difficulties, and from every kind of reproach injurious to their own character or interests, they will take to themselves the credit of being judicious and highly prudent men, forgetting that heart-discovering rebuke of the Great Master, "How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?" The world will ever be ready to confirm the deception; for "while thou doest well unto thyself, all men will speak well of thee."

It would be a great mistake to suppose that nothing of a positive kind can be learned from the history of the monks. There is a measure of truth in what the Count de Montalembert says of them, that "they had discovered the art of reconciling greatness of soul with humility, a tranquillized heart with an ardent mind, freedom and fulness of action with a minute and absolute submission to rule, ineffaceable traditions with an absence of all hereditary property, activity with peace, joy with labour, social life with solitude, the greatest moral force with the greatest material feebleness." (Vol. i. p. 77.) The incidental good effects of the system must ever be distinguished from the system itself. Little as we can agree in the view taken by the Count of the religious merits of the monastic institute, we must confess that it dwarfs our own generation of Christian men by the contrast. The Count de Montalembert has hit a blot in the character of our age. It cannot be denied that even men of professed Evangelical principles do not exhibit that high moral courage, that spirit of self-sacrifice, that superiority to the world's opinion, that readiness to brave all and to suffer all for Christ, and to achieve great objects, which their principles ought to inspire. In these points we may well take a lesson from the monks, unnatural and detestable as was the system of life which they established. If we have purer and better motives than they had, the proper effect of those motives should be to produce a *higher*, and not a *lower*, order of actions.

Of the heroism that will dare, and the patience that can suffer, simply for duty's sake, we confess, more in sorrow than in a spirit of cynicism, we see too little in our own day. Christians are all for keeping on good terms with the world and with one another; and hence, as one eloquent writer, (John Ruskin,) who is not afraid to speak what he thinks, has truly said, "The world, unquestioned by itself or by others, mingles with and overwhelms the small body of Christians,—legislates for them, moralizes for them, reasons for them; and though itself, of course, greatly and beneficently influenced by the association, and held much in check by the pretences to Christianity, yet undermines, in nearly the same degree, the sincerity and practical power of Christianity itself." The just ground for sur-

prise is, that professed Christian men can so delude themselves as to believe that they are true Christians, while they utterly ignore and disregard the principle which requires them "to lay down their lives one for another." This, whatever the monastic period may have been, is certainly not the heroic age of Christendom.

We have been so long accustomed to regard the monasteries as asylums for indolence and feebleness, for misanthropy and pusillanimity, for weak and melancholy hypochondriacs, and for men who could do nothing but fast and pray, that it is difficult to dispossess ourselves altogether of the idea. But whatever they were, they were not this; at least till, in later times, they became corrupted by what the Count de Montalembert terms the *commende*. The monks were, for the most part, made of stern stuff; and a life of resolute self-denial was probably much more frequently realized among them than modern thought is disposed to credit. Our own Ireland sent forth hosts of missionaries; and the monks of Ireland were, *par excellence*, the missionaries of the middle ages. In the recorded sentiments of such men as St. Columbanus of "green Erin," as well as St. Benedict of sunny Italy, there is much noble and true christian feeling, mixed up with weak and puerile superstitions that greatly mar its beauty; so that while, in their system, there was everything to avoid, in their characters there was much to admire.

It would be disingenuous and uncandid in us not to admit the excellence of many of the monks. There is hardly any person or book from which something may not be learned; and in reading or reviewing such a history as that before us, the endeavour, both of reader and reviewer, ought to be, to gather as many useful lessons as possible for the correction of their own conduct. The points most worthy of imitation in the monks, and in which they are a rebuke to the present generation, were, the honour they put upon manual labour, their noble superiority to the shame of external poverty, and their readiness to lay down their lives for each other. It was they who, after our Lord's example, taught *the dignity of toil*. We admire the monk who bent down and kissed the hard hands of the ploughmen, to show his tender respect for the noble marks of labour. We admire, too, the monk who said, "I am ready to die for justice." While, as to poverty, so far from being ashamed of it, they gloried in it, as conforming them the more perfectly to the earthly condition of Him whom they professed to take as their example. In all these respects, they put many real Christians of the present day to shame.

There is no opinion more injurious to the simplicity, the strength, and integrity of the Christian character, than the opinion, now so general, that dignity lies in worldly great-

ness, in some one or other of its forms. Hence all are aspiring after high place or distinction, usually at the cost of principle. True dignity consists, not in going *up*, but in voluntarily going *down*. And this is a truth which cannot be too much impressed upon the minds of men in the present day. The man who can voluntarily, and by his own act, put himself below others, does, in reality, put himself above others, however high they may be. This at once invests him with a noble independence, and renders him superior to those worldly influences by which others are held in thrall. Would that Christian men, in our day, could more generally act thus: spurious prudence, and cowardly compromise, and the snares of ambition, would then be at an end. We have come to treat toil as a degradation, and poverty as a shame, simply as poverty, instead of putting honour upon what is low; forgetting that it is by putting honour upon what is low, not upon what is high, we really exalt ourselves. In these particulars the monks have certainly shown us a more excellent way; and we shall all do well to remember that fine saying of St. Bernard's, "The friendship of the poor constitutes us the friends of kings; but the love of poverty makes kings of us."

One caution only is needed before we close our remarks upon "The Monks of the West." Many of the inmates of monasteries were, doubtless, sincerely good, though misled, men; but we must be careful not to conclude that, because there were good men living under the monastic system, *therefore* the system itself must be good. Christianity, as a system, would be good, even if every one who professed it were bad. Monasticism, as a system, would be bad, even if all who practised it were good. Its genius is essentially evil. It is an outrage upon nature, and a libel upon the Creator. Upon the fair face of Christianity it was an unsightly *fungus*, at which we now look with wonder. How it could have grown there, is a curious problem; but having been removed at the Reformation, we hope it may never re-appear. Viewed in its history, it is a standing proof of the subtle hallucinations of superstition, and of the mischievous folly into which religious man will fall whenever he presumes to be wiser than his Maker.

LIFE OF THE REV. J. SORTAIN, OF BRIGHTON.

Memorial of the Rev. Joseph Sortain, B.A., of Trinity College, Dublin. By B. M. Sortain. Nisbet & Co. 1861.

THE name of Sortain is associated with Brighton in the recollections of no inconsiderable number both of churchmen and dis-

senters. For nearly thirty years he occupied a sort of neutral ground on which they met. To say that he was a dissenter without being a sectarian, would be to do him scanty justice; nor would it express our meaning. He was a dissenter upon principle—the highest principle; for the points on which he differed from the church of England were so few, and the sacrifices he made for them so many, that, as we read this memoir, we feel that his conformity, much as we might have desired it, would have deprived him of one chief ground of our respect. There seems to have been nothing controversial in his nature; he lived in a turbulent period for the church of Christ; but his calm and gentle spirit allowed him to take no distinguished part as an assailant of any of the various forms of error which arose within the church of England or beyond its pale. He was made for friendship, and his intimate friends appear to have been selected, with a disdainful indifference to the claims of party, from churchmen or nonconformists; and he had the happy lot, not only to be equally esteemed on both sides, but to have had in an equal degree the confidence of both. Such a mind, it must be evident, could not have been a commanding one. It belongs to good men who pass thus happily through life, amidst the applause of all parties, to be loved rather than revered. Their fame, and, what is more important, their influence, does not long survive them. Those foot-prints which they impress upon the sands of time are soon effaced. They found no school; they lead no great revolutions in the world of thought; they accomplish no great reformations in the church of Christ. The heroic element is wanting, and yet their piety may be sincere and their virtues many. This was the case with Mr. Sortain; and his talents, if not of the highest order, were beyond the average of those even of distinguished men.

Joseph Sortain was of Huguenot ancestry. He was born at Clifton, in 1809, and baptized in the parish church by Mr. Hensman, the revered and now patriarchal incumbent; but his father held office as the treasurer of Lady Huntingdon's chapel at Bristol; and this circumstance decided the son's condition through life. At his birth he was solemnly dedicated to God by both his parents, and to His service in the ministry; with this design he was educated, and his parents gave the preference to the ministry of the Established Church. But as he was placed under the care of Dr. Ryland, at the Baptist College at Bristol, and then removed to Cheshunt College, which is managed by Lady Huntingdon's trustees, it followed almost of course that he should become a minister in Lady Huntingdon's connexion. His parents would have removed him from thence to the University of Cambridge; but his scruples had now gained strength, and he was entered at Trinity College, Dublin, *the English universities* not being then open to dissenters.

And yet the partition which separated him from the national church could scarcely have been slighter. With judicious treatment his objections might, perhaps, have disappeared. They rested chiefly on the baptismal service, and the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian creed. "In short," writes his amiable biographer, "he felt the impossibility of declaring his agreement with everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer. To the liturgy of the church he was much attached. From the general character of her doctrines and her articles he did not dissent; nor did he, at all events in later years, object to the episcopal form of government. Through life he honoured and loved the church of England as a chief instrument for spreading the gospel at home and abroad, and always declared that as a layman he could have made a good churchman." And with a degree of charity and modesty equally rare and enviable, he often regretted that he could not conscientiously regard some of her services in the same light as did so many of the most eminent Christians, for whose opinions he yet cherished the highest respect, and whose piety he venerated.

He passed through college with great credit—the warm friend of Archer Butler, Doctor Sadlier, and other distinguished men; and might have aspired to a fellowship, had his conscience allowed him to conform. But an integrity entitled to the highest respect impeded his preferment, and obliged him to cast in his lot with seceders from the church of England. The question of conformity was again and again revolved in his anxious mind. His warmest friends were episcopalians, and it appears clear to us that his affections were on the side of the church of England. All his secular interests lay undoubtedly in that direction. "I am now determined," he writes in his diary, "to throw in my lot with the dissenters; and after serious consideration, I think I must continue with that body of Christians with whom I have been mostly associated. I prefer their anxiety to win souls to the Saviour by acting on the principle which I feel persuaded the apostle Paul adopted, when he conformed to some circumstances of the Jewish ritual, though he felt convinced of the abrogation of the whole. I like the church liturgy after one or two excisions, and I have seen and felt the advantages of it."

With these feelings, he entered, in 1832, on his ministry at Brighton, as a pastor of the North Street chapel, where he remained through life. If we feel that the church of England lost much in losing such a man, let it be considered, on the other hand, that not a little was gained to the cause of Christian catholicity. Sortain among dissenting ministers, without bitterness, without prejudice, without sectarianism, firm in his dissent, and to some extent undoubtedly a sufferer in conse-

quence (for to such a mind, keenly alive to the most delicate sentiments, even the difference of social position was not unfelt), presented an example which some who say much about self-sacrifice would do well to ponder. He entered upon his work with a due sense of its importance. The Rev. George Clayton, who was present at the Ordination service, says, "To the grand truths of the gospel, which he then professed before many witnesses, Mr. Sortain showed through the whole of his ministry an unswerving constancy of attachment, and failed not to enunciate them in all his public discourses, in his own peculiar yet felicitous manner. Of him it might be said that he held fast the beginning of his confidence steadfast unto the end, and with equal truth, though with characteristic humility, he might have said, 'I have kept the faith.'"

We believe this testimony will be confirmed by that of all who attended Mr. Sortain's ministry, whether as stated hearers or occasional visitants; and the latter class formed no small part of his crowded congregation. Yet, at the period when his ministry began, his religion was yet unripe, and his sermons, no doubt, partook of his deficiencies. This, however, must be the character both of the piety and of the public discourses of most young ministers; and it will generally show itself to the greatest disadvantage in those who are afterwards to occupy the most exalted stations as able ministers of the New Testament. Such men will be, from the first, original. They will take with them into the pulpit their own thoughts, their own experience, their own views of divine truth, rather than those they have learned from books, or gathered from the lips of older men. And therefore it is that great wisdom and forbearance should be exercised by Christians of age and experience in hearing young ministers, and forming a judgment on their discourses. There is a sad propensity, in all congregations which have been blessed with a faithful and successful ministry, either to a blind and weak admiration of the young preacher, on the one hand, or to a blameable severity upon the other. Some admire the freshness of his eloquence; others despise him for the want of that which only years can give. The young are charmed with novelty; the elders are displeased because, in fact, they are further on in the Christian race than their teacher. Their kind words and gentle admonitions, hinted rather than expressed, in the spirit of Christian courtesy, a spirit which is never inconsistent with true Christian fidelity, might have had the happiest effects. Studied neglect, a pew habitually deserted when the curate preaches, and a contemptuous disparagement of his sermons, have depressed the heart of many a young, devoted minister; and disposed not a few, in our time, to retire from the society of evangelical families, and look for sympathy amongst Trac-

tarians, or in the society of churchmen of the school of the Essayists and German theologians.

We have been led into these remarks upon the immature theology of young ministers in general, from observing that Mr. Sortain, about this time, drew up a series of rules, as recommended by Doddridge and others, for self-examination. One, for instance, entitled *Religion*, "to be read carefully and with prayer every Saturday morning;" a second, on *Conduct*, "to be read with prayer every Wednesday morning;" and others follow on *Study*, and *Preparation for the Pulpit*. To these latter we see no objection where they facilitate intellectual progress; and they may always be laid aside when the habits they are intended to establish are formed, and their utility has ceased. Rules for spiritual conduct, except a few perhaps of the most obvious character, stand upon other grounds, and their utility is much more questionable. Systematic self-examination is a difficult task; and, as understood by Doddridge, is not, as it seems to us, in strict accordance with the free and happy spirit of the gospel. Those who insist upon it in their public ministry most frequently, are not often those who fully set forth Christ as the end of the law for righteousness; and those who practise it most rigidly are in general those who have not yet come to a full age in Christ. Young Christians frequently set out with some rules or discipline of this kind; experienced ones seldom have recourse to them. They have learned that the tribunal does not exist within themselves before which the cause can be fairly heard. Judge, witnesses, and jury, all are partial, all incompetent; sometimes sinfully lenient, sometimes sinfully severe; sometimes acquitting where God condemns, sometimes making sad the heart which the Lord hath not made sad. So they carry the suit at once before the Mercy-seat, and leave it there with David's prayer: "Search me, O God, and know my heart; try me, and know my thoughts; and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting."

On the faintest suspicion of sin, a well-tried Christian learns to fly, and to fly at once, to the fountain always open for sin and uncleanness; and there he is both "washed and cleansed and sanctified in the name," that is, by the power, "of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." Not that the voice of conscience is despised. Conscience is a useful monitor, but not a court of ultimate appeal. We wish to avoid all appearance of extravagance, where extreme statements on either side of the question may easily be sustained by isolated texts of Scripture. No doubt there are circumstances under which even real Christians may be challenged "to examine themselves whether they be in the faith, to prove their own selves." But, as was the case with the Corinthians, these, in

general, are instances in which the conduct of the professor is so at variance with his creed, that even conscience, imperfect as it is, will at once condemn him, if he listen to its voice. To the burdened penitent, as well as to the anxious believer, we say, Go to the mercy-seat; go *at once* to the Great Advocate on high. In such a state as your's, rules for self-examination will bring neither peace nor purity. It will be well if they do not leave you a Pharisee, or a formalist. It will be well, indeed, if they make you nothing worse than a religious hypochondriac.

Besides several offers of good preferment in the church of England, Mr. Sortain was solicited by dissenting congregations, and by Lady Huntingdon's College at Cheshunt. He was invited to accept the pastoral charge of Lady Huntingdon's original chapel in Spa Fields, and to unite with it a tutorship at Cheshunt College. But his affection for his flock was warm, and it seems to have met with a grateful return on their part. He refused to leave them, but thought that, in addition to his ministerial work at Brighton, he could devote one or two days in the week to the work of a tutor or professor at Cheshunt. He made the rash attempt, and his health of course broke down. Indeed, he undertook what no college tutor could perform with justice either to himself or his pupils. One of his pupils describes a day's work. It began with a lecture on metaphysics, which is described as being "characterized by great comprehensiveness and depth of analysis, together with great beauty of expression." This is followed up, however, with a eulogy which it is difficult to read without a smile: "There was so much of poetry in his language, and of sympathetic feeling in his beaming countenance and flashing eye, that it was out of the question to suppose metaphysics a heavy and barren field of investigation." A class on mathematics followed; another on natural philosophy, with sundry experiments; this, again, by a lecture on the growth and origin of language. Then a class on logic; "the same deep interest," the writer tells us, "being given to all." We should rather say this was the *cramming system* in a degree of perfection unknown either at Oxford or Cambridge. But wherever practised, it must soon be fatal, both to the brain and intellect of the pupil, and to the health of the college lecturer.

Mr. Sortain was a man of letters, and his attainments were respectable, though we cannot rate them higher. His friendship with Mr. Harvey, the rector of Hornsey, and Mr. Boone, at that time incumbent of one of the Paddington churches, introduced him to the *British Critic*, to which, as well as occasionally to the *Edinburgh Review*, he was a contributor. His subjects were rather scientific than directly religious; though a wholesome tone of religious thought pervades them. He

contemplated something of a higher cast. In a letter to his friend Mr. Harvey, so long ago as 1834, he says, "I have been reading Baden Powell's pamphlet, and I still think it will afford me scope for study and useful strictures." He gave lectures on the Papal aggression; and it is to be regretted that he did not write more upon this and other great theological questions of the day. For his easy and rather redundant style, always elegant, though perhaps a little too ornate, would have made him popular with the mass of readers on whom more deeply-thinking men are lost. He wrote, also, a life of Lord Bacon for the Tract Society, and some lighter works; and he was prevailed on to publish a volume of sermons, which beyond the circle of his friends are not much known.

But the efforts of his pen would not have distinguished Mr. Sortain in the ranks of literature. He would merely have taken his place with the large class of men of education, who fill up their spare time by contributing to our current literature; who say well what they prepare for the public eye, and detain attention long enough to accomplish their object, which is not only to convey their meaning, but to make their readers feel the importance of the views they advocate. It is as a preacher that Mr. Sortain may claim to be considered as a superior man. The admiration of his hearers seems to us, we must own, extravagant. Mr. Justice Talfourd heard him preach on the behalf of a society for supporting Irish Scripture-readers, and wrote to him the same day, "although personally a stranger, to offer the expression of my thanks for the noble and generous eloquence with which you have to-day thrilled me. The fortunate accident of remaining for a Sunday at Brighton has enabled me to renew the intellectual enjoyment which I received last autumn on a similar occasion in your chapel, and to feel the influence of an eloquence which, even to one who has heard Robert Hall, is wholly unsurpassed." Mr. Thackeray, in the same strain, compliments him on being "the most accomplished orator he ever knew in his life." Sir James Stephen, with more discrimination, says:—"In the character of a preacher, Mr. Sortain is well known to me. His powers as a public speaker and expositor of abstruse or of popular truths, are exceedingly remarkable. He has in an eminent degree the rare talent of always exciting and keeping alive the interest of his auditors, not excepting those of them who can hardly be supposed to be qualified to follow the course of his argument, or entirely to understand his illustrations. This felicity of style is not attained by any vulgar arts, or by ministering to a corrupt taste for rhetorical ornaments. On the contrary, his discourse is uniformly chaste and simple. The power of it, considered as mere oratory, consists in the habit of descending sufficiently below the surface of things to awaken attention,

without going so far as to reach the region of obscurity—in always employing indigenous thoughts on topics in which it is impossible to be original—in great histrionic skill, as far as the gravity of the pulpit allows it—and in a constant earnestness and sincerity, without which the powers I have mentioned would be insufficient and worthless in the hands of a clergyman."

We heard Mr. Sortain only after his nerves were shattered, and his voice in the pulpit had become little more than an audible whisper, a year or two before his death; and it would be unkind, and indeed unjust, to correct these lofty eulogies by our own impressions. Nothing, however, remains from his pen which will lead the next generation to place him in the first rank of Christian orators. Indeed, Mrs. Sortain allows "that it has, perhaps, with truth been remarked, that nothing which Mr. Sortain ever printed gave a fair idea of his powers as an orator." Robert Hall wrote but little, but what he wrote was of the highest order of excellence. We have from his pen some of the best reviews, and several of the best sermons, viewed as specimens of pulpit eloquence, which the English language has produced for upwards of a century. His treatise on the Work of the Spirit (long since on the list of the Tract Society) has never been surpassed. Mr. Wilberforce, whose kindness to young men endears his memory to many who are now no longer young, once read to us the concluding passage in which "the gales of the spirit" are so exquisitely described as the seasons "when the believer should spread every sail and launch out into the deep of the Divine perfections;" adding the remark, that it had affected him as much as anything he had ever met with. His sermon on the "Sentiments proper for the present crisis" has no superior in declamatory, nor that "On modern infidelity" in argumentative, eloquence. It would be an affront to the just reputation of Mr. Sortain, to attempt a comparison of any of his writings with models such as these.

But there are higher attainments, and far more to be coveted, than those of the profoundest intellect, or the sublimest eloquence. For more than a quarter of a century Mr. Sortain was a consistent Christian, a faithful, and no doubt a successful, minister of Jesus Christ. His character was meek and gentle, and of overflowing tenderness and love. His letters to the young people of his bible class appear to us to be the most valuable part of the volume; and we do not wonder that children and young people loved him, for he appears to have loved them with an affection almost romantic. The Christian of experience, the tried and doubting Christian, the shrewd and battered man of the world; these belong to a class to whom Mr. Sortain's mission did not extend. It was his calling

rather to deal with gentle natures, and to guide them into the way of peace, and, like his Master, to carry the lambs in his bosom. It was not his vocation to lead the veterans and to cheer on the van of the great Christian army, and help them in the fiercer conflicts of the spiritual war. But his post, though less honourable, was well sustained, and he too has fought a good fight, and finished his course, and has now entered into the joy of his Lord.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PROFESSOR HAROLD BROWNE ON THE CAMBRIDGE THEOLOGICAL EXAMINATIONS.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—In the October Number of the Christian Observer there is a severe article on Cambridge Theological Examinations, with something like an insinuation against myself. Will you allow me a few words in reply? First, let me express my entire accordance with the sentiments of Dr. Vaughan, quoted by your contributor. I cordially agree with him in the belief that an extension of theological teaching in the universities would be far better, tending to produce a more catholic and enlightened spirit in our clergy, than the multiplication of local theological colleges.

Next, whilst I acknowledge the deficiency in amount of our present Cambridge teaching, having been myself always a zealous advocate for its increase, I must say, that your October article undervalues it. The lectures in many colleges are by no means confined to Paley and Greek Testament; and indeed, even if they were, thoroughly good Greek Testament lectures may embrace very extensive theological teaching. But, moreover, there are constantly public university lectures, by the four Divinity professors and the professor of Hebrew, in the Old and New Testaments, in church history, in Christian doctrine and the history of doctrine, in the controversy with the church of Rome, in the duties of a parish priest, &c. &c.

The real mischief is, that young men, instead of availing themselves of the helps afforded them, prefer to put off the study of divinity to the last possible moment, and then to "cram up," by the aid of a private tutor, that which of all things in the world is the most unsuited to the cramming process. Hence the wretched examinations too frequently passed by them, and the wonderful rapidity with which they forget all that they have so imperfectly acquired.

The statement that young men are obliged to go into the theological examination a few weeks after their B.A. degrees, is wholly unfounded. There are now two principal examinations for B.A. degree in the year, one in January and one in June; and there are also two theological examinations, one in April and one in October.

A graduate can choose his own time for going into the latter; he can put it off for as many years as he likes. The only restriction is that, *if he competes for honours* in theology, he must compete either in the first or the second year from his B.A. degree. If it were otherwise, we might have tutors of colleges competing with men who have just taken their B.A. degree. I have myself examined M.A.'s of twenty years standing; but, of course, not for honours.

As to the character of the examination itself, I am not concerned to deny that occasionally injudicious papers have been set. I never knew any examination anywhere, of which this might not be said. But the greatest care has been taken to select able men for examiners. The rule is, that two professors and four other persons elected by the senate shall examine every year. I have never yet heard the papers set by the professors objected to; therefore I will not defend them. Of the other examiners it may suffice to observe, that they have been selected from the ablest tutors of colleges, and other persons of the highest standing and best repute as Christians and divines in the university, and with special care that no theological party shall be allowed to preponderate. The present system has only been working since 1856, in which time there have been on the whole fifteen elected examiners. Several of them have already been chosen to important posts in the church,—*e. g.*, Mr. Gell, now bishop of Madras; Mr. Ellicott, now dean of Exeter; Mr. Lightfoot, now Hulsean professor of divinity, and chaplain to the Prince Consort; Mr. Purton, examining chaplain to the bishop of Worcester. There have been two out of the three tutors of Trinity; one of the tutors of St. John's; one tutor of Corpus; the others being distinguished Fellows of Trinity, King's, St. John's, and Corpus. What better can be done to secure good examinations than the appointment of good examiners?

And now for the specific charge that my book on the XXXIX. Articles is made a text-book. Let me say first, that I myself never examined in that subject. I have steadily refused to do so. The only persons whom I can remember as having examined in the Articles, are the bishop of Madras, Mr. T. T. Perowne, Mr. Barrett of King's, the dean of Exeter, and the late archdeacon Hardwick. They were men of very different shades of opinion; all, I am thankful to say, friends of my own; but none very likely to wish "to stamp my mind whole upon a section of the clergy." The first two have been generally considered, and probably the third also more or less, as belonging to the same school of theology with the Christian Observer, and so are not likely to be condemned by you. Dean Ellicott is justly praised by your contributor for his moderate views. There remains the late lamented archdeacon Hardwick, whose paper I remember, because I specially observed it, as the only one I had ever seen which could not possibly have been answered by a man who had read my book only. The real reason why questions may seem to be set from my book is, that my book is a larger book, and embraces a larger extent of subjects, than any other book on the Articles. No fair paper could possibly pluck a man who had fairly read my book. But we have no text-books in Cambridge. It really is a fact, that Cambridge is one of the very few schools of theology connected with the church of England, in which my book has not been adopted as a text-book.

Not only is it adopted in most English and Colonial theological colleges, but universally throughout the episcopal church of America; besides being very generally recommended by bishops' chaplains of opinions as different as the bishop of Exeter's and the late bishop of Durham's (bishop M. Villiers). Cambridge, then, is really the very last place chargeable with forcing my book on its students of theology. I repeat, that I myself never examine in the subject; I never recommend the book; and if any personal influence of mine has recommended it, it has been an influence wholly unknown to myself.

It is a great pity that, instead of fighting with imaginary grievances, your contributor did not point out the real defects of the theological education at Cambridge. Those amongst us who are anxiously desirous of seeing it extended and improved, would welcome any aid which was fairly given us in that direction.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your faithful servant,

E. HAROLD BROWNE,

Cambridge, Nov. 26, 1861. Norrisian Professor of Divinity.

[WE do not wish to reply to professor Harold Browne. The question between us is now fairly before our readers. Let it be decided upon its own merits. But as we seem to have been misunderstood, we think it due, both to the Professor and ourselves, to offer a few words in the way of explanation.

The Professor intimates that we have made something like an insinuation against himself. We can assure him that nothing was further from our thoughts, and we can only express our regret that he should have taken anything we said in this light. We protested against the method of examination pursued on the Thirty-nine Articles, and we added, "It is more properly an examination on professor Harold Browne's book on the Thirty-nine Articles;" a book from which, we went on to say, we differed on some points of doctrine. Surely there was nothing in this statement that can be fairly construed into an imputation on the author personally. If professor Harold Browne will do us the favour to refer to our Number for May, 1860, pages 342—344, he will find that we there explained more at large the reasons why we were dissatisfied with the theological training of the university, indeed of both our universities, and on what doctrinal points we thought his own work on the Articles defective or erroneous; but on reference, in neither of our papers—that of October last, or that of May, 1860—can we find anything personally offensive to professor Harold Browne. He himself places even in a stronger light than we did the fact, that a knowledge, not so much of the Articles themselves, as of his own view of the Articles, is essential for the success of every candidate for the *voluntary*. "No fair paper could possibly pluck a man *who had fairly read my book*." We contend that, as Butler says, "the Bible is, after all, what it is," so the Thirty-nine Articles are what they are; and it is an act of injustice both to the student, the university, and the church of England, to make the success of any candidate depend, not upon his knowledge of the Thirty-nine Articles as compared with Holy Scripture, but as viewed through the lens either of bishop Burnet, professor Harold Browne, or any other commentator. We repeat, what was well said

by Dr. Vaughan in May last before the University, "it is a resolute endeavour to stamp one man's mind whole upon a section of the clergy." Such must be the inevitable consequence. Though we would by no means be understood to imply that this is the design of the examiners, still less of professor Harold Browne.

With regard to the lectures of the different Divinity professors, we must repeat that, however excellent they may be, they are, as a matter of fact, of very little avail to nine-tenths of the students who pass through the university of Cambridge. Till they take their Bachelor's degree, they are, or ought to be, hard at work in daily preparation for their own college lectures, and for the final examination in the Senate-house. Then comes the *voluntary*, or theological examination, a few months after. No, says the Professor; not necessarily so; the student may postpone it for a year, or five years, if he likes; he may please himself. No doubt he may, if his friends are rich, or if he himself has been one of the few choice men who remain at college a young Bachelor rejoicing in a fellowship. He may take his time, and postpone his ordination till he is seven or eight and twenty. Boswell tells us, that when it was remarked in Johnson's company, "The law is open to every man," his answer was, "So is the London Tavern."

But, after all, we believe that there is no real difference between the Professor and ourselves. We are greatly dissatisfied with Cambridge as a school for the Christian ministry. We believe that professor Harold Browne, in our circumstances, would be just as much dissatisfied. He would feel that it is a bitter mockery to the candidates, who cannot obtain Orders until they have passed the examination, to tell them that they need be in no haste about it. He would feel with their parents, that it is a cruel thing to throw impediments in the way of their sons, whose expensive education is met in too many an instance by the sacrifice of many reasonable indulgences, if not necessities, of life, on the part of every other member of the family. Above all, he would feel—we are persuaded he now feels—that the examinations are not such as to direct the theological student to those great essential points, both of practice and doctrine, on which, under God, the efficiency of their future ministry depends. For our own parts, it is with the feeling of something like shame that we turn from the *curriculum* of some dissenting colleges, and contrast it with our own meagre and yet harassing theological examinations at either university.—EDITOR.]

REV. G. S. BULL ON THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—*The Congregational Union* met in October, at Birmingham. Four or five hundred ministers, of the Baptists, the Independents, and some of the lower offshoots of Methodism, with a considerable number of "secular" members, were then and there assembled. There was an unusual paucity, at their meetings, of purely religious subjects. The irreligion of the vast masses of the people, well

known to the Union, the means of getting at them so as to find an entrance for the gospel, and the dangerous character of the cheap serials, the need of deeper spirituality in the ministry, the dangers to ministers, arising from that *secularism and heresy* of which the late John Angell James so faithfully warned them, in his remarkable sermon on "The Rivulet Controversy,"—these, and similar vital topics, if touched at all, were only seen as *dissolving views*, quickly to pass away; and the great animating theme was an assault upon "The State Church," with a view to its dismemberment, and its being despoiled of its worldly possessions,—all, however, for its spiritual advantage! "The Dissenting Interest" very frequently arrogate to themselves, in juxtaposition with "The Establishment," the designation of "The *un-worldly* Church." How is this claim sustained? To that really un-worldly man, St. Paul, it was a matter of triumph and joy that he and his fellow Christians were deemed the very "offscouring of the earth"; and his claim, that "they sought not glory of men," was well sustained. So that the gospel might have free course and be glorified, Paul was satisfied. Not so the "un-worldly Church." They have the land all before them, where to choose their sphere of labour, none caring to molest them. They may, if they can, without let or hindrance, convert the whole population to the voluntary and congregational system; but all this does not suffice them. They claim, upon the census of 1851, on "Religious worship," to have nearly or quite half the people under their system; but, inconsistently enough, they refuse in the House of Commons, in 1860, to concur in a census of *the religious profession* of the people, which, had their claim been true, would have confirmed it. They writhed under the sarcasm of Sir Cornewall Lewis, and were put *hors de combat* by the emphatic and reiterated declarations of the Home Secretary and the Premier, in their places in Parliament, that the results of Mr. Horace Mann's Tables, as claimed and used by the dissenting interest, were utterly untrustworthy; accurate as to the figures, but deceptive as to *the mode* and *principle* of calculation. They stand, therefore, before the country denuded of their empty boast of numerical equality. Still, they are numerous and strong, and have every appliance of extension which they themselves approve; but all avails not to content them. Haman can have no peace so long as Mordecai sits in the gate. Let me not be deemed as bringing an accusation against the whole body of the dissenters. My firm belief is, that the really pious portion are utterly dissatisfied with these ebullitions of worldly ambition and envious strife; but they are carried away by the resistless current of agitation.

The Patriot newspaper, which was named as specially reporting for the Union, thus describes the Ovation of October, 1861:—

"The Union prospers. . . . . Something of the happy tone which pervaded these meetings may be owing to the key-note struck by the Rev. M. Bruce, of Huddersfield, who, with his usual sagacity, hit upon a theme opportune to the season—the Joy of the Christian Believer in his Strength. This was his theme; and, as an impulse to liberal enterprise and sacrifice, no happier subject could have been chosen."

Such an introduction would seem to prepare us for some plans of spiritual exertion for the salvation of the neglected thousands; and mention was made of an effort to erect one hundred chapels; but the

scene now moves on, and the promise of "liberal enterprise and sacrifice" seems to be invested with a purely political character. It is directed against "the Establishment." The Patriot continues:—

"Something, however, of the free and cheerful bearing, which we have remarked as a special characteristic of this meeting, is owing to the stimulus given to the religious emotions of ministers and laymen by the contemplation of those noble confessors of 1662, whose magnanimity and heroism nonconformists are expected to celebrate by some fitting bi-centenary memorial next year—1862. . . . . Mr. Joshua Wilson's paper next day urged the scheme of raising one hundred chapels; but to Dr. VAUGHAN was committed the duty of exhibiting the moral grandeur of the men of 1662. The calm majesty of his (Dr. Vaughan's) attitude and utterance, the sweetness and rhythm of his language, combined to make Dr. Vaughan's oration a master-piece of sacred eloquence."

A few flowers of this sacred eloquence are worthy to be preserved:—

"We English Independents have not to wait for the light that has come to us from a Carlyle (?), in order that we might be able to estimate the character of that great Englishman Oliver Cromwell."

Of that "great Englishman" it may be necessary that we should known something more than even Carlyle or Macaulay may please to tell us. Our next "flower" is fragrant indeed:—

"I do not think that we Nonconformists are altogether out of court in this Church Establishment, and I do not think we should allow ourselves to be put there. Tithes are a tax upon the land. Every tax upon land ends in a tax upon the loaf—the loaf of the poor man and the rich man, of the Dissenter and of the Conformist; and as long as I am taxed for what is called a National Church, I have a right to look to the whereabouts of that church."

Whether I consider this as the deliberate utterance of an educated man, or regard the composition and character of the assembly who cheered him, I am both surprised and ashamed. Had the doctor's master-piece of sacred eloquence been addressed to any of the better informed artisans of these manufacturing towns, they would have left his presence with disgust. I would venture to find him a ploughman who would reply to his *argument* of "the loaf," by telling him that if the tithe were sold or taken away to-morrow, the farmer's rent would be raised at the next rent day to the full amount of the tithe removed; but, as for the loaf, its price would remain the same. Such declamation as this seemed suited to the *penetration* of his audience, and was loudly cheered; it was the very gem of his effusion, and the Patriot includes it in his closing remark, saying, "The impression upon the audience was overpowering."

If the dissenting interest desire to rise in the social scale, they must put forward sounder reasoners than Dr. Vaughan as their mouthpiece, or else their Congregational Union must show otherwise than by "loud cheers," that they are able to detect the fallacy of such frothy eloquence. False and childish as the statement is, it has been repeated by the advocates of "the dissenting interest" so incontinently, that the eloquent and accomplished Dr. Vaughan allows himself to retail it as sound and true. Dr. Vaughan's "loaf" will not soon be forgotten.

Those who watch the press of the dissenting interest, have not failed to observe, that the commemoration of the heroes of 1662 is found, upon closer examination, to be environed with considerable difficulties; for those "martyrs" accepted a church-state connection,

which is now denounced as inconsistent with *pure* and undefiled religion; and yet the "ejected" ones were emphatically "puritans."

True, the advocates of the Union would seem to say, the ejected were not congregationalists for the most part, but chiefly episcopalians or presbyterians; but this is passed over as a trifling matter.

The Liberator quotes the Patriot thus: "What is proposed to be commemorated and honoured, is not everything they believed, or everything they did, or their opinions on Christian doctrine or ecclesiastical polity, but simply the fact, that they obeyed their personal conscientious convictions at a terrible sacrifice; that they became seceders and nonconformists in spite of an attachment to the principle of an establishment, and with but little repugnance to a moderate episcopacy, *because* they would not subscribe to what they did not believe, use offices which they deemed unscriptural," &c. &c.; and it is added, "no one body of Christians can fairly claim them, in a strictly denominational sense, as their forefathers."

It seems, then, that the heroes of 1662 are ecclesiastical nondescripts, and have no legitimate successors; but the Patriot has quite justified the present generation of churchmen, who subscribe to what they *do* believe, and use offices which they deem scriptural, or not unscriptural, and who have not now to deal with the "priestly pretentions" of 1662, nor, since the *Toleration Act*, with a "system breathing an exclusive and schismatical spirit." Had the 2000 heroes lived in 1861-2, they would have generally, according to this showing, continued in their freeholds and parishes, a few *Brownists* excepted. It is clear that some of the "interest" comprehend this fact, and have therefore turned their earnest attention to an enterprise of the most uncharitable character, namely, that of impugning the sincerity, and discrediting the Christian character, of what are called *the evangelical clergy*. It is well known to these political religionists, that the stronghold of the evangelical clergy is in the large towns and populous districts, where the "dissenting interest" has also its chief influence. Dr. Vaughan, in his "master-piece" speech, thus discourses:—"The revival of religion in the Church of England during the last half-century, has been of a marvellous effect." "About forty years ago, the pious episcopalians who felt the want of an evangelical ministry, had to go for the most part in search of it to dissenting chapels. We had large accessions to our places of worship from that circumstance; *but that state of things has passed away.*" "But for that (the revival), by this time, three-fourths of the people of England would have been nonconformists. The evangelical clergy of England have saved the Church of England, thus far; but then, at what cost have they done it? (*Hear, hear.*) Why, their principles as evangelical clergymen, the very principles that were held by the puritan clergymen of 1662, *oblige us* to look *with painful feelings* upon the assent and consent they are *compelled* to give."

Was ever any insinuation more uncharitable than this? It is not peculiar to Dr. Vaughan; it is the theme of all the tirades that are now issuing from this quarter. Surely it may be said to Dr. Vaughan, "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth." These men have a certain theory about state connection with the church, and about endowments.

They seem to assume that theory and themselves to be infallible. The church they demand to have severed from the state; the endowments they demand to have secularized. They will agitate for this, and use every imaginable effort to influence electors and members of the Commons to effect it. They begin their work by attempting to present the evangelical clergy to the electors and others, as a body of most insincere, if not perjured men, who cling to the Church of England with falsehood on their lips, and a lie in their right hand. If the charge means anything, it means this:—This most unchristian and sectarian attempt to bring into suspicion and discredit that body of men in the Church of England, who, as Dr. Vaughan asserts, "have saved the Church of England thus far," and have prevented nonconformists from pervading "three-fourths of the people of England," is as transparent as it is lamentable.

And yet, strange to tell, if Dr. Vaughan has attempted to *poison* the public mind against us, he has unintentionally provided the antidote. The following is his own deliberate view of that sort of church-membership which he himself can approve and espouse.

In the "master-piece" speech above quoted, this remarkable passage occurs, and it is well worth a careful perusal. Referring to the restoration and the 2000 ejected ministers, he said of church membership:—

"I suppose all of us have more or less to observe things which we should not have ourselves originated. I apprehend that when a thoughtful man connects himself with any religious body, he finds some things there that he would not have put there. *But then he takes his ground there, because of the great principles which he does approve;* and the church of his choice is not that (church) because it is in all respects such as he would have shaped, but because it comes nearest to his impression of what a New Testament church should be."

Why may not the evangelical clergy be allowed to pass under this *code* of Dr. Vaughan as honest men?

They have not, like the puritan incumbents referred to by Dr. Vaughan, been required, as he said, "to unsay the controversies of their whole lives," or "to write themselves down as apostates" from their principles. The assent and consent which they have given can extend only to those truths and usages which are not, in their convictions, contrary to the word of God. "There may be things" in the Prayer Book "that they would not have put there," (as Dr. Vaughan said,) "things which they would not have originated," things "not in all respects such as they would have shaped them;" but they adhere to the church of England, "because of the great principles which they do approve."

Dr. Vaughan, however, would thus allure us to escape from our alleged embarrassment, and to embrace the voluntary system. Referring to the bi-centenary *collections*, he said:—

"I trust that not only superannuated ministers, but that the class of pastors who have to labour amid comparatively small churches will not be overlooked. I think that there ought to be something done in a very decided way to endeavour to bring the churches to a right apprehension of the claims of ministerial labour. Our voluntary principle, I know, comes out in this respect *in many cases most nobly;* but there are cases where I sometimes see it, and I must frankly tell you, *I feel utterly ashamed of it.* Now, we ought to have *a Reform Bill here.*" . . . "There should be an effort made to secure a more adequate maintenance by our churches of *the humbler class of pastors.* Let that be, and you will soon find a *change* for the better." "I am pleading for those who cannot speak for themselves."

Surely this is remarkable. Dr. Vaughan reminds me very forcibly of the fable of the fox that left his tail behind him in a trap, and "agitated" for his species to be docked of theirs, that they might pattern with himself. Certainly, if any of our brethren are not disposed to embrace voluntaryism, they may be fairly excused till Dr. Vaughan's new "Reform Bill" has passed the Congregational Parliament, and until some assurance has been given for its better working in the smaller churches, and among "the humbler class of pastors," who will doubtless appreciate the condescension of Dr. Vaughan in thus kindly patronising them.

Space forbids me to enlarge upon this topic, as the works of the late Mr. J. Angell James and others would well enable me to do.

No Papal conclave, in the assertion of absolute infallibility, could possibly outstrip the pretensions of these theorizing gentlemen. *Roma locuta est, causa finita est.* Their historical references are garbled or partial; their arguments—that of the loaf to wit—are inconclusive and absurd; their spirit towards opponents is, for its uncharitableness, almost without parallel, and for inconsistency not often rivalled. The bombast of their literary organ is simply laughable. Dr. Vaughan rises; "the calm majesty of his attitude and utterance, the sweetness and rhythm of his language"—"a masterpiece of sacred eloquence!"

But we have more yet to come. The first tract, I believe, for the bi-centenary agitation has appeared, dedicated to Mr. Samuel Morley, in which we have this unctuous passage:—"Laud led the way to the scaffold, and king Charles soon followed him, and afterwards there began to reign *a real king*, a thorough man all over, or, as Carlyle would call him, *a sort* of DEMI-GOD—OLIVER CROMWELL." The writer of this bi-centenary Tract ("Our Ejected Ministers"), Mr. T. C. Hine, pours out in the preface a libation to Mr. Morley's *wealth* and worth, which it would be a greater honour to him to refuse with disgust than to accept with satisfaction.

What, then, remains? That we pray for patience; that we labour for peace; that we prepare for a conflict which we cannot now refuse to engage in; and that, by disabusing the public mind, instructing it in the truth, and by perseverance in our own useful work, we prove to the electors of Britain, at the coming general election, that the church of their forefathers is worthy to be defended from the ruthless assaults of its unscrupulous and implacable foes.

Yours faithfully,

St. Thomas's, Birmingham; Dec. 14, 1861. G. S. BULL.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

The Work of God in Italy: detailing the Revival and Spread of Evangelical Truth in that Kingdom. By the Rev. W. Owen. London: John F. Shaw and Co., Paternoster Row. 1862.—The desire, now so general, for a knowledge of the work now going on in Italy,—

for some account of its success, and for a general and comprehensive view of the field open for the spread of the gospel, is, to a very great extent, satisfied by the information contained in this work.

To many the book will be of more than ordinary interest. Much has been done, but very much yet remains to be accomplished. Whatever else has been done, the distribution of the Scriptures will surely produce great results. "Our Waldensian brethren in Turin passed through the press an edition of 2000 copies of Diodati's Testament. As the government of Italy has refrained from noticing this breach of an unjust law, the work of printing the Bible may now be expected to proceed in Italy without interruption." The whole number of copies of the Scriptures sold in Italy during the year 1860 has been 24,000. This fact alone proves that Italy is arousing from the spiritual sleep in which she has been ever since Alaric laid Rome in ashes. We have no room for details, and refer our readers with pleasure to a very interesting and well-written book, and full of information.

Another work, in three volumes, on the Acts of the Apostles, deserves at least a short notice. This is, *An Exposition on the Acts of the Apostles, by the Rev. John Fawcett, M.A., late Incumbent of St. Cuthbert, Carlisle. Hatchard, London.*—This exposition, in the form of lectures or sermons, was preached many years ago, and had it been printed at the time, would probably have been as popular as the lectures of Mr. Blunt of Chelsea, of which, indeed, it frequently reminds us. It will still be acceptable to the many surviving friends of the excellent author, whose reputation in his day was great, and whose memory is still revered in the north of England. They are "wholesome words," wisely fitted together by one who was no mean preacher of the truth, nor one unblessed in his labours. We cannot read them without asking ourselves whether the pulpit has made any real progress in the last thirty years. And we are not sure that the candid reader of these volumes would make an affirmative reply. We cannot say that our style is simpler, or our thoughts deeper, or that we diverge less frequently from the plain high-road of text and context. We are more ingenious, and more elaborate, and seem to be more original,—and yet in most cases, it is but seeming after all.

Autobiography of Miss Cordelia Knight, Lady Companion to the Princess Charlotte of Wales. With Extracts from her Journals and Anecdote-books. 2 Vols. Allan and Co.—To the lovers of scandal these volumes will be a rich treat. Envious republicans, if they should fall into the hands of any such, may find them a savoury morsel. The rest of the world will receive them with that indifferent curiosity which leads us all to take a certain interest in the domestic habits of royalty. We needed nothing to convince us that George the Fourth was a heartless profligate, and his daughter, the princess Charlotte, the idol of the nation, a cruelly-injured girl. And these are the facts which Miss Knight has made it her business to record. She was the confidential attendant upon the princess, and we doubt the propriety of any person in her situation taking notes of the proceedings of the family into which she is admitted, not as a spy, but as a companion. We hear many complaints that governesses are not treated with proper consideration; perhaps one reason may be a want of discretion on

their part. For ourselves, we can only say, that we should be sorry to have a Miss Knight in our family, whatever her *accomplishments*.

Memorials of Serjeant W. J. Marjouram, R.A. Edited by Serjeant W. White, R.A. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1861.—These memoirs are very interesting, not to say entertaining; and display, moreover, in the subject of them, a great degree of manliness, generosity, and humble dependance upon God. The work consists chiefly of extracts from Serjeant Marjouram's diary. It is edited by Serjeant White, the preface being written by Miss Marsh, with her usual piety and good feeling.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE Prince Consort is dead, and the Queen of England is a widow. In this abrupt and melancholy form the sad tidings have gone forth, which have covered the land with mourning, and overwhelmed it with the deepest distress. After a few days' illness—a severe cold, followed by fever—Prince Albert has been taken from us. He expired at Windsor Castle, on Saturday the 14th of December. Happily, he was conscious to the last, and the Queen, the Prince of Wales, the Princess Alice, and others of the royal family, stood round his bed, and received his farewell look of love. He was attended by the ablest physicians, but the summons had arrived; all human power was in vain; and his spirit returned to God who gave it.

England has only once felt a sorrow to be compared with this. When the Princess Charlotte died, the grief of the nation was perhaps more passionate; now it is more deep and still. When it was made known that she lay a corpse, with her new-born infant in her cold embrace, the nation felt that its fondest hopes indeed had withered in the bud; the personal character of the princess, her youthful domestic trials, too well known, and her recent happy marriage, threw a sentiment of inexpressible tenderness over the anguish of a mourning people. But in public life she had taken no share; what she might have been as a sovereign, was all conjecture. The direct succession to the throne was lost in her; and her personal qualities had secured a nation's love. The loss was bitterly felt, and none dreamed, then, how God would graciously repair it. Yet he was preparing the way for brighter scenes in this very calamity. He was about to raise up in Victoria a sovereign, as much superior in every great quality to the Princess Charlotte, as she herself to the court in which she lived, and the parents from whom she drew her breath. But now we have lost a prince, in the midst of life, and scarcely beyond the full maturity of manhood, who has been for one and twenty years the guide and stay of our beloved sovereign. In grieving for Prince Albert, we are grieving for our Queen. For that whole period she has been the most popular of all our English sovereigns, and the most revered. Popularity has been purchased by no artifice, no affected

condescension. There has not been a single instance in which the throne has sacrificed its dignity to humour a faction or a mob; not one in which it has become the patron or the instrument of a party in the state. Never has it lagged behind in an age of progress; never has it, with injudicious haste, urged on the restlessness which mistakes a mere love of change for social progress. And we know that the wisdom of Queen Victoria has been aided by the wisdom of her consort. He shared, we have been aware, in all her counsels; how much he contributed to sustain her in her difficulties and in the pressing anxieties of state, we may, perhaps, conjecture; but the whole is known only to herself, and to herself never fully known till now. Never was a foreigner so popular in England; though popularity feebly expresses the admiration and respect he had secured from all classes; and never did a foreigner more thoroughly comprehend either the duties of his own position in his adopted country, or the genius and character of the people amongst whom he had made his home. His remains were consigned to the grave with as little parade as was consistent with his high estate, at Windsor, in Wolsey's tomb house, now used as the royal vault, on Monday the 23rd. The day was everywhere observed with the utmost solemnity. Church and chapel were open, and crowds of every class, attired in deep mourning, filled the houses of prayer, to testify their reverence for departed worth and virtue; and above all, in many thousand instances, to pray for our beloved sovereign, in that solemn hour of her anguish. Let it not be forgotten, when the first burst of feeling has passed, that it is our duty to intercede withal for the nation at large, that a call so solemn, a chastisement so unlooked for, may impress on us the nearness of eternity, and the vanity of all things without an interest in the kingdom of God. That interest, we humbly trust, the Prince Consort had secured. The nation has presented few instances of a happier household than that of which he was the husband and the father. Nowhere have the domestic virtues shone more brightly than in the Palace, for it has been a family in which the Bible was not forgotten; night and morning, it is said, the most illustrious pair in the realm, whatever their engagements, read together some portion of the word of God. May that word now cheer a bereaved widow with consolations such as spring from no other source!

With aching hearts we turn away from the sad, though not unprofitable scene, but only to look upon another, where our sorrow is mixed up with just indignation. The outrage of the American frigate, San Jacinto, on Her Majesty's mail steamer, the Trent, is known by this time to half the world. The news of it reached England just as our last number was in the press. A month is a long interval now; and events crowd on with hurrying pace. We need not repeat a story which has brought the flush of righteous anger into the calmest face, and united England almost to a man in the determination to protect, at whatever cost, the honour of our flag, or in other words the safety of the British Empire. For a nation which submits to such outrages invites a repetition of them, and provokes aggressions which can terminate only in one result, her final ruin.

We have now, at the close of the month, the American version of

the affair, which agrees in every particular with the statement made, on their return to England, by the captain of the Trent, and the officer in charge of the mails on behalf of the British government. Instead of the usual blank cartridge, the Trent was brought to, first by a cannon shot, then by a shell, both fired across her bows, but falling near her. This alone was insolent, it was an outrage on the ordinary courtesy of all civilized nations. The packet was then boarded by an officer, who demanded the persons of two gentlemen, Messrs. Slidell and Mason, with their secretaries, who were passengers coming, it was understood, as commissioners from the Southern states to the English government and to that of France. They had embarked at a neutral port, and were received as ordinary passengers in their private character. The commander of the Trent most properly refused to give them up; on which the lieutenant who had been sent on board made a signal, and a second boat, filled with marines armed with cutlasses and bayonets, came on board. Resistance was useless, and under an indignant protest on our part, the passengers were forcibly removed, but not without a display of violence towards Miss Slidell, which might have, and probably would have, terminated in bloodshed, but for the heroic conduct of the English commander, who threw himself between her and the bayonets of the marines. Whatever may be said of the right of search, it is now clear, after a full discussion on both sides of the Atlantic, that a gross outrage was perpetrated. Instructions were immediately sent out to Lord Lyons, the British ambassador at New York, the purport of which is well understood, though not officially made public. He will demand an apology from the American government, and the immediate restitution of the commissioners. If this be refused, he will return home, and we see no alternative before us but a war with the Federal States.

In the meantime, Captain Wilkes, of the San Jacinto, has been received with acclamations both at New York and Boston; a subscription and a public dinner are but the least important parts of the ovation he receives—he is the hero of the day. The House of Representatives has passed a resolution applauding his conduct. The board which controls the navy has done the same. The newspapers, of course, which now govern the government, are loud in their applause; and the ignorant mob are imposed upon by the assurance that England, whatever she may feel, will not dare to resent the injury.

Such is the dismal prospect with which the year opens. Peace and war vibrate in the balance; and in all probability a few days will decide the momentous issue. There is something terrible in the quiet with which it is expected. There is no excitement, no discussion; for there is no difference of opinion amongst us. Every man loathes the war; yet if America persists, all see that it is inevitable. The national repose arises from a perfect consciousness that might and right are both on our side. Our naval and military preparations are hurried on; the guards are on their way to Canada; and the result is left with Him who orders all things, both in heaven and earth, according to the counsel of His own will.

What we write at any time may have little weight in national affairs: at present, in determining this quarrel, it can have none. The decision will have been made before these pages meet the reader's eye.

Yet we must record our solemn conviction, that if England has sinned at all, it has been on the side of too much forbearance. We have been too much afraid of wounding American sensibility, too forbearing to her preposterous arrogance. Homely rebukes, kindly but firmly given, might have spared both nations the horrors of war—a war of uncertain duration, but of inexpressible wretchedness to us; and, we can have no doubt, both of wretchedness and disgrace to her. For some time past we have noticed with regret the apologetic tone even of the religious press in speaking of America, and their censures of all who have not sufficiently respected her ridiculous pride and national vanity. Why is the vanity of a nation to be respected, when that of an individual is to be reproved? Where is the Christian fidelity of this? By what authority is the distinction drawn? Had we but shown half the sincerity and plain dealing in speaking of America, its arrogance and bluster, its contemptuous disregard of the rights of other nations, and especially of our own, which we have used in speaking of every continental nation, and which every continental nation habitually makes use of towards us, we should have stood upon a much happier footing. Our forbearance has been construed into pusillanimity; we have given up everything to the spoiled child, and America really thought that we were afraid.

These are the times, no doubt, for action; but not the less are these the times for prayer. Before the first week in January has closed, the solemn issue will, as we have said, in all probability have been determined. May it still be peace. But be it peace or war, our duty is the same. The week set apart for prayer, by an invitation issued from the Evangelical Alliance, but bearing, too, the signatures of a great number of excellent men who are not members of that association, will, we have no doubt, be kept with more than usual devoutness. Whether He who ruleth on high is about to reveal Himself as the God of battles or as the God of peace, our duty and our privilege is the same,—to pray for our enemies; amongst whom, let it not be forgotten, should the sore judgment of war be let loose, many thousands are to be found, hurried on by a violence over which they have no controul; brethren still, who are one with us in the bonds which no war can break asunder. This is our duty. Our privilege is to abide under the shadow of the Almighty till this storm be over passed. God is our refuge and strength; a very present help in the time of trouble.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE subject to which *An Old Subscriber* requests us once more to direct our attention, has been well weighed, with the assistance of several parties of great experience, more competent to judge than we can profess to be; and they strongly dissuade us from attempting the change which he thinks would contribute so much to our advantage.

In compliance with our fixed rule of admitting nothing intentionally, not written for the "Observer," we must again decline papers read before Clerical Associations. *We have one on hand* read at P——h, which we should have returned, but *that we cannot make out* the direction of the writer.

THE

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CONSISTENT WALKING A CONSEQUENCE OF HOLY TRUSTING.

We set forth in a former Paper the grounds of encouragement which we may derive in entering upon another year, from the appeal of Jehovah to Abram—"When Abram was ninety years old and nine, the Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am the Almighty God; walk before me and be thou perfect." None could then anticipate that, ere the New Year dawned upon us, events would occur, so startling and so solemn, as to proclaim with fresh power the oft-repeated warning, "Boast not thyself of to-morrow; for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth." Desolation has entered our palaces, and bereavement has created in the heart of our beloved Sovereign a void which none but the Almighty can fill, and withdrawn a support which none but He can supply. We have lost one who had regulated with the most careful solicitude the Royal home and household; who had discharged with the most scrupulous exactitude and untiring affection the duties of the Consort of our Queen; and who, with marvellous discretion, had shared the burthens and guided the counsels of the Sovereign. This loss has come upon us most unexpectedly, and, according to human judgment, at a most unfavourable crisis; but is it not thus that God is ever dealing with us? He cuts short the lives which we deem most precious, and breaks the staffs upon which we are leaning with the utmost confidence; He often does this, too, at the moment which seems to us most inopportune; and the very voice which sounds forth from these dark clouds of the immediate presence of Jehovah is surely this, "I am the Almighty God." Nations as well as individuals must learn the lessons of Divine teaching, and be brought to rest in simple, child-like confidence upon the unerring wisdom, the unfailing power, and the inexhaustible love of God. "Some put their trust in

chariots, and some in horses; but we will remember the name of the Lord our God:" "Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the Lord his God."

We recur, then, to the subject of the *encouragement* to be derived from the consideration of God as the Almighty God with quickened interest, and may be allowed, in addition to what has been already said, to urge the following practical points in connexion with it.

First. Let this attribute form the subject of deep and prolonged meditation. There are abundant materials for such meditation in the Word of God, and it will be found profitable, in our ordinary daily perusal of the Holy Scriptures, to have before our minds some specific point for illustration and investigation each time we read through the sacred volume. The habit of many is thus to read the Bible carefully through once in each year, or perhaps the Old Testament once and the New Testament twice in that period. This year, then, let the attributes of God be a prominent object to our minds, and we shall be surprised to see how every page of history, and prophecy, and sacred poem combines to set forth in the clearest and most glorious light the nature of that God who, although He dwelleth in the light which none can approach unto, is thus fully manifested to our view, and whom to know is life eternal.

The work to which God Himself appeals, as giving the strongest evidence of Almighty power, is that of creation. "Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance? Lift up your eyes on high, and behold who hath created these things, that bringeth out their host by number: he calleth them all by names by the greatness of his might, for that he is strong in power. The everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth." The same evidence of omnipotence is dwelt upon when the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind. The connection between omnipotence and creation being thus laid down, it is instructive to follow out in our meditations the remarkable way in which this is everywhere presented for the encouragement of God's people. "Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help; whose hope is in the Lord his God, which made heaven and earth, the sea and all that therein is." "Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth." Our meditations upon God's word will show us that there is scarcely a position in which we can be placed in which our trust in God may not be thus confirmed. The Psalmist sees here a proof of God's faithfulness, "Thy faithfulness is unto all generations. Thou hast established the earth, and it abideth;" and of His care for His servants, "Praise him, ye heavens of heavens,

and ye waters that be above the heavens ... for he commanded, and they were created. ... He also exalteth the horn of his people, the praise of all his saints; even of the children of Israel, a people near unto him."* The prosperity of the church is assured by like language: "Thus saith the Lord, thy Redeemer, and he that formed thee from the womb, I am the Lord that maketh all things; that stretcheth forth the heavens alone; that spreadeth abroad the earth by myself .... That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure; even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid."† So, also, the punishment and destruction of the church's enemies: "Hearken unto me, O Jacob and Israel, my called: I am he; I am the first, I also am the last. Mine hand also hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand hath spanned the heavens; when I call unto them, they stand up together ... The Lord hath loved him, He will do his pleasure on Babylon, and His arm shall be on the Chaldeans."‡ These are a few of the many instances which an observant perusal of the Scriptures will give us of the way in which God brings his attribute of Omnipotence, as evidenced in the creation, to bear upon all His dispensations with man. We can understand in some imperfect way how the Almighty One was glorified when He said, "Let there be light, and there was light;" when "He spake and it was done, he commanded and the world stood fast." Faith is the evidence of things not seen; and by the visible display of His power God would have us confirm our trust in that which is secret and unseen. But God is only to be known as He is traced out by careful search in His revelation of Himself; and it is to be feared that such careful search is neglected by a generation which is too fond of ease, or too absorbed by occupation, to give more than minutes in the place of hours to the prayerful study of the Bible. And yet both interest and duty demand this at our hands; the real happiness of the rational creature is identified with the glory of the Creator, the more nearly we can, by the Holy Spirit's teaching, come to know God as He is, the more securely and the more happily shall we commend ourselves to the controul and keeping of our Almighty God; and when God has been pleased to place in our hands the inestimable deposit of revealed truth, every principle of obedience and of gratitude is involved in our fitting improvement of that sacred trust.

Secondly. When the mind has been exercised and enlightened by meditation upon God's exhibition of His own power in His Word, then faith will follow up and improve its fresh perception of the Divine perfections, by pleading them in

* Compare Isaiah xl. 26—31. † Compare Is. xlv. 11—13; Jer. xxxiii. 2—5.
‡ Compare Jer. li. 12—16; Zech. xii. 1—3.

prayer. We have seen how God's power operates in enlarging and strengthening our expectations of answers to our prayers: but in addition to this, the same consideration should act as a motive to prayer, and prompt us to more diligent and continual applications to the Almighty God. The subject, in fact, should be viewed in the light of duty, as well as of comfort. For we are not to look upon God and the wonders of His revelation, as we gaze upon some beautiful painting, simply in the spirit of admiration; but we are to improve every aspect of the Divine character by personal application, in the way of praise or prayer or active duty. Especially have the servants of God found it right to make the omnipotence of God the ground-work of their earnest pleadings at the throne of grace. Nehemiah seems to have caught the spirit of the Scriptures, to which reference has been made, when he commenced his fervent prayer with the words, "Thou, even thou art Lord alone; Thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens with all their host, the earth and all things that are therein, the seas and all that is therein, and thou preservest them all . . . Now therefore our God, the great, the mighty and the terrible God, who keepest covenant and mercy, let not all the trouble seem little before thee, that hath come upon us." Thus there should be found in our prayers that matter and those arguments, with which God Himself has supplied us. We may in our pleadings remind Him of what He has done, implore fresh manifestations of His almighty power, and even suggest the dishonour which might result to His great name and to His attribute of Omnipotence, if there be even the semblance of failure in the developement of His plans and the fulfilment of His counsels, with respect to His church and people. Such was the prayer of Moses, "Remember thy servants . . . lest the land, whence thou broughtest us out, say, Because the Lord was not able to bring them into the land, which he promised them . . . hath he brought them out to slay them in the wilderness." The soul that thus realizes God as the Almighty God, will find it good thus to commune with Him upon the unfailing ground of His own attributes.

II. The appeal of God to Abram contains DIRECTION as well as encouragement; in other words, it places before us consistent walking as the necessary consequence of holy trusting. "Walk before me and be thou perfect," is the charge founded upon God's revelation of Himself as the Almighty God. Thus, under the Patriarchal and Levitical dispensations, as well as under the Christian, God called His people to the very highest degree of spiritual holiness. "I am the Lord your God; ye shall therefore sanctify yourselves, and ye shall be holy; for I am holy."

This is not the place to enter into the abstract question of the possible attainment, in our earthly state, of absolute and

sinless perfection, as held by some portions of the Christian church; it would seem as though each man's knowledge of his own heart would determine sufficiently that point. We are met, however, in this appeal of God to Abram, by the injunction, "Be thou *perfect;*" and to this charge from God's own mouth we must attach some clear and definite meaning. Now, there are several of the Old Testament saints, whom the record of holy Scripture sets forth as *perfect;* thus it is written, "Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God." "The Lord said unto Satan, Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man." The same testimony is borne to David. "It came to pass, when Solomon was old, that his wives turned away his heart after other gods, and his heart was not perfect with the Lord his God, as was the heart of David his father." Of Asa we read, "Asa's heart was perfect with the Lord all his days." And Hezekiah, in one of the most solemn moments of his life, turning his face to the wall and praying to the Lord, could appeal to the heart-searching One and say, "I beseech thee, O Lord, remember now how I have walked before thee in truth and with a perfect heart." With these instances of those whom God's word describes as perfect, we at once reach the negative conclusion, that whatever the term comprehends, it is not used of sinless perfection. Noah offended God by grievous sin when he was upwards of six hundred years old, and during the whole of that period had had remarkable experience of God's grace and power, and for a hundred and twenty years had been the selected "preacher of righteousness" to the generation which was fast filling up the measure of its iniquity. David's sins are painful to refer to, and were also committed after long and intimate acquaintance with God, and after he had been "the man who was raised up on high, the anointed of the God of Jacob, and the sweet psalmist of Israel, by whom the Spirit of the Lord spake, and God's word was in his tongue." Job failed in self-righteousness and hard thoughts of God. Asa, in ungovernable rage, cast into prison the seer that warned him of his inconsistency, and in the season of sickness trusted in his physicians and sought not to the Lord. Hezekiah, too, "in the business of the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon, who sent unto him to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land, was left of God to try him;" and his heart was lifted up with pride, and the temporal judgments of God were denounced against his house and country. It is one of the excellencies of the Holy Scriptures, that in their severe truthfulness they record the failings as well as the graces of God's distinguished servants; were it not so, we should feel that we were reading the lives of ideal men, too far removed from our own state and

temperament to be our models and examples. As it is, we perceive that the saints of the Old Testament were men of like passions and infirmities with ourselves, waging an unequal war against the world, the flesh, and the devil; triumphing, indeed, in the end, because God maintained their cause, yet not so as to come out unscathed from the conflict, but bearing wounds and scars which testify to the weakness of man's fallen nature in the very best and noblest of Adam's sons.

We must not be content, however, with a negative view of this perfection to which God calls Abram; what the expression does not mean should simply help us in ascertaining what it does mean. No doubt the charge, "Walk before me, and be thou perfect," summons us to the highest degree of spirituality and holiness which man is capable of reaching through the indwelling power of the Holy Ghost; and herein would seem to be comprised—

1. *Earnest sincerity* in God's service.—The words "walking before God," specially involve this. It is the concentration of that principle of action which David more fully developed in his solemn advice to Solomon: "And thou Solomon, my son, know thou the God of thy father, and serve Him with a perfect heart, and with a willing mind; for the Lord searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts." The same characteristic of a heart perfect before God is referred to by Solomon himself, when he says of his father David, that he "walked before God in truth, and in righteousness, and in uprightness of heart with God." And this would seem to be the solution of that difficulty, as it presents itself to the minds of some, how David, whose life was so stained with sin, is so strikingly held up to the imitation of God's people as the man after God's own heart; nearly twenty times, from Solomon down to Josiah, whose praise was that "he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and walked in the way of David his father," is the attention of the kings and people of Israel drawn in terms of highest approval to the character of David. When we endeavour to discover the reason of this, the feature in David's spiritual life which appears to stand out most prominently is *heartiness;* he gave God his heart, and even though human infirmity, and, on one occasion at least, the sinful indulgence of evil passions, estranged his heart from God, yet no sooner does the light again shine in upon the mind, and his inner man recover its powers of thought and action, than he realizes the enormity of his conduct, and the full tide of his best and deepest affections pours itself forth towards God, in the touching language and inexpressible emotions of a broken and a contrite heart. There is no reason to question the almost universal acceptance of Psalm li., as the expression of David's penitence, when his sins were brought home to his conscience

by Nathan; or of Psalms xxxii., xxxiii., and ciii., as those of his devout praise and thanksgiving, when the same prophet announced the pardon of those sins. In reading these Psalms in this point of view, we cannot fail to perceive, in the profound and self-abhorrent utterances of a soul stirred to its very depths, and in the joyful outpourings and holy fervour of that soul reinstated in God's favour, the evidences of that heartiness in David which was so pleasing to God. In fact, in all he did, he did it "heartily as unto the Lord, and not unto man." Thus, "when he brought up the ark of God from the house of Obed-edom into the city of David with gladness, David danced before the Lord *with all his might.*" When he made preparation on so extensive scale for a house in Jerusalem to the glory of God, which "must be exceeding magnifical," he acted not from the desire of display, nor the indulgence of a luxurious taste, nor any mere sense of decency and propriety; but his soul was in the work, and he could say, "Because I have *set my affection* to the house of my God, I have of mine own proper good, of gold and silver, given to the house of my God." The spirit of the King infused itself into his subjects, and "the people rejoiced for that they offered willingly, because with perfect heart they offered willingly to the Lord; and David the king also rejoiced with great joy." The Psalms bear witness everywhere to the sincerity with which David threw himself heart and soul into every act of duty, and every frame of the believer's experience. We find in them the most self-abasing confessions under sense of sin; the deepest yearnings after God, His worship and His sanctuary, in seasons of separation; the most unconditional surrender of all he had and was to God's service and glory; the most fervent and elevated outbursts of praise and thanksgiving for successive mercies: these are the contents of the book which contains the analysis and record of the experience, devotion, and holy aspirations of the believer in all ages; and which tells us how the Psalmist's soul, amidst all its infirmities and all its wanderings, returned to its rest in God, and found its consolation in the sense of His favour and love.

In this respect, he that would walk before God and be perfect, must follow David in that singular heartiness of character for which he is so remarkable. Without this, our religious profession will be hollow and unsubstantial, and our service will fail to please the heart-searching One. All will feel how difficult in its attainment is this earnest sincerity towards God, which we readily allow to be of essential importance. How rarely can we bear to have our motives and objects analysed and laid bare, even in those things which outwardly seem good; how seldom do we put forth our best affections and warmest feelings, as the most precious libation upon the altar of our God; how long are we in learning the lesson that we must give our hearts to God, and

how imperfectly do we know it at the best. These convictions should surely supply ground for humiliation, and be an occasion for carrying out, in the power of the Holy Spirit, that dedication which, at the most sacred moments of our lives, we have so often made with our lips. "Here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee."

2. *Progressive advancement* must be noticed as another element in the character of one who desires to be perfect before God. It is impossible to be stationary in our religious course; we are as a vessel making head against wind and tide; we cannot suspend our efforts, or relax our exertions, but adverse agencies overpower us, and we are driven back, and have to make good again the ground which we have lost. God, therefore, in His Holy Word, has for our safety enforced the duty of continual progress in spiritual life. For this the apostles laboured and prayed; "this we wish," says St. Paul, "even your perfection:" "Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace." And St. Peter, "The God of all grace, who hath called us to his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, after that ye have suffered a while, make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle you."

This progress should take place in our perceptions of Divine Truth. God has given us the revelation of Himself, contained in the Holy Scriptures, in order that by the prayerful study thereof we may acquire some knowledge of His attributes, counsels, and operations. Our attainments in this respect will ever be imperfect; we can only see through a glass darkly here below; but the exercise of our minds upon these subjects in meditation and prayer, is the discipline and training which God has provided as the preparation for that state in which we shall know even as we are known. It is on this ground that the apostle prays for the Ephesians, that "the eyes of their understanding may be enlightened; that they may know what is the hope of God's calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, and what is the exceeding greatness of his power in those that believe." His charge to the Corinthians is, "In understanding be ye perfect" (τέλειοι). In writing to the Hebrews, he draws an analogy from our bodily constitution, telling them that, through their indolence and want of progress, they remained in a state of spiritual infancy, and were such as had need of milk and not of strong meat. For every one that useth milk is unskilful in the word of righteousness; for he is a babe. But strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age"—perfect—τέλειοι. "Therefore," he exhorts, "leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection." Wide and noble is the field here laid open to us; what investigations of science are to be compared with

the knowledge of God, and the study of His character and perfections? Yet we are often satisfied with the barest elements of Divine Truth. It is a humbling thought, as we read the pages of Plato or Aristotle, or others of the deeper ancient philosophers, to observe the unwearied pains and self-denying diligence which they employed in the search after that knowledge of God and of another world which their souls craved after, but to which unassisted reason could not attain; and then to contrast with this the superficial, and common-place, and second-hand views of the eternal God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, with which the majority of professing Christians satisfy themselves. Nay, ofttimes the sacred work of the ministerial office has little power or unction, because the mind of the preacher is not advancing as it should do in the understanding of Divine things. In order to our usefulness and our happiness, the Bible must be made a subject of close and long-continued study; spiritual things must be compared with spiritual; and in answer to the frequent outgoings of the soul in prayer, God Himself must tell us, by the light of His Spirit shining upon the sacred page, something of what He is, what He has done, and what He would have us be and do. In such pursuit of heavenly truth we shall often be ashamed at our slow advance and feeble powers of comprehension, we shall sometimes sit or even fall upon our knees with our Bible before us, and our eye resting on some wondrous passage, in which we feel that there is a depth of truth which we cannot fathom, and a fulness which we cannot grasp; but as we follow on to know the Lord, we shall find our perceptions enlarged, and, under the sense of infirmity, may take comfort in the thought that the progress begun and carried on upon earth will be perfected in the eternity of heaven.

The knowledge of God is not confined to an abstract acquaintance with Bible truth, we must know Him in His dealings with our own souls, and so there should be progress in what we term experience. That is, we are to know God not only in His absolute excellence, but in those dealings with our own souls by which we have come to understand for ourselves the power, wisdom, and love of God as exercised towards ourselves individually. Every ordinary event of daily life, and especially the more striking dispensations which stand as landmarks in our earthly course, are calculated and designed to give us this personal knowledge of God. Job understood this after the trials through which he passed. He had long heard of God "by the hearing of the ear; but now," saith he, "mine eye seeth thee, wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes." And the apostle takes the same view of the discipline of life, as serving to give us experimental views of our heavenly Father: "We glory in tribulations also; knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience

hope; and hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us." Happy the soul that is in such a case; yea, blessed is he that hath the Lord by personal experience for his own God. And so it is that God never leaves us through the whole of our earthly state of training for heaven; He is ever presenting Himself in every thing that befalls us, and offering to teach us some fresh lesson concerning Himself; He is, to speak after the manner of men, never satisfied with the present attainments of his children, but deals with them as a sculptor who is ever giving another touch to the statue which is before him, that he may confer a fresh grace and develope a more exquisite beauty in his highly wrought work of art. The apostle Peter suggests another thought, when he bids us "grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." "The breadth, and length, and depth, and height of the love of Christ, is a thing which passeth knowledge;" yet the apostle's prayer for the Ephesians is, that, with all saints, they may be able to comprehend it. And so we are led to divest ourselves of that low and narrow view of the redemption that is in Christ, according to which men seem to be ever seeking to ascertain the least measure of faith which will suffice for the salvation of the soul, and to be content with that; and to inquire after and aim at an enjoyment of what St. Paul calls "the *riches*" of His grace and glory, even "the unsearchable riches of Christ." To receive out of the fulness of Christ grace for grace; to know Him, and the power of His resurrection; to realize that He is made of God unto us wisdom and righteousness, and sanctification and redemption; that He is all in all; the beginning and the end, the substance and the perfection of the soul that is re-created in Christ Jesus;—this is a glorious part of that development of the spiritual life to which we are called.

Neither must it be overlooked, that the progressive advancement of the servants of God has regard also to that work of sanctification, wherein the Holy Spirit co-operates with and overrules the principles and powers which we possess, so as to enable us to carry out that new state of holiness by which we are to glorify God. There should be a progress in the conflict with indwelling sin and corruption in which all have to engage. With many this conflict is most languidly and imperfectly maintained; they would find it difficult each succeeding year to determine what ground they have gained over the enemy within them. They have even come, perhaps, to think that the strife and struggle with sin is inconsistent with the ease and liberty of the child of God; and yet he who was inspired to tell us most of the nature and blessedness of "the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free," went to the fierce struggles of the

Grecian games for an illustration of the energy and self-denial which the believer is to use in the mortification and subjugation of the flesh. Of those who entered upon these contests for earthly glory, the poet tells us:—

> "Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam
> Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit,
> Abstinuit venere et vino."—*Horat. ad Pisonem*, 412.

Of himself, as striving for the holiness of those who shall dwell with Christ in glory, he says, "Know ye not that they which run in a race, run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run, that ye may obtain. And every one that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things. Now, they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible. I therefore so run, not as uncertainly; so fight I, not as one who beateth the air; but I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection—ὑπωπιάζω καὶ δουλαγωγῶ—lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away." In all, then, that are like-minded with the apostle, and desire to be in this respect "perfect," we look for an ever-increasing victory over every evil temper, disposition, and affection which has to be "brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ." We look also for a similar progress in the cultivation of the graces of the Christian life. We remember the exhortation upon this head,—"Giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity. For if these things be in you, and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ." Thus the intellectual and moral parts of our nature are both brought into exercise in the service of God; practice springs from knowledge, and knowledge is barren and unfruitful, if it lead not on to practice. From this results an entireness and completeness in the spiritual man as in the natural; it would be monstrosity, and not symmetry, if a human body had no legs, and in the place of them two gigantic and disproportioned arms; we expect to see each member in its place, and each ready and qualified to discharge its own functions. And so believers must aim at a like symmetry and completeness in their spiritual state; every grace which the Word of God and the model of our perfect Exemplar puts before us must be cultivated in its due proportion; we must not be content with the development of some one grace, which probably our natural temperament renders easy, whilst others are disregarded; but we must propose to ourselves, through the Spirit that dwelleth in us, the attainment of every grace that will enable us to adorn the doctrine of God our

Saviour; and having been taught "how we ought to walk and to please God, we must abound more and more." Under the misgivings which the vastness of our work may well suggest, we shall find support in the thought, that as we set ourselves to "work out our salvation with fear and trembling, God will work in us to will and to do of His good pleasure;" and we may be "confident that He who hath begun a good work in us will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ."

There is another view of perfection which may not be omitted. To what extent it was attained by Abram, when God said to the patriarch, "Walk before me and be thou perfect," we cannot determine. We know that the Spirit of Christ was in the prophets of the Old Testament; "that the Gospel was preached before unto Abraham;" and that of this favoured patriarch our Lord says, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he saw it, and was glad." In whatever measure Abraham saw the fulness of Gospel privilege which distinguishes the day of Christ, there can be no doubt as to our position in this respect; and so in our case perfection must be considered in a further respect.

3. The believer is taught to look for perfection in its highest sense *by virtue of his union with the Lord Jesus Christ.* God having "chosen us in Christ before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love, accepts us in his beloved Son;" all the Redeemer's work upon earth was for the benefit, glory, and perfection of His people. For them He laid aside His glory, and entered upon His course of humiliation; and as for them He poured out His soul unto death, so for their benefit He passed His earthly life in the fulfilment of all righteousness; He magnified God's law and made it honourable, and thus solved the problem upon which the destiny of mankind depended; God, through His finished work, could be "just and yet the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus." Thus the life of the Lord Jesus, and the perfect righteousness which that life universally exhibited, is needful for our acceptance with God, no less than the sacrifice of the Lamb of God on the cross. Men's views of the ground upon which, and the state in which they shall enter God's presence as redeemed sinners, are altogether too low, and selfish, and earthly. With many, all that is looked for is a bare pardon, just the removal of the guilt which separates between them and God, and no more; but this is very far from being an adequate conception of the full salvation which God has provided for His servants. When Zechariah in vision saw Joshua the high priest standing before the Lord in filthy garments, it was not enough that those defiled rags should be torn from him, and he be left bare and uncovered. The command went forth respecting him, "Take away the filthy garments from him; and unto him he

said, Behold, I have caused thine iniquity to pass away, and I have clothed thee with change of raiment. . . So they set a fair mitre upon his head and clothed him with garments." The same lesson is imparted in the parable of the guest that joined the marriage feast without a wedding garment. The great result which the Lord hath accomplished in respect of His church is, "That He might present it to Himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish." God is too high and too righteous to be satisfied with the negative side only of justification, namely, the absence of actual sin. He requires the positive side also, namely, the existence in each redeemed one of a perfect righteousness. In either respect, man in himself is absolutely and equally helpless; he can neither atone for sin, nor can he fulfil the law. God in his own dear Son meets our necessities in both ways. As He is "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world," so is He "the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." Hence every believer is represented as "complete in Christ;" this perfection of the soul, in its close union with its adorable and all-sufficient Redeemer, the apostle presented to his mind as the crowning end of his ministerial work; and from this consideration he derived energy and encouragement to labour therein more abundantly than others. "Christ in you, the hope of glory, whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus; whereunto I also labour, striving according to his working, which worketh in me mightily."

None can doubt the duty of walking before God in the highest degree of perfection which, through the teaching and power of the Holy Spirit, man can reach. Experience will prove that this is our happiness as well as our duty. If in past years we have endured discomfort and distress in our spiritual life, may we not trace it in a great degree to want of decision in serving God? We have shrunk from the conflict with self; we have not had the courage to cut off the right hand and pluck out the right eye; we have thought it hard to forsake all and take up the Cross in order to follow Christ; we have attempted to retain more or less of worldliness whilst we professed to have our treasure above; and in our very service of God, self has had its place, leading us to court popularity, to indulge vanity, and to seek for ourselves high places and great things. When it is so with us, the conscience cannot rest, nor the soul be at peace; we are not walking before God, nor striving to perfect holiness in the fear of Him. Gracious and long-suffering is our God, who spares the unfruitful tree a while longer; tender and loving is the Saviour, who is even now digging about its roots and dunging it. What shall be the result in this year also is known

to God alone; but we must feel that in the Almighty Power of our Heavenly Father, the grace of our Redeemer, and the gifts of the Holy Spirit, there is all that the weakest amongst us can need or desire for the health and strength of his inner man.

W. C.

THE JEWS IN EUROPE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAP. II.—THE JEWS IN SPAIN.

WITHOUT pretending to give even a skeleton of the complete history of the Jews in Spain and Portugal, we may remark that Tarshish* was always the favourite resort of the Jew when forced from Palestine; and that Morijon† says, that after 70 A.D. "the families of the greatest consideration came into Spain, among whom were the remnants of Benjamin and Judah, descendants of the house of David." This may account for the superiority assumed by, and granted to, the Hispanian and Lusitanian Jews ("Sepharaim") over their brethren in the dispersion.‡ A Hebrew root to this day supplies to the Spanish language its common title of honour;§ and it is well known that many of the present grandees and nobles of the Peninsular kingdoms are of Jewish extraction.‖ The canons of the Council of Elvira¶ (A.D. 304.) prove that the Jews were already to a great extent cultivators and possessors of the soil; and the many edicts in vain made against them by the Gothic kings up to the time of the Moorish invasion, show that they had become numerous enough to be formidable, and formidable enough to resist with success. Indeed, the aid which the Moslem obtained in Spain from the Jew against the Christian was doubtless one great secret of the rapid victory of the Crescent over the Cross.** For the Jew who hated the Goth, as the Anglo-Saxon of England did the Norman, because an oppressor and a stranger, hailed the advent of a conqueror who accepted submission by tribute, instead of giving only the alternatives, commonly offered by the Christian, of conversion or death.

From the wise government of Mohammedan Spain by the

* Adolf. de Castro. Hist. of Jews. Book I. Rojas. Hist. of Toledo.

† Quoted in Vargas, Hist. of Merida.

‡ "Judæi Hispani et Lusitani Germanis se maxime præferunt ..... quos et eruditione et ingenio superant." Schudt. Memorab. Judaic. pt. i. pp. 132. 134.

§ "Don," from Hebrew "Adon" = "Lord."

‖ Llorente, Hist. of Inquis. p. 1. Cf. p. 105, and Note.

¶ Or Elleberis: see Canons XLIX. L., given in Francisco de Padilla, Eccles. Hist.

** Archbishop Roderick of Toledo, in his History of Taric, says, (iii. c. 23, &c.) "Ipse autem captam Hispalim Judæis et Arabibus populavit." Again: "Taric ex Arabibus, quos secum duxerat, et Judæis, quos Toleti invenerat, munivit Toletum."

Ommiade Caliphs of Cordova dates the first burst into life of the plant of Jewish literature, which afterwards blossomed so abundantly, and bore such rich fruit in the soil of the Peninsula. Under it were founded the schools of Cordova, Toledo, Granada, and Barcelona: and when the great eastern colleges, which had hitherto been the centres of Jewish law and learning, were closed by the king of Persia, the Jews made the free cities of the west the focus of the arts and sciences, of civilization and literature. And if they declined for a time, as the divided Moslem power fell with the rise and progress of the kingdoms of Navarre, Aragon, Castile, Leon, and Portugal, it was only to revive to new life and activity under the toleration or even encouragement shown them by many of the earlier monarchs of these states; who, finding they took no part in the struggle between the Crescent and the Cross, respected them as useful and peaceable subjects. The Jewish annals, from 1100 to 1300 A.D., show us a catalogue of men of mind which may rank fairly in comparison with any list which can be drawn up for an equal period from the history of any nation. Then arose the mighty men, who for the most part contended against the tyrannical sway exercised over the Jewish mind by oral tradition and the Midrash, and who all devoted their powerful intellects to cultivate art, philosophy, and learning, while Christian Europe was exclusively occupied in war. Such men were, R. Abraham ben Ezra,* "the Sage," to whom the world is indebted for the Equator to the celestial globe,† and the house of Jacob for their best Hebrew commentary on the Old Testament; R. Abraham a Levi ben Daon, the renowned Talmudist; R. Jonah ben Ganath, the great physician and master of language; R. Judah a Levi, poet and philosopher, some of whose hymns are still used in the service of the synagogue for the New Year and Day of Atonement; R. Moses ben Maimon,‡ whose talents eclipsed those of the long line of sages from whom he was descended, and who, by his studies of Aristotle under Averroes, and almost universal knowledge as a mathematician and astronomer, linguist and physician, caused himself to be considered the greatest man, not only of his nation since Moses the Lawgiver, but of his age, by Christians and Jews alike; so that the one acknowledges that "the memory of Maimonides will flourish for ever,"§ and the others say, that "from Moses till Moses there was not a Moses;" R. Benjamin of Tudela, the Oriental traveller; R. David Kimchi, "the prince of grammarians;" and R. Moses ben Nachman, "the father of knowledge." These, with the lesser names of R.

* "Princeps eorum qui literalem sensum studuerunt." S. Luzzati, vide inf.

† Bartolocci, Bibl. Rabbinica, p. 36.

‡ "Averrois fere æqualis." Simeon Luzzati Comment. de Stat. Judæorum. ("Liber hodie rarissimus.") Wolf, Bibleothec. iv. p. 1116.

§ Bishop Clavering, of Peterborough.

Moses ben Tibon Marimon, Rs. Joseph and Moses Kimchi, and R. Abraham ben Chasdai,* compose the venerable company of the twelve great doctors who adorned and formed the golden age of Hebrew literature. And as after David's three mighty men there came other three, more honourable than the rest of the chiefs, but who yet attained not to the first three, so, toward the end of the thirteenth century, there arose twelve other Hebrew scholars who, though none of them equal to the first twelve, were yet great in their generation, and competed successfully with the most learned Arabian ulemas, and (less difficult task) with the most distinguished Salamancan doctors. The respect in which they and their predecessors, as well as the rest of their learned brethren of this period, still are held by the Jews themselves, is best understood by the universal acknowledgments among all educated Jews throughout Europe, that after their departure Hebrew literature was in a state of decay till another Moses, Moses Mendelsohn, in the last century, once more imbued the Jewish mind with the spirit of true philosophical inquiry.

From the intermediate position which they occupied between the Mohammedan and Christian populations of the Peninsula, now contending for the faith of their fathers against the Imauns of Islam, and now against the priesthood of the Catholic church, who were alike followers of creeds both daughters of the Old Testament, the Jews naturally were familiarized with the Arabian learning, and became the channels of its transmission, and with it of some of the wisdom of the ancients, to their illiterate Christian masters. Jewish astronomers were employed by Alfonzo X. the Wise, of Castile, to construct the famed Alfonzine tables. Jewish physicians were found at the courts of almost all the early Castilian and Aragonese monarchs. Jewish financiers administered the royal revenues, and farmed the taxes. Jewish sages† assisted as counsellors in the formation of new codes of law; of which "Las Siete Partidas"

* "Qui primus philosophiam Aristotelicam oppugnare, teste illustri Francisco Pico Mirandulano" (alluding to his work, Examen Vanitatis Gentium,) "adgressus est." S. Luzzati. vide sup.

† There is extant a curious poem, addressed by a wise Jew of Carrion to Don Pedro (the Cruel), on his accession to the throne. In the MS. of the National Library of Madrid it is called "The Book of the Rabbi Don Santi," and its purpose is to give moral counsels to the new king. It begins thus:—

Señor Rey, noble, alto,
Oy este sermon,
Qui vyene desyr santob
Judio de Carrion.
Communalmente trebado,
De glosas moralmente,
De la Filosofia sacado,
Legunt que va syquiente.

And afterwards, as an apology for being a Jew, he says (in the MS. of the Escurial, which differs slightly from the Madrid MS.):—

Por nascer en el espino
La rosa y a non siento,
Que purdi; ni el buen vino,
Por salir del sarmiento.

Non vale el acor menos,
Porque en vil nido siga;
Nin los enxemplos buenos
Porque Judio los diga.

of the same Alfonso X.,* (confirming to the Jew the protection of person and property and the free exercise of religion,) is a signal instance. We have, it is true, no proof that they ever sat in the Cortes; but this only shows the more plainly how great their influence must have been, thus to procure, without assisting in person, the passing of such important enactments in their favour. And as the Jewish Rabbins long ranked in Spain as an intellectual hierarchy, so the Jewish people, at the same time, formed there an "imperium in imperio."† But, with the beginning of the 14th century, the tide, which had so long carried them in prosperity, set strongly against them; and, in ceasing to speak of their literature, we must at once begin the narrative of their sufferings.

Spain has ever been the fruitful mother and nurse of religious persecution; and the fanatic St. Vincent Ferrer might find many precedents, recorded in the annals of the church in Spain, for persecution and attempted extermination of the hated people. Under the Arian Visigoths they had lived in peace; but from Recared, the first Catholic king, (who, with all the zeal of a new convert, showed by persecuting edicts his orthodox Christianity,) down to Roderick, the last of the Goths, each successive generation of Hebrews suffered more severely than the preceding one. The canons of seventeen councils of Toledo, then the national assemblies of Christian Spain, contain, with scarce any exceptions, clauses against them of increasing severity; till, shortly before the Moorish invasion, Gascony and Narbonne, and the North African shore, became the refuge of numerous compulsory emigrants from the Jewish body in the Iberian peninsula. Still their attachment to what had now become their native land, to the family hearth-stone and to the graves of the household, as well as their extensive commerce, and the productive returns of the soil which they industriously cultivated, were ties strong enough to bind to Spain the great mass of the Hebrew population, ready to welcome, if not to invite, the more tolerant Moslem.

From the era of the Mohammedan conquest, to that of the Crusades, their peace and prosperity met with few interruptions.

* The Jew minister of Alfonso X., the treasurer Sahaduno, was acknowledged by all to be a man of such probity, that Zurita, in his "Annales de Aragon," only regrets he was a Jew.

† Purchas, in the "Musical Pilgrim," gives the following quotation from a poem, which he supposes to have been written about 200 years before his own time, i.e. about A.D. 1425.

"The Jewez ben Lords of that town,"
(Elvas)
And few Christen men there come."

A satire, written about 1285 against Sancho the Brave for his favour of the Jews, states the Hebrew population in the kingdom of Leon only, at that time, to have been 1,500,000.

"Des pues desto llego Don Abram y
Don Samuel
Con sus dulces palabras parecen la miel
Y facir una prija sobre los de Ysrael
Que monta en todo el Reyno ciunto,
ynudis de fiel."
(*Discurso sobre los Judios de Espana.*)

Once indeed, in 1068 A.D., we read of an unprovoked massacre of 1500 families by the Saracens of Granada, after three centuries and a half of rest; and at another time we find pope Gregory VII. writing to restrain Ferdinand of Castile from attempting to extirpate the Jews, as he had been advised to do by his queen Donna Sancha, in order to sanctify his war with the Moorish sovereigns. In striking contrast with this letter of Hildebrand, an epistle of pope Innocent III. to Alfonso IX. (1205) is still extant; in which he reproves his liberality to the children of Abraham, and more than hints at the lawfulness of their entire extirpation. The enthusiastic frenzy of the first crusaders manifested itself in Spain, as in other European countries, by shedding torrents of Jewish blood; and in the Jewry of Toledo, the Jerusalem of Spain, were enacted, when the archbishop Barnard took the Cross (A. D. 1108), scenes which called to remembrance the horrors of the fall of the Holy City. But, as the extravagant zeal of the soldiers of the Cross declined, so happily was quenched the thirst for the blood of its enemies; and we find the Jews for the most part protected and honoured in Castile, Leon, Aragon and Navarre, till the close of the 13th century, and of the golden age of their literature.

Many causes co-operated at this period to deprive the Jews in the Castilian monarchy of their immunities, rites, and privileges; and the same causes for the most part worked the same results about the same time in the rest of the Peninsular kingdoms. Considered as the peculiar property of the sovereign, this nation of serfs was entirely dependent on the will and caprice of their master; and he was continually exposed to numerous influences hostile to the well-being of the hated race. The high nobles were jealous of the position and credit of the Jews at Court, and were ever endeavouring to supplant their rivals in the employment and confidence of the king. The lower nobility, proud, indolent, and needy, were at once the enemies and debtors of the wealthy and industrious Israelites;* and when unable to pay the old, or to contract new loans, they were ready to raise the cry of usury, and cancel the obligation by murdering their creditors. The small land-holders, poor and improvident, were frequently unable to cultivate the soil without borrowing from their wealthy Jewish neighbours; and were equally ready with the nobles, when their credit wholly failed, to wash out the account against them with the blood of the importunate money-lenders. But, above all others, the clergy were the bitter and inveterate foes of the race of Abraham. Beside their old cry against the Jews as the enemies of the Cross, they accused them of attempts to make proselytes; a charge

* The rate of legal interest was then 33½ per cent. per annum.

never brought against them elsewhere, and one to which their religion is opposed. They hated them too with the bitter hatred with which the charlatan and imposter regard the man of knowledge and skill. The Jews surpassed the monks in the arts of healing, and the Christian sovereigns preferred heretical practitioners to cloistered quacks. It was not strange, therefore, that these last felt all the malicious jealousy which animated Demetrius and the craftsmen of Ephesus against St. Paul, when, like them, they found that their "craft was in danger to be set at nought." Many opportunities of enriching the church and the convent were lost to the Catholic clergy, because the Hebrew physician and the natural heir kept the empirical monk from the bedside of the sick and dying. More than all this, they were often themselves deeply in debt to the monied Israelites, even going to the length of pledging to them the sacramental plate; and they regarded persecution as an easy way to wipe out the score. The people, lastly, bigotted and subservient to the will of the priesthood, were always prepared to do their pleasure, and enrich themselves by the massacre and plunder of the Jewries: a spark would at any moment set fire to such inflammable materials, and the law was powerless against the popular fury.

With the year A.D. 1300 began the downfal of the forlorn people before this powerful coalition; but it was only after the lapse of two centuries that they were finally swept from the Peninsula. During the first of these periods, we read with indignation the successive decrees of Cortes and Councils, all tending to annihilate the political existence, ncient rights, and partial toleration, hitherto enjoyed by them. Nor was this all. Estella, Toledo, Granada, Burgos, Seville, Palma, Barcelona, Cordova, and Valentia, witnessed the partial, and, in some cases, the entire extirpation of their Jewish inhabitants;* who, by the testimony of their enemies, bowed their heads unresistingly in the silence of martyrdom for the religion and rites of their fathers. But the opening of the fifteenth century brought with it new enemies and new sufferings. Hitherto the Spanish church seems to have treated the Jews with the same apathy, so far as attempts at proselytism went, with which, as it would appear from Bede, the British church regarded the Anglo-Saxons in England; and made a conscience of leaving the hated race to die in their ignorance and their sins. Conversions by force or fear were the new engines of torment invented and applied by the popular saint, Vincent Ferrer, and his associates; more dreadful to the sufferer than death itself, because his tortures were more refined, and his agonies more prolonged. The "New Christians" abounded

* "Every Jewish city was a Troy."—Lozano, "Reyes neuvos de Toledo." Zuniga, "Annales de Sevilla," pp. 252—257. Lopez de Ayala, Chron. del Rey Enrique III., A.D. 1391, c. v.—x.

in Aragon, Valentia, and Majorca, and especially in Barcelona and Lerida; they were less numerous in Castile and Portugal. Most of them, while conforming outwardly to the creed and ceremonies of the Catholic church, still secretly lived as Jews, circumcised their children, and kept the Passover. The history of the disputation at Tortoza, before the soi-disant pope Benedict XIII. (Peter of Luna), between his physician, Jeronimo de Santa Fè, with two others, (one, like himself, an apostate from Judaism,) and the sixteen Rabbins appointed by the Jews to represent them, is familiar to every student of ecclesiastical history. The doubtful issue of a contest where each party claimed the victory proved even more disastrous to the Jews than an acknowledged defeat would have been; for it made the orthodox Catholics only the more anxious to silence adversaries whom they could not convince. Henceforward, till the union of the Spanish monarchies under Ferdinand and Isabella, the implacable hatred of the enemies of the Jews against them (especially of the renegade Jews) was gratified to the full. Biscayan Hidalgos, Castilian grandees, and Aragonese nobles, joined with the clergy and the rabble to pour out the blood of the seed of Abraham like water in almost every Christian city of Spain.*

Though the fall of Granada, and the discovery of America, hold in the eyes of the world at large the first places among the events which signalized the reign of the Catholic sovereigns, the court of Rome at that time hailed as the great fact of their united sway the establishment of the Holy Office throughout the whole of Spain. Introduced by Ferdinand into Castile from Aragon,† in spite of its known unpopularity even there, and of the repugnance to it of Isabella and her subjects, it gave the last blow to the tottering fabric of Spanish Judaism. During the eighteen years of the Inquisitor-Generalship of Torquemada, nearly 115,000 heretics, chiefly "New Christians," Moors and Jews, suffered beneath its jurisdiction; and in A.D. 1492, within three months after the fall of Granada, Ferdinand and Isabella (at Torquemada's instigation) by an edict dated from that city,‡ finally expelled the Jews from Spain. The emigrants took

* Even now the cry "Judiada" is the prelude in Spain to a certain murder; as when his Spanish troops bayonetted the Italian general Filangieri, governor of La Coruna, in 1808, for pretended "Judiada."—Schepler i.404—412. Gieseler, Text-book of Eccles. Hist., Div. v. c. iv., § 147. Llorente, Hist. Crit. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne, t. i. Mariana, Hist. Hisp. lib. xxvi. Jost, Geschich e der Israeliten seit der Maccabäer, tom. vii., § 31 Lindo, Hist. of the Jews in Spain and Portugal. Georg. Gentius "Hist. Judaica," (Amstelodami, A.D. 1654) li.—lv., gives a very full account of Abarbanel pleading with Ferdinand and Isabella for the unhappy Jews, of the sufferings of those who migrated to Africa, and of the kind treatment of those who took refuge in Italy.

† Gregory IX. had introduced it into Aragon against the Albigenses in 1223.

‡ Dated March 30, A.D. 1492.—Mariana, who tells us also that 800,000 Jews

refuge chiefly in Portugal, Navarre, Barbary,* and the Levant; and it is to the credit of the Spaniard Rodriguez Borgia, that, as Alexander VI., he pitied the sufferings of his compatriots, kindly welcomed them to Italy, and offered them an asylum in the Papal States.†

This is not the place to dwell at length on the results to Spain of the expulsion of 800,000 of her most peaceable and useful subjects. Spanish historians, though Catholics and even Inquisitors, have declared their perpetual ostracism to have been a political crime, and, considered religiously, a proof of the pre-eminent intolerance of Spanish legislators; and they have, in some measure, attributed to the Nemesis, which slowly but surely follows such national injustice, the subsequent degradation and decrepitude of the country then so great among the nations of Europe. It is not enough to say that all earthly things are exhaustible, and that all human society, like nature, contains tokens that it had a beginning and will surely have an end. Special causes have been at work to make that Peninsula, then so fresh and vigorous, sink into such rapid decay in population, importance, and cultivation; and among them none is more palpable than the expatriation of the Jews and Moors by Ferdinand and Isabella, declared by Machiavelli to have been "a stroke of policy equally deplorable and unexampled."‡

Had the author of "Il Principe" written in our day, there would have occurred to his mind a similar expulsion of an equally peaceable and useful population by another "most Christian" sovereign, followed by results well nigh as deplorable to the country which drove them forth. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the most egregious error as well as flagrant crime of Louis XIV. and his counsellors, robbed France (as the parallel ordinance had deprived Spain) of many of the most intelligent and industrious members of her society, who carried with them into hostile countries the arts by which they had till then enriched their own. It was not the least of the causes which combined to overthrow the ancient house of Capet; to lead the children of the Grand Monarque to the scaffold, and to exile; and to separate them from wife and children by violent

emigrated—100,000 to Portugal, 12,000 to Navarre, &c. &c. Morijon, Hist. de Esp. i., rates them only at about 40,000 —manifestly too low an estimate.

* The rankling animosity of the Roman Catholic against the Jew has followed the house of Israel even to the African shore. Borrow heard the Genoese sailors at Tangiers singing after "Ave Maria" a hymn against the Jews and Moors, with these words:—

"Gentem auferte perfidam
Credentium de finibus,
Ut Christo laudes debitas
Persolvamus alacriter."

—Bible in Spain, iii. c. xviii. The descendants of the Jews who settled on the Mohammedan shores of the Mediterranean still speak Spanish.

† Torrejoncillo, in his "Centinella contra Judios," gives letters from the Jews of Rome, and other Italian cities, to their brothers in the Iberian kingdoms, recommending them to flee with their families to Italy.

‡ Il Principe, scc. xxi.

and sudden death, or by the more prolonged agony of the banished man, whose sore fate it is to taste the bitterness of another's bread, and to climb the stair of the stranger*; and it furnishes in its results as signal an example of the retributive justice of God, as does the expulsion of the Jews from Spain by the Catholic sovereigns.

We have seen that some of the Spanish Jews, in 1492 A.D., found an asylum in Portugal, and clung to the hope of retaining for awhile a home on Iberian soil. Lusitania from very early times had shown them greater favour than any other country, excepting Spain in the palmy days of their sojourn there. Jews had risen to the same high places at the Court, and in the State, which had been occupied by their brethren in Aragon, Castile, and Navarre. One Hebrew at least had held the rank of commander-in-chief of the armies of Portugal.† And although the Jewish schools of Braganza did not produce an Aben Ezra or a Maimonides, they could still boast their Jachias, their Abarbanels, and many other learned Rabbins, to whom, by their own confession, the Christians of Portugal owed innumerable obligations.‡ To the acknowledged worth of the Jews in these respects, and his own poverty, we may attribute the permission extended to them by John II. to immigrate into Portugal; and the kind treatment which, in the early part of his reign, they met with from his successor Emmanuel. But Emmanuel married a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella,§ and brought home with her a dowry of intolerance and cruelty. Shortly after, he promulgated an edict for the immediate departure of all Jews from his kingdom by a certain day, and for the forcible baptism of their children of tender years. The broken-hearted Israelites prepared again to seek a home in a strange land. But, by a new act of perfidy, many of them were prevented from sailing at the appointed time by the closing of two of the ports

* So Dante of himself,—

"Tu proverai si (says Cacciaguida to him) come sa de sale
Il pane altrui, e come è duro calle
Il scendere e 'l salir per altrui scale."
—Paradis. Cant. 16.

† Don Solomon Jachia was field-marshal-general and commander-in-chief under Sancho I., 1190 A.D.

‡ The first printing presses in active operation in Spain were worked by Jews. R. Rodrigues and R. Joseph, with the geographer royal, Martin Belem, helped John II. to draw up rules for taking the sun's altitude and tables of its declination for vessels making voyages on the coast of Africa; and so greatly facilitated the success of Vasco di Gama. The academician Ribiero, author of "Memoirs of the Sacred Literature of the Portuguese Jews," says,— "We are chiefly indebted to them for the first knowledge of philosophy, botany, medicine, astronomy, and cosmography, as well as for the rudiments of the grammar of the Holy language. and nearly all the studies of biblical literature. What contributed greatly to disseminate the knowledge of these subjects, was their introducing and perfecting Portuguese typography, particularly the Hebrew, which put us in a state to enter into competition with the more advanced nations of Italy and Germany."

§ Luzzati says, "Quod ad Lusitaniæ regem attinet, qui idem fere postea in gentem nostram agebat, is quidem a Ferdinando et Isabella continuo solicitatus conversionem potius quam expulsionem et exilium Judæorum spectabat."

named for their embarcation, and were either shipped off as slaves to the Portuguese colonies, or forcibly enrolled by baptism among the members of the Catholic church.* These latter, as "New Christians," became mingled and eventually lost in the mass of the Portuguese nation, though long liable, on suspicion of concealed Judaism, to the fiery death of the Auto de Fe and the living grave of the Inquisition, till the edict of A.D. 1773 abolished the distinction of "Old" and "New Christians." We may add, that this edict makes honourable mention by name of officers of state, who, though Jews, had been prime ministers and treasurers, and declares finally that "the blood of the Hebrews is the blood of our apostles, our deans, our presbyters, and our bishops." The casual observation of Madame Junot (Duchesse d'Abrantes) that "the Portuguese nation are three parts Jewish," and the fact that so many of the great families of Portugal, as the Villa Reals, the Alvarez, the Mendez, the Francos, the De Silvas, the Garcias, the D'Aguilars, the Souzas, the De Castros, the Salvadors, with others too numerous to mention, are avowedly of Jewish origin, shows the way in which the blood of the Jew and Gentile have mingled on the Lusitanian shore.†

We have, lastly, before we close our notice of the Spanish Jews, to speak of their commerce and industry, which we shall find (as in every other country where they sojourned in the middle ages,) to have been very closely connected with the development of the industrial and commercial powers of the land of their adoption. Even before the Mohammedan conquest, by their patient toil in agriculture and knowledge of trade, they had, as we have seen, become prosperous enough to tempt persecution and pillage; and it is impossible to divest oneself of the suspicion, that then, as well as afterwards, a desire for their wealth, as much as for their conversion, animated the zeal of their persecutors. The Israelite may have felt a sort of revengeful satisfaction in carrying on the traffic in Christian slaves, which had at this era become a monopoly in his hands through nearly the whole of Europe.‡ The tenth council of

* Bp. Osorio, "De rebus Emanuelis," who adds, "Qui servum Judæum habere cupiebat eum a rege postulabat." F. von Raumur, Geschichte Europas seit 1500 A.D., b. i. Neufville, i. 609.

† "Under the administration" (in Portugal) "of the great Pombal, the priestly party had persuaded king Joseph to renew that badge of Judaism —the yellow hat—to mark the numerous Christianos Novos among his subjects. The edict was prepared. On the following morning the minister appeared before his Majesty with three yellow hats; one he offered to the king, another he brought for the Grand Inquisitor, and the third for his own head. 'I obey your Majesty's order,' said the minister, 'in providing these badges to be worn by those whose blood has been tainted by Judaism.'" — D'Israeli, Genius of Judaism, chap. xiii. sub fin.

‡ Laws against the Jews having Christian slaves, and against the slave trade in general:—

Constantine prohibited the Jews from

Toledo dwells especially on the monstrous and unutterable fact, that "many even of the clergy pursued an execrable commerce with the ungodly; and did not scruple to sell them Christian slaves, and thus give them up to be converted to Judaism." But from the enthronement of the Ommiade caliphs of Cordova began the era of their true commercial greatness. Those munificent and tolerant sovereigns, by a wise and perhaps grateful policy, gave the Jews a full share of all the good things of the natural paradise which they inhabited in common. And the Israelite was not ungrateful to his Moslem lord, or forgetful to repay the benefits which he owed him. To his talent and skill the Moorish civilization owed much of the taste and refinement which distinguished it from the barbaric pomp of Oriental grandeur. He carried on securely beneath the banner of the Crescent an enterprising and successful traffic. He wrought the costly fabrics of Toledo and Seville; and his looms manufactured the cotton of the Levant, and the raw silk of Persia, and vied with the far-famed products of India and Cashmere. He gathered the riches of many lands into the bazars of Valentia and Burgos, and the shops of Granada and Cordova,—the cutlery of Damascus, the skins of Morocco, Arabian gold and jewelry, and the drugs and spices of all the East. To him, as long the sole medium of intercourse with distant countries, as well as for the accuracy and elegance with which he could execute it, was for centuries entrusted the management of the coinage. And he was able, by the extent and variety of his commercial relations, to give it the widest circulation, as well as to draw in the issues of other mints, and regulate the standard of money. Nor with the change of masters did his traffic suffer more than a temporary check. The Christian princes of Castile and Aragon, when struggling to regain the southern part of the Visigothic monarchy, had not yet exchanged the free and generous spirit of the Spanish cavalier for the bigotry and fanaticism of the Spanish monk. Ignorant themselves of the arts of peace and mercantile enter-

holding Christians in bondage.

The Councils of Orleans (A.D. 540 and 541) tried to alleviate the baneful effects of slavery on the religious as well as temporal condition of the slave.

Council of Macon (A.D. 582) gave a standard for the redemption of Christian slaves, 12 solidi, according to Gibbon = 36s.

Gregory I. bewails and rebukes the traffic in his pastoral letter, and complains of it as still existing in Italy, Sicily, and the south of France. Cf. Letters to — Fortunatus, bishop of Naples; Januarius, bishop of Cagliari; Venantius, bishop of Luna; Leo, bishop of Catana; Candidus, presbyter in Gaul; Thierri, Theodebert, Q. Brunehaut, monarchs of the Francs.

Tenth council of Toledo.

Council of Rheims (A.D. 627) annuls all bargains entered into by Jews for the purchase of Christian slaves.

Council of Chalons sur Marne prohibited Jews from selling Christian slaves beyond the borders of the kingdom.

prise, they valued the assistance in the consolidation of their conquests of a class at once so submissive, able, and influential. The counter influences which we have spoken of above (under the head of Jewish persecutions) did not till afterwards become formidable enough to menace the peace and prosperity of these regal favourites. With various titles and offices, they were long the administrators of the royal finances; and their services as men of wealth and intelligence were indispensable for the civil government. The transfer of money by bills of exchange was an invention of that Jewish financial talent which has placed them in later times at the head of the monied interest in Europe; and their usury, regarded as so heinous a crime by the Catholic theologians, and used against them afterwards with such fatal effect as a popular cry, was in fact lending money for profit at a higher rate of annual interest than the modern increase of money requires, or modern legislation has till recently recognized.* And when, with the beginning of the 14th century, their national prospects rapidly declined in Spain, they were more than once indebted to the credit and address of their merchant princes for lessening, and in some cases suspending, the blows aimed at their body. In the civil wars of Peter the Cruel, and Henry of Trastamare, the fortunes of the former prince were long mainly supported by the gold and valour of the house of Israel;† and when Henry by fratricide had mounted the throne, in just appreciation of their value, he declared that "such devoted and loyal subjects ought to be cherished and protected." But misguided zeal and the love of pillage, combined, soon dissipated the hopes which the Israelites might have formed from the conduct of the last two kings, that interest, if not pity, would induce their Christian masters to protect their persons, their property, and their commerce. From the death of Henry of Trastamare to their final expulsion by Ferdinand and Isabella, a continual emigration of Israelites from Spain, with all their moveable effects, yearly lessened their commercial importance. From their hands the trade passed gradually into those of the Catalans of Barcelona; who may, perhaps, have been more indebted to them than it is now possible to prove, for many of the wise regulations of their maritime law, "Il consolato del mare." But that up to the very time of their exile they were possessed of a large amount

* The last few years have seen the abolition of laws against usury in England as contrary to true policy, money being recognized as a commodity which rises or falls in value like all others.

† In the last battle near Toledo, one third of Don Pedro's force consisted of Jews and Moors; and a Jewish garrison had previously repulsed from Briviera the great Du Guesclin with the help of a small body of Moors. Twelve thousand Jews perished by fire and sword at the siege of Toledo by the partisans of Don Henry of Trastamare.

of real and personal estate is plain from the statements of contemporary writers, who describe the sacrifice at which they were compelled to sell their immoveable property, houses, and lands. Indeed, from the whole conduct of Ferdinand in the circumstances attendant on the establishment of the Inquisition, and the final edict of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, it seems clear that Judaism was only a pretext, and that his real motive was the confiscation of their immense wealth. He knew not that the riches of the new world were about to be poured into his treasury, to prove an eventual means of ruin to his race and country; and had forgotten that "riches are not for ever," and that "the crown endureth not to every generation." His daughter, the injured Catherine, when dying in a foreign land, might remember with sorrow, that it was to a dowry of unparalleled magnitude from her father's illgotten wealth, that she owed an English marriage and a broken heart.

CHAPTER III.—THE JEWS IN ENGLAND.

WE may now pass on to the history of the Jews in England, where, as their sojourn was less prolonged than in Spain, we have not so much to say of their literature, commerce, and industry, though not less of their sufferings under persecution. Yet even here their condition was far better than in a great part of the continent of Europe; where France and Germany seemed to vie with each other, with alternating success, in the invention and application of new modes of torment to the hated race. For this reason we have preferred to speak of England next in order to Spain, as having been their most favoured abode during a portion of the Middle Ages.

On the subject of Jewish literature in England, we must touch with a light hand, where scholars like Lightfoot have gone over it before us so warily. It is only within the last few years that any lively interest has been felt, even within the Hebrew community, in recognizing in the Jews of our own country in the Middle Ages any higher claim to our admiration than as successful merchants, or to our pity than as English pariahs. The almost entire destruction, after their expulsion by Edward I., of the bulk of the contents of their valuable libraries, (though not so great a loss to the world of letters as the many thousand MSS. of Jewish and Oriental literature burned by Cardinal Ximines at Granada, because they had been "instruments of the cursed race,"*) still compels us to be dependent on ignorant cotemporary chroniclers and monkish historians, for a few brief and scattered notices of the working of the Jewish mind. From these sources we learn that they had schools in London,

* Quintennilla y Mendoza.

Stamford, and Oxford,* within one hundred years after the Conquest;† an event which, though proved by modern criticism to have been long after their first coming to this country, was still the time when they acquired a right of settlement. Their school in London, first mentioned in the reign of the first Plantagenet, was not far distant from that of the Merchant Tailors' now, and gave an education far superior to what could be obtained in any Christian school of that time or long after. Knowledge of Medicine, Arithmetic, Astronomy, Hebrew, and Arabic, more emphatically even than now, because restricted to a smaller number, gave power to the possessors; and it speaks well for their liberality of mind, that the doors of this, as well as of their other schools throughout the kingdom, were open to the children of Christians, who shared in common the advantages thus offered. Earlier still, at Oxford, in the reign of William II., the Jews had three Halls for the education of youth, in which many Christian students in the University were instructed in the Hebrew learning; and where the square yellow cap‡ and flowing robes of the Rabbi partly anticipated our academic dress. They are connected also in another way with two of the noblest of our collegiate foundations. In the Treasury of Merton College, the visitor is shown the deed by which Walter of Merton bought the front of his college of Jacob the son of Moses, the Jew of London: and when Henry III. built and endowed the Hospital of St. John, where Waynflete's tower and college have since eclipsed even a Royal Foundation, it was on the ground outside the city wall, by the banks of the Cherwell, where the children of Abraham had for many a year buried their dead out of their sight. And when recent changes, on the death of the venerable president of Magdalen, who loved not change, rendered necessary the disturbance of ground before his window which had lain unbroken for centuries, the workmen with curious awe uncovered countless relics of those poor wanderers who there had found a last long home.

* Moses' Hall, Jacob's Hall, &c. at Oxford. For the school in London, see "London," edited by Charles Knight. Vol. vi. chap. 26.

† The very time of their first settlement as a body in England, was for long a matter of doubt. Tovey (Anglia Judaica—Oxon. A.D. 1738) disproves the statements of previous writers, that they came from Normandy with William I. He quotes as follows:—Spelman cites from the laws of Edward the Confessor, "Judæi et omnia sua regis sunt;" and though we may agree with William Prynne in thinking this law spurious, still it would seem to belong to a day anterior to the Norman Conquest. And 200 years earlier still, in a charter of Witlaf king of Mercia to the monks of Croyland, we find him confirming to them all lands given to their monastery by the kings of Mercia, or by any other whatsoever whether Christians or Jews. (Ingulf. Hist. Croy. p. 9, ann. A.D. 833.) And 100 years earlier still, ann. 740, in the 146th paragraph of the Canonical exceptions of Ecbright, archbishop of York, we find that prelate forbidding all Christians to be present at any Jewish feasts. (Johnson's Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws *ad ann.*)

‡ Ducange, Gloss. tom. viii. 489.

The hand and eye of the physiologist failed not to discern the Jewish lineage of those who there slept in dust; and in the lofty brow of the tenants of this new Golgotha was read the secret of that intelligence which

> "rose the day to antedate,
> By striking out a solitary spark,
> When all the world with midnight gloom was dark."*

To pass on to their industry and commerce. As it was by money that they established their footing at the time of the Conquest, so by it, and by it alone, they kept that footing in this island for more than two hundred years. The tales of the cruelty and rapacity of the Norman monarchs and barons, who used them like sponges to be squeezed dry by the strong hand of authority so soon as filled, are familiar to everyone; but we may cite a few cases of their wealth, as proved by the extent of their losses.† At a parliament held at Northampton to raise a tax for a new crusade, the whole Christian population were assessed at £70,000, the Jews alone at £60,000. The daughter of Haman, a Jew of Hereford, paid to the king 5000 marks as a relief, when by this feudal usage a baron's heir paid for his barony only 100 marks. Matthew Paris writes that in seven years 40,000 marks of silver were extorted by the king from Aaron of York, beside 200 of gold paid to the queen. In A.D. 1230, orders were issued for a third of their moveables to be paid into the Exchequer. This was followed in two years by a demand of 18,000 marks; and in A.D. 1236 by another of 10,000 marks. Legally the Jews were regarded as the absolute property of the Crown. So Bracton says, "A Jew can have nothing of his own; because, whatever he acquires, he acquires not for himself but for the king: for they live not for themselves but for others, and thus acquire for others and not for themselves."‡ They were in fact only tolerated to carry on the business of lending money on interest;§ which both the common and ecclesiastical laws prohibited to Christians as usury, though in the last years of their

* Wordsworth, Eccles. Sonnets. Part ii. P4.

† The following instances are mostly cited from Milman, Hist. of the Jews, vol. iii.

‡ Bracton, Lib. v. Tract. iv. cap. vi. § 6.

§ "Les usures des Juifs nous paraissent être l'argument le plus fort que l'on puisse diriger contre eux. Cette accusation est générale, et n'est pas le produit du fanatisme religieux; car elle est également portée à Rome et à Constantinople, par des gens de tous les pays, de toutes les opinions, de toutes les religions. Cette unanimité n'est pas si imposante qu'on pourrait la croire au premier coup d'œil: rappelons-nous que l'accusation d'usure fut intentée contre les Juifs dans les temps d'ignorance où les peuples et les gouvernemens honoraient le commerce de leurs dédains, et tournaient leur animosité contre ceux qui cultivaient le champ fertile. Les Chrétiens, qui n'avaient aucune idée des transactions du négoce, croyaient que les Juifs s'enrichissaient en les dépouillant; alors tout homme riche, s'il n'était seigneur, était voleur ou usurier."—A. Beugnot, "Les Juifs d' Occident," p. 45.

sojourn in England they were rivalled in this trade by the Italian Caorsini, employed by the Pope to collect his revenue, and by him permitted to carry on the forbidden traffic. It seems wonderful, not merely that they should have been able to amass the wealth they were possessed of, but that they were not reduced to extreme poverty. And the only explanation that can be given seems to be found in their principle of combination in conducting their commerce from a common stock. Their forefathers in Egypt were only called upon by their taskmasters to make bricks—nothing less than making gold seems to have been expected from the English Jews; and, indeed, did we not know the true alchemy of commerce, we might almost believe that they were masters of the secret. It is strange that, setting aside the fact of their being his property, and as such becoming each year more valuable, the practical foresight and good sense of Edward I. did not prevent his making so great a sacrifice to the vulgar prejudices of the day, as to annihilate the commercial utility of the Jews to England, instead of rousing his people to imitate their foreign correspondence, home traffic, perseverance, and industry.

"I thank God I am neither serf nor Jew,"*—the taunt of the dauphin of Auvergne, in reply to some satirical couplets of our troubadour king Richard,—is an epigrammatic allusion to the miserable condition of the Saxon and Hebrew subjects of the early Norman kings: and the same romance of the Middle Ages which pictures the native degradation of Gurth the born-thrall, *adscriptus glebæ*, gives the portraiture of Isaac of York no less faithfully as a complete representative of the Jews of his time. A profane prince like Rufus might delight to irritate churchmen and outrage popular feeling, by ranking the Jewish Rabbi and his religion on an equality with the Christian bishop and the creed of the Catholic Church. An enlightened monarch like Henry II. might qualify other acts of oppression by granting them a burial ground outside the cities of the Gentiles where they dwelt, instead of restricting them, as before, to one place of general interment in London.† Even a Cœur de Lion, to prevent a community, which was regarded as the property of the king, from becoming worthless by spoliation and persecution, might appoint two justices of the Jews to attend at the Exchequer as commissioners for this important branch of the royal revenue and as judges in all civil matters where a Jew was concerned, as well as a Jewish escheator, perhaps to

* "Qu'ieu no soy reis coronats
Ni hom de tan gran ricor
Pero Dieus m'a fag tan bon
Qu'entr'el Puey et Albusson
Puesc remaner entr'els mieus;
Qu'ieu no soi sers ni Juzieus."—
(Raynouard, Choix des Poésies des Troubadours iv. pp. 256,257.)

† Hoveden, p. 568. "Judæos fenerantes plus justo favit." Chron. Gall. Vol. i. p. 513.

keep the rolls of Court.* And John, who before his accession was probably much indebted to Jewish lenders, and hence knew their value as a monied class and prolific source of revenue, might heap favours upon them at the beginning of his reign; it would seem almost to tempt new families of Jews to settle in the kingdom, and to allow the whole Hebrew community time to lay up accumulated treasures, to be transferred when overflowing to his own empty coffers. But for the most part, king, clergy, nobles, and people were alike confederate against the Jews. They had by a false accusation crucified their Messiah and King: they were now falsely accused of crucifying His followers. This charge, common in the Middle Ages throughout Europe,† was brought against them with deadliest effect in England. In the dark days of Stephen's reign, when we read in the Saxon chronicle,‡ "Men said openly that Christ slept, and his saints—the Jews of Norwich," it goes on to relate, "bought a Christian child before Easter, and tortured him after the same manner as our Lord was tortured; and on Long Friday" (i.e. Good Friday) "hanged him on a rood in mockery of our Lord, and afterwards buried him. They supposed it would be concealed, but our Lord shewed that he was a holy martyr; and the monks took him and buried him with high honour in the Minster, and through our Lord he worketh wonderful and manifold miracles, and is called St. William." The same crime was laid to their charge at Gloucester and St. Edmondsbury, and always at the time when the king most wanted money. But the injustice of chivalrous ethics and popular prejudice was most signally developed in the massacre of the Jews in London at the coronation of Richard I., and shortly after at York. We need not present these tragedies at length; which, had not Shylock been the type of the Jew in Shakespeare's mind, might have called up his interest and sympathy, and have found a place for them in his historical plays.

The two ignoble successors of the kingly Paladin filled up

* This seems the most simple solution of the difficulty, as to what these offices really were: see Mag. Rot. 10 Ric. I.; Selden, "Titles of Honour," p. 644; Maddox, "Form. Angl.," No. 689; Lord Coke, "Inst." p. 508; Prynne, "2nd part of his Demurrer," p. 62; Tovey, "Anglia Judaica," pp. 53—60.

† Ex. gr. A.D. 1472, the Jews were accused of crucifying a child at Trent, (and ridiculing in his person the mysteries of the Passion,) who became thereby a saint and martyr like St. William of Norwich, (see Monstrelet Chron. b. iii. c. 175.) And a similar charge was brought against them about the same time at Apiterge, the modern Odurso, in the principality of Venice. So in Spain, in 1490, the Toledan clergy gave out that a boy of Guardia, "el niño de Guardia," named Juan Passamonte, had suffered a similar death; hence probably Cervantes with a secret sneer bestowed the name of Passamonte on his choice trickster. For a beautiful Scotch ballad, "The Jew's Daughter of Milan," based on this imaginary transgression of the Jews in murdering Christian children, see Bp. Percy's Reliques of ancient English poetry, vol. i.

‡ Ann. 1136.

the measure of their woes. The story of the Jew of Bristol, and the regulations relating to the Jews in the Great Charter in the reign of John; the mock assembly of a Jewish parliament, and sale of the Jews to his brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, and afterwards to his son Edward, by Henry III.;* and the legend, embalmed in Chaucer's tale of the Prioress, of

> "Young Hew of Lincoln, slain also
> By cursed Jews, as it is notable"—

indicate how in the England of the Middle Ages they had become "an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word among the nations," and how entirely they were excluded from the brotherhood of mankind. The more princely mind of our English Justinian rendered him for the most part incapable of the harassing conduct of his father and grandfather. On the failure to change the national character, (so patient of evil while wealth can be gained,) by the Act of Parliament concerning Judaism (passed with the object of forcing the Jew to become an agriculturist or mechanic instead of a money-lender), Edward I. issued the irrevocable edict of their banishment. More than 15,000 exiles forsook our inhospitable shores, leaving all their property not actually moveable to escheat to the king. It remained for him who raised a protectorate upon the ruins of the monarchy, and who grasped the reins of power with as firm a hand as the greatest of the Plantagenet or Tudor monarchs, to undo the unwise deed of a king usually so politic; and in spite of the opposition of Christian divines, puritan writers, interested merchants, and public opinion generally, to give the Jews toleration, and permission to carry on trade in this country. From the time when they thus regained, under Cromwell, an establishment in England,† their position has, till lately, undergone but slight variation. Though a Bill was carried to naturalize them in A.D. 1753, it was repealed in the next year. But the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts modified their civil disabilities; in 1856 the chief magistrate of the chief city of the British empire was an Israelite in faith as in name; and they now sit in our imperial parliament.

* In clause 18, Hen. III., M. 16, we find that, upon a petition of the inhabitants of Newcastle, Henry granted them the privilege that no Jew should ever reside among them. The same privilege was granted to the inhabitants of Southampton, clause 20. M. 3. M. 10. If Jews were converted to Christianity, they forfeited all their goods and chattels to the Crown, clause 11. M. 3. M. 21.

† During the Protectorate they were invited to England by Mr. Secretary Thurlow; and Manasseh ben Israel came over from Amsterdam, and proposed conditions on behalf of the Jews of Holland, &c., which, although not appearing in any official document, were probably assented to by Cromwell. Charles II. also protected them; and overtures for his marriage to Catherine of Braganza were made to General Monk by a Portuguese Jew.

Œuvres et Correspondance Inédites d'Alexis de Tocqueville. Tomes Premier et Second. Paris. 1861.

WE have read these volumes, along with the memoir written by Gustave de Beaumont, the editor, which precedes them, with a deep and sad interest. The interest has been deepened by finding that M. de Tocqueville was not only, as we all know, an able writer and a man of genius, but that he was distinguished by those cordial sympathies and warm affections, which made him at once dear to his family and beloved by his friends. We are so accustomed, in perusing the memoirs of French men of letters, to find ourselves admitted only to their exterior life, and the incidents of their outward history, that we have a new feeling both of surprise and pleasure, when we find the veil lifted, the inner life laid open, with its deeper thoughts and the affections of the heart; and it heightens our interest, when we discover that the man, whose genius we have admired, who has taken a prominent part in maintaining the liberal opinions by which a large party in France are characterized, has also (what is more uncommon) thoughts of grave reflection upon life, its destiny and its issues, who, while he is an admirer of liberty, has also a reverence for religion, and a sincere desire to penetrate its profound secrets. How mournfully we then discover the absorbing influence and the paralysing energy of the church of Rome. In dealing with such a mind, Rome presents to him such a distorting view of Protestantism as turns a sincere inquirer from it in disgust, and leads him to regard it as a system of mere negation. In covering with a veil, thick as a funeral pall, the pages of the Bible, she leaves him to wander through the mystery of human life with its unsolved problems, strange aspects, cruel shocks and hard disappointments, without one ray of light to cheer him, a prey to the speculation, apprehension, and doubt, which cover the nearer landscape and fall thick on the gloomy future. We find in De Tocqueville's early notes, as his editor tells us, "the struggles and the sufferings of his reason, when, pursuing ardently the truth, he discovers the infirmity and helplessness of the human spirit, stops short abruptly, and, as though he grappled with a dream which eluded him, writes sadly these words: 'There is no certain truth! Were I charged to class human enemies, I would do it thus,—1st, Disease; 2nd, Death; 3rd, Doubt.'" In his travels in America, where he comes into contact with Protestantism, he writes: "It is evident that all the minds naturally religious amongst the Protestants, whom the vagueness of Protestantism fatigues, and who at the same time feel keenly their need of a religion, abandon in despair their search after truth, and cast themselves

anew under the empire of authority. Their reason is a burden which weighs upon them, and which they joyfully offer up as a sacrifice; they become Catholics." "Catholicism lays fast hold of the senses and the soul, and is more suited to a people than the reformed religion." He represents to himself Protestantism assailed by the two principles of reason and authority, the one carrying the intellectual classes to Unitarianism, "which," he says, "is, in fact, pure Deism;" the other sweeping the vulgar or the weary into the pale of the church of Rome. In these remarks, which he makes in full confidence to his intimate friends, it is plain that he has never heard, still less studied, the book which is the basis of all certain truth, which alone can remove doubt and dispel mystery, and which, studied patiently and candidly, as he would have read it, would have brought to him light and rest. And what a rest! He himself, in the intimacy of his feelings, complains bitterly of his disappointments; the destruction of his hopes and aspirations in public life after the *coup d'état;* his private sorrows, the death of friends, which he felt so keenly; the cruel price, as he said, which he had to pay for existence; the weakness of his health, which constantly interrupted his labours, and which closed them at last prematurely, when the labours of his life were, reaching maturity, and were about to produce the golden fruit which fell incomplete from the withered bough. Not less desirable to such a man would have been the lessons and discipline of Scripture, as he, from the honest inspection of his own heart, had discovered its infirmities and wants. Writing to his brother, thanking him for a letter of counsel, he speaks in touching terms of his inner life:—

"True, my dear friend, I have a thousand reasons to be happy; for independently of all the causes of happiness which you have enumerated, there is one which you do not name, and I must add. It is that I have found a wife perfectly suited to me. What do I then want? You have thought and suggested it—peace of mind, and the moderation of my desires. I have lived long enough to know" (he writes this in 1840, after his fame was established) "that there is not a single blessing of this world, the enjoyment of which can fix and satisfy me. I have attained a point which at the commencement of my career I could not even hope for; it does not give me complete happiness. My fancy easily rises to the summit of human greatness, and when it has placed me there, the dazzling sensation which I feel does not hinder me from recognising with an irresistible force that, were I raised to this height, I should experience the same painful sensations which I do now: in the same way as those of to-day resemble unmistakeably those which I formerly experienced. What stirs the soul may change; but the soul is the same; that soul unquiet and restless, which despises all earthly things, and which, however, is impelled incessantly to agitate itself and strain after them, in order to escape that painful weariness, which it experiences the moment it

leans upon itself. There is a sad history for you; it is somewhat that of all men, of some men more than others, mine more than of any one that I know."

In another letter to his friend, M. Ampère, he speaks of the delight with which he returns to his country retreat after the bustle and political excitements of Paris; but, after dwelling on this, he returns with philosophical reflection to the perversity of his nature; for this very quiet would soon, he says, become wearisome, and in order to escape it he, like other men, would rush back to the excitement of war or politics, to parliamentary enmities or literary rivalries, to that very stir of the world from which he was so glad to have escaped.

It is impossible not to desire that so fine and thoughtful a mind had met with the Book which alone could have satisfied and composed it; and when we read the account of his last illness, the fatal but deluding decline, which flattered him with hope while it hurried him to the tomb, we long to learn that, in place of a human priest to whom he made his penitent confession, he had found the Great High Priest, who is ever ready to hear the cry of the sufferer, and to meet his wants. We must not, however, forget—for it is greatly to his credit—that, while many of his political friends were indifferent to religion, or hostile to it, he himself took the deepest interest in it. His letter to Lord Radnor, written in London in 1835, gives a just, and at the same time a respectful, view of the errors as well as the prospects of his church. In a letter to another friend, written in 1843, he shows his continued anxiety on the subject, and how desirous he was, while he resisted as a politician the inordinate claims of the church of Rome, to do nothing to subvert the just influence of religion over the minds of his countrymen. "One of my dreams," he says, "the principal one which I had in entering on political life, was to labour to reconcile the spirit of liberty and the spirit of religion—the new society and the church."

Alexis de Tocqueville was born at Paris in 1805; his mother, the grandchild of Monsieur de Malesherbes; his father, himself an author of historical works of considerable merit, was, after the return of the Bourbons, préfet successively of Metz, of Amiens, and of Versailles, a Count and Peer of France. The boy's education was neglected, and what he knew of the Classics was learned at the college at Metz; but he was even then distinguished for the purity and power of his French style. In 1826 he travelled with his brother, and observed carefully what was remarkable in Italy and Sicily. A fragment of his journal in Sicily has been published by the editor. In 1827 he was recalled to France, and placed, through his father's interest, in the office of a subordinate magistrate attached to the tribunal of Versailles. But though he discharged respectably the duties

of his office, he was irresistibly attracted to those political questions which were then stirring, and to that fierce struggle between the old monarchical and ecclesiastical opinions which were aiming to maintain despotism, and the strong liberal spirit which had pervaded the intelligent and middle classes of society. Notwithstanding the prejudices of family and the ties of interest, De Tocqueville took his part decidedly with the liberal school; and he gave his adhesion, without much enthusiasm, but with a clear decision, to the government of Louis Philippe. It is a sign of the candour and gentle affections of the man, that his most intimate friend was a cousin who had become attached to him from childhood, and who remained his closest friend till death, the Count Louis de Kergolay. Their political opinions were wide as the poles asunder; De Kergolay having thrown up his commission in the army, and his prospects, rather than take the oath to the government of Louis Philippe, and having afterwards engaged in a conspiracy against the government, for which he underwent a trial. Yet of all his friends this was the man most cherished, to whose judgment he had recourse in every time of difficulty, and to whom he went, when absorbed in a subject of inquiry, to gain light and direction from his clear and just penetration. His correspondence with De Kergolay is given by the editor, as far as it was right to expose it to the public, and it extends, without interruption, from the year 1824 till that fatal spring of 1859, when he sank under his last malady. One of his letters to him, in which he gives him hopes not to be realized, was written as late as the 18th of March, with all that tenderness of affection, and sympathy with his friend's trials, which characterized him; and it was on the 16th of April that he died, his friend having arrived in time to close his eyes.

Six months after the revolution of 1830, he sought and obtained permission to absent himself from his office, and to enter on an official inquiry into the prisons of the United States; and he took the opportunity of crossing the Atlantic, in order to investigate the democratic constitution, which had excited his curiosity. This led to the production of that remarkable work which has made his name famous both in America and Europe. The first two volumes of that work at once fixed his reputation. We can remember even now the impression which it made, and the manner in which it was welcomed, not only in his own country, in the salons of Paris and in the debates of the Chamber, but by all parties in England who examined its doctrines and cited its authority. Sir Robert Peel, then the Conservative leader, quoted it at the Glasgow banquet as an instructive warning against democracy; the Whigs, even the Radicals, laid hold of it as establishing the truth, that among a people trained to self-government, and restrained by a high

standard of morals, a republic was not only possible, but prudent. How far, had De Tocqueville lived, he might have modified these opinions, it is difficult to say. His was a mind remarkable for candour, which left itself open to every impression made by experience and events. His own aim in his work he has recorded in one of his later letters, where he says that its object was, on the one hand, to correct the unreasoning fanaticism of the liberal party, who fancied that they might establish a democracy under any circumstances, whereas he held that it required long preparation in the national character; but, on the other hand, to disabuse men of panic fear that democracy must lead to revolution and chaos. De Tocqueville's work—at least its first two volumes—was composed in two years, from 1832 to 1834, when he was disengaged from official business; as, when Louis Philippe's government dismissed his friend M. de Beaumont, De Tocqueville, with his usual chivalry, threw in his lot with his friend, and sent in his own resignation. In 1835 he enjoyed the satisfaction of finding his repute established in England, and was invited to give his opinion before a committee of the House of Commons. The same autumn he tasted the more enduring satisfaction of a congenial marriage with a young Englishwoman, who became the solace of his life. A year after, he writes to his most intimate friend how much his character had been improved, and his temper softened, by the intercourse with one whose tenderness made allowance for his infirmities, and yet restrained them, and who, by her own high standard of moral worth, elevated his motives. "Not a day passes," he says, "that I do not thank the heavens for having placed in my way Marie, and in which I do not think that, if anything on this earth can confer happiness, it is such a companion."

In 1836, after the death of his mother, he succeeded to the old paternal château of Tocqueville in Normandy, which is situated on the sea, on the promontory of which Cherbourg forms the point; an old house, greatly decayed, but full of associations which to him had an irresistible charm. He went there, happy in his marriage, and covered with honours; for the Academy, which every year crowns the most distinguished work, had, to mark its opinion, given an extra prize to the work on democracy in America. Two years afterwards, De Tocqueville was elected a member of the Academy of Moral Science, and in 1841 he became a member of the French Academy. His residence in Normandy, and his property, opened to him the career in politics of which he had long been ambitious. He refused, indeed, in 1837, to accept the assistance of the government, and to be elected as their candidate, though the head of the government was at that time his own relation, M. Molé, every way estimable, who had offered him the support of government. But this he felt would compromise his independence; and, with

a spirit which appeared strange to M. Molé, but which we in England can understand, he relinquished his canvass. He was elected two years after, in 1839, by the cordial assent of the Electoral College, and he continued a member of the Chamber, representing the same place, till 1848, when he acted with the party of opposition, and was closely united with M. Dufaure. After the revolution of 1848, the department of the Manche returned him to the "Assemblé constituante," and he subsequently became a member of the National Assembly. In 1848, when general Cavaignac was President, his friend M. Dufaure entered the cabinet, and De Tocqueville accepted the post of deputy to the conference at Brussels. In 1849, when popular movements had led to a fear of anarchy, and brought a violent pressure upon the government, he braved its hazards by accepting office under the ministry of M. Barrot, and was Foreign Minister from June 1849, till the end of October, when that government fell. The new president was anxious to retain De Tocqueville's services; but his penetration had already discovered that the republic was undermined, and that France was marching towards the empire. Under this conviction, he refused to be connected with the government of Napoleon. His short possession of the seals of the Foreign Office had served to show that he was as capable of distinction in official life as he had reached in literature. His despatches were characterized by a manly vigour; and in the selection of ambassadors for foreign posts he showed his judgment. His removal from office was of advantage to his health, which could not have long borne the effects of severe work, as it already began to show symptoms of decline. He took advantage, therefore, of his freedom from office, to spend the winter of 1849—50 in Italy; and he sought at Sorrento, near Naples, the rest and sunshine of which he was in need. He had already formed a close intimacy with many distinguished Englishmen,—with Mr. Grote, whose history he read with great admiration; with Lord Radnor, to whom he had before stated at large his views on the religion of France, and to whom, as to Mr. Grote, he exposed his apprehensions of the coming blow to the democratic constitution of his country. With Mr. Senior he had had an acquaintance from 1835; and as he saw him intimately during his residence at Sorrento, the conversations between them on the politics of France were written down by Mr. Senior according to his usual habit, and will one day see the light; so that another generation will benefit by that accurate observation and profound wisdom which traced the events from February, 1848, till December, 1851, and they will thus learn the infirmities, the vices, and the decay of the French democracy. We learn, indeed, from M. de Beaumont, that De Tocqueville has himself left some records on this subject, full of interest; but these will not see the light till the generation affected by them

has passed away. Another of his English correspondent was Mr. Reeve, the editor of the "Edinburgh Review," of whom he had seen much during his visits to England and his correspondence with him and with Mr. Mill ex tends at intervals from the year 1835 to the last months c his life. Mrs. Grote also was one with whom he kept up frequent correspondence. In the autumn of 1850 he returne to Naples, though with great reluctance, and he hurried fro it the following autumn to take his post in the Assembly, whicl undermined by Napoleon's tactics, and discredited by its ow divisions, was nodding to its fall. He took an active part in it resolutions, and was one of the two hundred deputies who wer carried to Vincennes in the night of the 2nd December. Fro that time his political life closed. The friends with whom h had taken counsel in public affairs, especially M. de Beaumon and M. Dufaure, remained henceforth his private friends. The had struggled for liberty, they remained to mourn over its los This blow produced upon the mind of M. de Tocqueville, as it ha done upon that of many others, an effect dispiriting and depress ing; but he rallied from this, and after a time resumed his literar exertions. To his intimate friend he reveals, in the spring an summer of 1852, the feelings which for a year had paralysed hi pen. "All labour," he writes in May, 1852, "is at presen impossible to me. I attribute this painful incapacity to th incidents and disturbing conversations which I meet ever moment at Paris. If I was in the country, I should attribut it to solitude. The truth is, that it arises from a sickness of th soul, and will only cease when that shall rally, which can onl come with time, the great physician of sorrow. The sight c all that is passing grates on every feeling within me of pride and delicacy, and honesty. I should be grieved with myself I were less sorrowful: in this respect I have full satisfactior for in truth I am sorrowful even to death." He mentions th necessity he was under of giving up his post of member of th general council of his department, and with it the more influence he had exercised; a severe trial. His remarks o the French revolution are worthy to be noted. He had not bee deceived by the burst of democracy in 1848; he had had eve then strong fears. These fears were now increased; for thoug there might occur other changes, and popular institutions migh be restored, he says, "Will they last? The country is but sand we need not ask if the sand will remain fixed, but only wha will be the winds which will move it."

In these remarks we see the penetration of the mind whic had investigated American democracy, and which now, exclude from French politics, turned to the subject which had alway engaged his thoughts, for which his studies in America wer only a preparation. This subject was the French revolution o *1789; that strange* event which had thrown its shadow over

great empire, and over a period of sixty years, and which, having broken up ancient institutions, destroyed aristocracy, crushed an old monarchy, and pulverised property till it crumbled into atoms; had been ever since passing through repeated phases with different aspects, forms of government, dynasties and various rulers, and seemed yet, unexhausted in its changes, to be as far from peace and order as ever. What was the principle, De Tocqueville asked himself, which had begun these changes, and which perpetuated them? In June 1852, in a most interesting letter to M. le Conte de Circourt, we find the first outlines of his views upon this great question, his original thoughts, and the beginning of his labours. It is much to be regretted that he did not live to complete them. His first volume on the "Ancien régime et la révolution," was all that he left behind him. We remember the interest which that work produced, and its impression on the mind both of England and France. It was published early in 1856, and was saluted with the unanimous praises of the newspapers and periodicals of both countries, and rapidly translated into the languages of Europe. It was the result—as were all his writings—of long study, thought, and research, and the most candid investigation. His intention was to publish three volumes, and the second was far advanced at the time of his death. Some chapters were entirely written, aud had received his last corrections; of others the thoughts and even the language are traced; abundant notes show that he had collected materials for all. His widow and the editor have decided that these chapters and fragments shall not see the light; a different decision has given us the last volume of Lord Macaulay's history. We by no means dispute the discretion which has prompted M. de Beaumont's decision; but we mourn our loss. In the hands of the editor, who was conversant with M. de Tocqueville's views, we feel that we should have had an imperfect, but yet a precious record, and though with a mind like De Tocqueville's, which was eminently judicial, which continued its investigations to the last, and never gave judgment till all attainable evidence had been collected and weighed, it is quite possible that even his advanced thoughts might have been modified, and undergone at length a change; we should have liked to have had in our hands his incomplete opinions, and we feel that they would have been profoundly suggestive. Might we address our respectful request to the editor to reconsider his decision, and to bear in mind that it is the interests of truth which are involved; for truth would be advanced by the thoughts of so upright a mind, nor is there any fear that a reputation, already established and European, could suffer from the imperfection and roughness of the style. No doubt—this we frankly admit—there is a difficulty in publishing an incomplete work of De

Tocqueville's, which arises from the fidelity and minuteness his investigations.

The first idea of his work on the revolution occurred to hi at Sorrento, in the winter of 1851; and the first part of h work was directed to describe the social and political sta of France before the revolution. He could only ascerta this in provincial records, which gave a daguerreotype of tl life and customs of their various neighbourhoods. He studie these with care, and for that purpose fixed himself ne Tours in 1854, and, while passing the winter in that mild climate, he carefully examined its archives. From these, an from some others, he drew the picture which he has left u But he rightly conceived that the French Revolution had affecte not only France but other countries; and that the same element which had drawn down the hurricane upon France, had been work in other countries of Europe, and were producing ther though more gradually, the same results. He had the im pression, in which we are sure he was correct, that these prin ciples might be traced in Germany. For that purpose he tran ported himself across the Rhine, and passed part of a winte and summer at Bonn and Hamburg, putting himself in com munication with Germans of intelligence, and mastering, thoug late in life, the German language, so far at least as to be able t read German works. He thus explained his object to an int mate friend: "I wish above all to know in what state German was when the French revolution broke out; what our contac with it produced by our ideas as well as our arms; and, in fine what passed in this great country up to the moment when i rose against us." He found in Germany, at least on the Rhine that the ancient feudal system had entirely disappeared. H was informed that he would discover traces of it in Westphali Hanover, Brandenburg, and Mecklenburg; but his observation on these, if he made any, have not been recorded. One thin struck him in Germany,—and it was the same symptom that dis couraged him in France,—that while the literary and scientifi spirit was active, while many books were published and foun many readers, there was a political languor, which had suc ceeded the excitement of 1848. He remarked also, what h had traced as the great cause of French decay, the degradin and lethargic influence of centralized power, the traditions c liberty nearly effaced, the universal hunt after places, and th general dependence on government. The difference betwee Germany and France, he thought, was comparative—German drowsy, France asleep; and yet, (we may remark it here,) wit all his sorrow for the state of France, he never relinquished hope nor a sure trust in a better future. To his friend M. Ampère who used to predict that France would perish like the Roma empire, he writes in May 1857,—"I have no such fears; thes

analogies lie on the surface; there are at the bottom immense differences, and this among the rest, which is enough: We are asleep, the Romans were dead; beyond that horizon on which our eyes are fixed, there is something infinitely better than that which we see. I have the conviction that our society is fatigued, exhausted if you will, but not decrepit; it is sick, but it has a strong constitution; Christianity, modern light, the latent energy which shows itself at every instant, the absence of slavery, the ties of country, all differ from Rome. No, in our future there is something very different from the Rome of the Cæsars; and because I do not see the new day which will rise, I am no believer in darkness." These are noble words, which Frenchmen may read and take to heart for their comfort. It is curious in such a man, but consistent with our experience, that while he judged thus accurately of his own country and of the Continent, he was for a long time unable to understand England. His first impressions, which he records in his letters, were the usual views of Frenchmen. He thought we were crushed by a proud aristocracy, that our people were depressed and discontented, and that we were marching at a gallop to a revolution. After his intimacy with many distinguished Englishmen, and his closer intercourse with the country of which his wife was a native, he adopted different views. They are recorded in a letter to a friend in the end of July 1857, when he had revisited England, with his mind matured by study and observation, and with that penetration which springs from experience and affection. "England is," he says, "the greatest spectacle that you will find in the world. You there meet with things entirely unknown in the rest of Europe, the sight of which has refreshed me. I doubt not that there exists in the lower classes a certain amount of feeling hostile to the classes above them; but you do not see this. What you do see is the union and cordial good understanding amongst all men who form a part of the enlightened classes, from the burgess up to the heights of the aristocracy, all united to defend society, and to conduct it freely and in common. I did not envy England its wealth and its power, but I envied it this; and I breathed anew when I found myself for the first time for many years outside these hatreds and rivalries of classes, which, after having been the source of all our miseries, have ended by destroying our freedom."

There are some other remarks of his upon England, which we commend to our readers. He had observed with his usual discernment our blunders in the Crimea, and he traced these accurately to the want of centralized power. Our isolation from the Continent, and the little sympathy felt for us there, both in our Russian war and in the Indian revolt, he refers partly to the envy which other nations naturally feel at such greatness and prosperity as ours, but partly to the conviction

(which we do not believe to be just, but which we admit to be general) that England, in all her politics, is looking exclusively to her own interests, and cares about foreign affairs only in as far as they affect her own fortunes. His remarks upon our dealings with India well deserve attention, and we wish they could be impressed, not on the Christian world, which has long admitted them, but on statesmen. His remarks deserve the more weight, inasmuch as he had made the history of the establishment of the English in India a subject of special attention. "I avow to you," he says to Lord Hatherton, "that there remained with me from this study the reflection that the English had not done for the Indian population what might have been expected from their lights and their institutions. It seemed to me that in general they were satisfied with putting themselves in the place of native governments, and of employing the same means, only with more equity, gentleness, and intelligence. I think one had a right to expect better things of them."

If we apply this to our dealings with Indian religion and education, how instructive is the remark. We notice another. He is commenting on an article on India in the Edinburgh Review, by Mr. Reeve. The editor had suggested the advantage of introducing into India a European population. "That," says De Tocqueville, "would be full of danger; for wherever you introduce such a population into the heart of races imperfectly civilized, the superiority of the first over the second will make itself felt in a manner so offensive to individual interests, and so mortifying to the national pride, that more resentment will arise from it than from any political oppression." How instructively does this sagacious remark throw light upon the late disturbances in Bengal, the acts of the indigo planters, and the resentment of the ryots!

But we must not allow ourselves further quotations. It was a characteristic of that balanced mind, that he noticed the feature in England so contrasted with that of France and of Germany, that while in the latter countries religious men supported and upheld despotism, in England there was a perfect agreement between religion and liberty, between the religious world and the political; all men valuing free institutions, as not only necessary to the progress, but to the morality of society.

The work in which he was engaged, and of which we have only one volume, was from 1852 the occupation of his later years. He resided, when his health permitted it, almost entirely at his old château of Tocqueville, which he had made sufficiently comfortable for himself and his friends, and where he carried on the improvements in his grounds which his wife's English taste suggested, and in which he found a pleasant

recreation from his studies. In his letter to Lord Hatherton, whom he had visited in England, and with whom he had talked upon agriculture, he gives us a lively sketch of his domestic habits. "Our habits," he says, "in the country are a little different from yours: in the summer we receive our friends, the winter we give up to seclusion. My daily life is then divided into two equal parts; before mid-day I am a writer, after mid-day a peasant." He wrote laboriously, for he made a large collection of facts from the public libraries or archives which he consulted; and all these notes were written in his own hand. When he came to reduce them to maxims, and condensed their results in his pointed style, he wrote with labour, and could hardly satisfy himself. At times, absorbed and embarrassed by his subject, he could hardly see his way; and then it was that he had recourse to the perspicacity of his relation and friend, the Count de Kergolay, whose clear mind extricated him from his difficulties. Still, even when brought face to face with his subject, he wrote slowly. He speaks of the anxiety which it cost him; of his rising at five o'clock in the morning, and passing six hours looking at the paper which often remained a blank, going out of his room overcome by his work and dissatisfied with himself. It was then that his country life and its habits came to his assistance. He says: "My books never make me forget my fields, while these often distract my thoughts when I am in the midst of my work. The evening finds my wife and myself gathered before a huge old chimney, before which my ancestors have sat, and where a bright fire is blazing. We read together the books which please us the most, and time flies."

Writing to another friend in January, he says:—"We tear ourselves with difficulty from this place. We have led in our solitude a pleasant life: I indeed have been more idle than I have been for twenty years; for we have had, and still have, an army of workmen engaged in transforming the garden behind the château. The overlooking this regiment has been one of the causes of my intellectual inactivity."

But this life of various interest was now drawing to its close. The constitution of De Tocqueville had always been delicate, and the short pressure of official business had compelled him to seek a retreat in a milder climate. Symptoms had then appeared which had alarmed both his physician and his friends; but the winters passed at Sorrento and in Touraine had apparently arrested the mischief. It would have been necessary, however, to have continued these precautions, and to have exchanged the harsh and stormy climate of his favourite Normandy every autumn for that of the South. But he was very unwilling to tear himself from his home, which he found so attractive even in winter, and to abandon the books which he

required for his pursuit, and to stop researches into records which could only be carried on in the capital. It was in vain that Madame de Tocqueville intreated him; her influence, powerful on other occasions, failed here. It was evident in 1857, that his constitution was giving way; and his visit to England during that summer, though it was full of intense interest, brought upon him an excitement not favourable to health. In the month of June, 1858, the rupture of a blood-vessel showed that the lungs were affected, and his preparations for leaving Tocqueville were so procrastinated, that it was the end of October before he reached Paris on his way to the South; and it was the beginning of November before he arrived, feeble and exhausted, in the milder climate of Cannes. From that time till the 16th of April, 1859, when he sunk at the age of fifty-four, his life was one rapid decline. He was, indeed, solaced by the tender care of his wife, and the presence of his intimate friends, and he found consolation in the visits and words of the venerable Curé of Cannes. The parish church of Tocqueville received his remains, which were placed there amid the tears of the peasantry, who had become warmly attached to him; and a simple cross of wood, according to his humble wishes, marks the place where so much fame and genius repose. It was said by two eminent men, after reading his first work, that there had been nothing published like it since the days of Montesquieu; and that judgment, pronounced by M. Royer Collard and by M. de Barante, was confirmed at his death in the words of the Duc de Broglie, "France no longer produces men like him;" but we hope, as he hoped, that after a temporary eclipse, genius and talent, with freedom, will once more reappear in France.

ON THE PERMANENT AUTHORITY OF THE DECALOGUE.

EVERY one must have observed how often the controversies of a former age, after having been apparently settled and sunk in repose, rise up again in another, and again become the subjects of eager and earnest discussion. Among these we may reckon the question respecting the Decalogue: whether it is of permanent and universal authority, or whether it is a code of laws drawn up solely for the Jewish dispensation, and therefore superseded by the law now laid down by Christ and His apostles. This latter notion has recently waked up from a long sleep, is widely and actively circulated, and seems to be gaining many adherents. The practical result claimed, and indeed necessarily

following from it, is, that whatever law we may find in the two tables, which is not also expressly laid down in the New Testament, ought to be looked upon as obsolete, and no longer in force.

The main argument in support of this view seems fully and fairly stated in the assertion brought forward by many, and among others by Dr. Hessey, in his late work on the Sabbath, and which in substance is this, that "we are never told to keep any one of the ten commandments merely *because* we find it written in the Decalogue. Such a reason is never given for our reception of any of them; and therefore we are bound only by those among them which have been republished by Christ, or, being written in the natural heart of man, are therefore evident from the light of nature, and the internal conscience implanted by God."

Now this statement is very plain and straight-forward. It appeals to fact, and not to argument. It is to be proved or disproved by evidence, and not by reasoning.

If, then, we deny the truth of the statement, we must be prepared to answer this question, Can you produce any instance from the New Testament, where we are required to observe any one of the Ten Commandments, merely *because* it is found in the Decalogue? Can you show that any of the apostles, upon finding a commandment there written, considered that circumstance alone sufficient reason for declaring it still to hold good under the Christian dispensation?

In answer to this, we produce the tenth Commandment, as exactly satisfying the condition required of us. And we may first observe of this Commandment, that it is not one written in the heart and internal conscience,—at least if the opinion of St. Paul has any weight with us; for he says that he should not have known coveting to be a sin, if the law had not declared it to be such. His words are, "I had not known sin but by the law; for I had not known lust except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet." (Rom. vii. 7.) But what we are chiefly concerned in is this: St. Paul finds it so written in the Decalogue, for that is evidently the law to which he refers; and he lays it down as certainly binding on us, *because* it is there written. He does not profess to lay it down on his own authority, or as being republished by Christ, or any other inspired teacher. We cannot read the passage without seeing that the sole authority to which he appeals is the Decalogue itself; and it is evident that he considers the mere fact of the Commandment being there written, sufficient reason and warrant for our receiving it. Here, then, is a clear proof that it cannot truly be said that "we are never told in the New Testament to observe any one of the Commandments merely because we find it written in the Decalogue."

The fifth Commandment is another instance still more strongly to our purpose. It may justly be said of the duty enjoined in it, that it naturally commends itself to the heart and conscience, and also that it has been republished by Christ. But neither the one nor the other of these assertions can be applied to its promise. If we hope that the blessing will follow the performance of the duty, our only ground and warrant for such hope is, because we find it so written in the Decalogue. We shall search the New Testament in vain for any other.

It is true that Selden,* and others after him, have cited this very promise, as a proof that the Decalogue is superseded by the Christian dispensation. They assume that it can only be interpreted as one of the temporal blessings held out to the Jews under their particular Covenant, and can refer only to the land of Canaan. Hence, they argue, that dispensation having come to an end, its promise must end with it, and therefore the Decalogue, as a whole, no longer remains. What is retained stands upon a different authority, that of our Lord and His apostles.

The inference would be very just, if the assumption were well founded and true. But as the assumption is the very foundation of the argument, it ought itself to be proved, and not taken for granted, before we are called upon to allow the consequence. The mere verbal statement of the promise does not in itself warrant its assumed restriction; for when the Scripture tells us that "God has *determined the bounds* of their habitation to all nations of men," what reason have we for saying that the expression, "The land which the Lord thy God has given thee," is not applicable to every nation and every individual in it? What warrant have we for restricting it to the land of Canaan alone? Is there any Englishman who will not apply it to his own lot, and thank God for the land which He has given him? Do we not believe that, as of old, so now also, God will bestow temporal blessings upon those lands and those persons that honour Him, and visit with His judgments those that depart from Him? What is there, then, in the wording of the promise, which will not as well apply to Christians of the present day, as to the Jews of old?

But we should be sorry to rest so important a matter upon so weak a foundation as any conclusions of our own; nor do we require of any one that the reasons which are satisfactory to us should be received as convincing by him. We rest the justness

* Selden's expressions, however, have been extended far beyond his meaning. He had no doubt about the duty of observing the Sabbath; his objection was, as he states in another place, "to their observing it in the Jewish manner;" a rule laid down by some of the Puritans. The *duty* of keeping the Lord's-day holy, and the *mode* of keeping it holy are two perfectly distinct questions, and much controversy would have been spared, if the distinction had been always kept in view.

of our interpretation, not upon our own arguments, but upon the express testimony of an inspired apostle. St. Paul is writing to converts who had been heathens, and not Jews; and we need only read the passage (Ephes. vi. 1—3,) in which he is laying before them the fifth Commandment, to see that in it he expressly asserts these two things, first, that the expression of "thy days being long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee," means, that "thy days may be long on the earth;" and next, that they may depend upon this promise being still in force, because it is so written in the Decalogue.

We may observe, besides, that in calling this the "*first Commandment* with promise," he necessarily implies that all the others are commandments also, and therefore of equal permanence and authority.

It is certain, then, with respect to two of the commandments, that St. Paul, in writing to his heathen converts, considers the mere fact of their being found among those "written by the finger of God" on mount Sinai, sufficient proof that they must be still in force, sufficient authority for enjoining our obedience, and sufficient reason for our relying upon the promise. Now, if this is a good reason for any one, it is a good reason for every one of them. It is apostolic testimony to the divine and permanent authority of the whole Decalogue.

Where an apostle has delivered his opinion so peremptorily, it is perhaps weakening our case to add anything further upon the subject. But as the assertion we are combating is mainly brought forward to set aside the divine authority of the Lord's-day, we may be permitted to add a few words on that subject, so far as it bears upon the question under discussion.

When we wish to know a person's opinion about a subject upon which he has not expressly spoken, we naturally endeavour to collect it from his actions. Now let us apply this to the case in question.

It is very clear that the apostles, and all the early Christians, so far obeyed the fourth Commandment, as to set a broad mark of distinction between one day of the week and the other six. The mere fact, also, of their calling this day the Lord's-day, shows that they looked upon it as one more peculiarly His, and more especially devoted to His service and worship.

But we shall not see the full force of the inference to be drawn from this apostolic observance, unless at the same time we take into consideration how alien from all other nations was this septenal division of time. The Romans, the Greeks, in fact all the civilized world at that period, with the exception of the Jews, and perhaps the Egyptians,* used modes of reckoning time which,

* We do not enter upon the argument respecting the heathen origin of the week, derived from the heathen names of the Days. The Christian week was established long before the Egyptian influence had perceptibly extended itself,

however different from each other, were all such as could n be made to coalesce with our week. How, then, is it to be counted for, that as fast as Christianity made its way in directions, and among all nations, the peculiar observance of day in seven always accompanied it? If it had been regar merely as a Jewish ordinance, that circumstance, so far f being a recommendation, would have proved a hindrance t both among the heathens and the early Christians. Yet we that St. Paul, who claims to be considered as eminently Apostle of the Gentiles, and who is on all occasions most dist and peremptory in asserting the Mosaic law with all its c monies and ordinances to be totally superseded, speaks of first day of the week as a settled and established ordinanc Christianity, though writing to converts among whom the reckoning by weeks was totally unknown. He has shown, tl by his conduct in this instance, the observance of one da seven, as well as by his express assertions in the other two c of which we have been speaking, that he considers every c mandment of the Decalogue to be as binding upon Christian it was and is upon the Jews; and can we fix upon any one would be more jealously on his guard against every attemp ground any religious service upon mere human authority?

We have spoken the more at length upon these det because the question, whether the whole Decalogue is still bi ing, is of great importance to all, whether Churchmen or D senters; for although we do not consider the duty of observ one day in seven to rest upon the fourth Commandment, upon the original law given to man before his fall, yet commandment is a most solemn attestation, and that by Almighty Himself, to its universal and permanent autho The second Commandment also draws a visible line of tinction between Romanists and all Protestants. So that ev one will allow the importance of the question at issue. it more especially concerns Churchmen, because we have grafted the whole Decalogue into our Liturgy, and are authoritatively to "pray for God's mercy on our transgres thereof, and grace to keep the same for the time to con Now, if the Decalogue, as a Decalogue, be abolished, its ad tion by our Church is a greater blemish than the introduc of the Apocrypha into our Ritual. For we expressly disc the Apocrypha as having any divine authority, and merely r it as any homily of old or sermon of the present day may read, "for example of life, and instruction of manners."

and in countries far beyond that influence. The want of particular names for the days was a want both in the Jewish and Christian week, and was subsequently supplied from the Egyptians, who probably derived it from the Chalds The Christians adopted the six nam the week days named after the moo five planets, retaining their own for the remaining day.

supposing the Decalogue a mere Jewish code, and as such now superseded, in adopting it, and our responses show how entirely we adopt it in all its particulars, we are guilty of re-fastening a yoke and burden upon our people, from which Christ had set them free.

No doubt, a deep and searching examination into the foundations of all the truths which we are called upon to accept, is not only the right, but the duty of every Christian; and we utterly repudiate the notion of its being a duty to fling away or stifle all doubts as the suggestions of the evil spirit. Where there is doubt upon any point of religion, inquiry becomes duty; nor can we believe that the result of conscientious inquiry will ever be injurious to our piety and peace. Such teaching would keep every one in the error in which he had been brought up; under it, no Roman Catholic could become a Protestant, no Mahometan a Christian; and therefore it is by them that such a tenet is most vehemently espoused. Such teaching it was that so long retarded the Reformation. It is, however, utterly alien to the spirit of our Church, which directs her members, like the more noble-minded of the Bereans, to "search the Scriptures daily whether these things are so."

Nevertheless, there is a heavy responsibility attaching to the spirit and manner in which this is done. There are many writers in the present day who might earnestly be entreated to consider whether advancing all kinds of speculations on religious subjects without offering any proof of their truth, whether endeavouring to invalidate the authority of the Scriptures on account of some supposed or hitherto unexplained difficulties in them, whether suggesting doubts without any attempts to solve them, are innocent and charitable proceedings. It is no valid justification of such a course to say that nothing is to be feared from it; that truth can bear safely every attack, and that every attempt to overthrow it must end in its more firm establishment. We have no doubt about that: but such defence is in its essence no other than that reprobated by St. Paul,—"Let us do evil that good may come;" for how many souls may have suffered shipwreck, before the mists we have raised cleared away!

We will conclude with a beautiful passage from a sermon* recently published, the whole of which is worthy of attentive perusal, and especially at the present period. Happily this is not an instance in which the Church has had reason to complain of the University Pulpit.

"What so uncharitable, so heartless, so cruel, as the wanton suggestion of doubts and difficulties in religion to unsuspecting minds? We may do so, indeed, imprudently and uncon-

* The Province of Private Judgment, by E. Hawkins, Provost of Oriel College. H. and J. Parker.

sciously. Heaven forgive us where we have so done! But it is also the fault, from time to time, not merely of the rashness and vanity of young and half-informed talent, but even of those who should be grave, considerate, and sound. If 'it must needs be that offences come,' yet it is written, 'Woe be to that man by whom the offence cometh.' 'Whoso shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea.' Do we marvel at such words? It was the first evil work in this world of the great enemy to tempt innocent souls to unbelief. We never do the work of Satan so directly as when we tempt others to unbelief and sin."

R. T.

DR. TRENCH ON THE EPISTLES TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES IN ASIA.

Commentary on the Epistles to the Seven Churches in Asia; Revelation II., III. By Richard Chevenix Trench, D.D., Dean of Westminster. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1861.

IN reviewing Dr. Trench's exposition of the Epistles to the Seven Churches in Asia, it was not at first our intention to touch upon the questions either of the authorship or of the interpretation of the Apocalypse itself, partly because we wished to confine ourselves to the subject of the book reviewed, and partly because the Christian Observer has recently contained a discussion on the Book of Revelation. But it was easier to make this resolve than to keep it. The Apocalypse resembles that great granite boulder in the Cumbrian mountains, which vibrates to the touch of a child's finger, although a giant's strength could not move it an inch from its base. This book is immovably settled upon the basis of its divine origin, its apostolic authorship and inspiration; yet men have always been laying irreverent or curious hands upon it: and although for one moment it has seemed to vibrate at their touch, not all the force of hostile criticism has been able to roll it from its place in God's word. The latest "child's finger" that has touched it, is a brilliant but superficial article in the Westminster Review. (October, 1861.) And our desire to expose the fallacies of this article must be our excuse for deviating from our special subject, and again calling the attention of our readers to the Apocalypse. The writer denies that St. John was the author; determines the date of its composition to be during the seven months' reign of Galba, or A.D. 69; ranks it in substance, although not in genius,

among the apocryphal apocalyptic literature of pre-christian times; eliminates every strictly prophetical element from the vision; limits the historical references to the period immediately following the death of Nero; and regards the whole as a "daring and wildly beautiful poem," with no other element of truth and reality than a buoyant hope of the world's future blessedness and glory—a hope, let us add, of all hopes the most chimerical if, with this reviewer, we are to regard Christ, our hope of glory, as a fable, and Christianity as a dream. The reviewer hashes-up exploded rationalistic views, which, dressed in spirited language, and made piquant by antichristian bitterness and sarcasm, will doubtless be accepted in some quarters as the latest and highest philosophy. To expose his fallacies, would require an article twice as long as his own; whereas, stepping aside, as we are now doing, from our proper subject, we can only devote a few lines to it. "That we owe *the Revelation* to John the Presbyter is not an inadmissible hypothesis,"—so says the Reviewer; and it *is* an inadmissible hypothesis that the author of the fourth Gospel is also the author of the Apocalypse. Now, how does the evidence really stand? Papias (as we learn from bishops Andreas and Arethos), Melito, Justin Martyr, residing in Ephesus, and writing only about forty years after the death of St. John; Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp; all unhesitatingly testify that St. John is the author. And what have we to set against this positive testimony of witnesses so competent to testify to a matter of fact? Chiefly considerations precarious at the best, and light as air when weighed in the balance with authentic external testimony. The Apocalypse is omitted in the old Syriac version. It was rejected by the Alogi in their controversy with the Montanists; by Caius, the Roman presbyter; and in the third century by Dionysius of Alexandria. But the Alogi rejected it on doctrinal grounds; Caius, in consequence of his antipathy to chiliasm; and Dionysius, from critical considerations. This Dionysius, by the way, is the first who conjectures that John the Presbyter was the author. But who was this John the Presbyter? The application of the mythical theory to *him* would be decidedly more satisfactory than some of its recent applications. A very able German historian (Schaff) believes that there is "room even to inquire whether the very existence of this obscure presbyter and mysterious duplicate of the apostle John does not rest upon a misunderstanding" of the language of Papias. Be this as it may, the recourse to this shadowy personage as a substitute for St. John in the authorship of the book of Revelation, is a specimen of the hypercriticism which rejects common sense for speculative novelty. The tenor of all external testimony is in favour of the Johanine authorship. Eusebius classes this book among the Homologoumena. That its claim

to a place in the Canon was long and warmly disputed in consequence of such prepossessions as those which we have noted is true; but the external testimony remains unimpeachable The Westminster Reviewer leans for support upon Lücke; but he does not tell his readers that Lücke, who rejects on internal grounds the Johanine authorship of the Apocalypse, regards the historical testimony as perfectly satisfactory.*

It would be idle to ask this reviewer why the terrors and splendours of the Apocalyptic vision should have been revealed to an unknown presbyter, as he admits no objective revelation at all in the case;—why an angel should call himself the fellow-servant of the author, and speak of the prophets as his brethren (xxii. 9);—why this presbyter should write in the way he does to the Ephesian and other churches, the very sphere of the apostle's labours;—why he has not distinguished himself more clearly from St. John the Apostle. But there are others who will feel the force of considerations like these, corroborating the external testimony. And though we readily acknowledge the difference of style between the Apocalypse and the other writings of St. John, we think that this diversity is quite accounted for by the mental state of the writer (ἐν πνεύματι) and the peculiarity of the subject—a prophetical vision, overflowing with the poetic diction of the Old Testament.

We could have wished that we had space to exhibit the evidence in favour of the Domitianic date,—a point of considerable importance in the interpretation of the book, and to show how consistent and uniform the tradition which assigns it; but this would detain us much too long from our proper subject. Indeed, our apology is due to our readers for keeping them waiting so long upon the threshold. Fresh from the perusal of the review upon which we have made some strictures, we turn, with a sense of relief, to this work itself. The tables of reviewers groan beneath the weight of books on the Revelation. Pamphlets, tracts, and sermons on the interpretation or fulfilment of prophecy, fall "thick as autumnal leaves in Val-Ambrosa." We do not, indeed, believe that all the labour expended upon this subject has been in vain. The image of that labour is not "water spilt upon the ground, which cannot be gathered up again," but "bread cast upon the waters to be found after many days." The path of apocalyptic interpretation is strewed with the ruins of shivered systems

* "Wir glauben nachgewiesen zu haben, dass die zweifelnden, ungünstigen, oder geradezu widersprechenden Urtheile der Alten weder auf irgend einem bestimmten historischen Wissen, noch auf irgend einer durchgreifenden, exegetischen Untersuchung beruhen,—sowohl die kirchliche Tradition als der exegetische Augenschein spricht dafür dass der Apostel der Verfasser sei." – Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis S. 353.—It would be easy to show how the views of several other German writers are slurred over by the reviewer when unfavourable to his purpose, but space fails.

but many precious fragments will be picked up out of them to be built hereafter as stones into a perfect fabric; and in the meantime, while men are seeking the key to these mysterious hieroglyphs, the book is pouring its spiritual treasures into their hearts. At the same time, we turn with some satisfaction from conflicting schemes of prophetical interpretation to a book which expounds and enforces practical and spiritual truth.

In fact, these Epistles are pre-eminently congregational and pastoral Epistles. Let us hear Dr. Trench on this point:—

"It is recorded of the admirable Bengel, that it was his wont, above all things, to recommend the study of these Epistles to youthful ministers of Christ's word and sacraments. And, indeed, to them they are full of teaching, of the most solemn warnings, of the strongest encouragement. We learn from these Epistles the extent to which the spiritual condition of a church is dependent upon that of its pastors; the guilt, not merely of teaching, but of allowing, error; how there may be united much and real zeal for the form of sound words, with a lamentable decay of the spirit of love; or, on the other hand, many works and active ministries of love, with only too languid a zeal for the truth once delivered; with innumerable lessons more. For one who has undertaken the awful ministry of souls, I know almost nothing in Scripture so searching, no threatenings so alarming, no promises so comfortable, as are some which these Epistles contain." (pp. ix., x.)

We acknowledge the truth and force of this statement, and therefore we gladly accept Dr. Trench's contribution to the study of this important part of God's word. He is already well known as an expositor, by his works on the Parables and Miracles. The readers of the Christian Observer will scarcely agree on all points with Dr. Trench; and evangelical Christians will miss the glow and fervour of the spirit which kindles into adoring gratitude in view of the Cross. It is but fair, however, to say, that his sacramental doctrine is rarely obtruded, and never offensively; not, we apprehend, from any reserve, but simply because it appears to hold no very marked or prominent position in his own theological system. We have observed only one reference to "baptismal grace" in the course of the work under notice. (pp. 153, 154.) The recognition of the *doctrine* of the Cross, there is—of the Redeemer's vicarious suffering for human guilt (pp. 11—13); and if we miss what Dr. Chalmers missed in Butler, "the *sal evangelicum*," it may be attributed, perhaps, to the scholarly and critical character of his works; and while seeking to supply *this* deficiency from books more immediately devotional, we may gladly avail ourselves of help of another kind, which such books do not afford. We shall do well to remember that "there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will." And the Church never needed works of solid learning, and sober,

patient thoughtfulness, under the control of a devout, reverential, and *believing* spirit, more than she does in these days of shallow brilliancy and sparkling heterodoxy. We believe that the works of Dr. Trench are quietly doing much to counteract and check the rationalistic spirit. Able, learned, candid—never glozing over a difficulty, and never substituting vituperation for argument—but with reverence for Scripture, as the inspired and infallible word of God, the standard and source of truth, and strong in the inheritance of the erudition of ages, Dr. Trench is well qualified, in this respect, to meet the wants of the age, and to satisfy the demands of inquiring young men. It is the trick of modern infidelity and rationalism, whether designed or unconscious, to treat the sacred heritage of the faith in the "pooh! pooh!" style, as if orthodox Christianity had not a valid argument in its favour; and to accuse its advocates of violently bending fact, science, and Scripture to square with their pre-conceived notions. These writings are full of unproved assertion and intimated falsehood. Glaring misinterpretations, abandoned by even rationalistic German writers, are spoken of as though indisputably and incontrovertibly proven, with the affectation of contemptuous pity for those who venture to dispute and controvert them. The article in the "Westminster," to which we have referred, is an instance of this.

How valuable are such works as this of the dean of Westminster to counteract the influence of such flippant and superficial literature, and to fortify against it those who happily are not yet entangled! They will show that it "is not so clear a case that there is nothing" in Christianity; that many of the objections urged in the present day arise from ignorance or misapprehension of the incriminated book; and that nine-tenths of them are *old*, slain, dead and buried ages ago; old foes with new faces, risen from the graves in which they were quietly rotting until modern rationalism exhumed and galvanized them.

Those of our readers who are interested in the subject of unfulfilled prophecy, will desire to know what view the author holds on the relation of the Epistles to the Seven Churches in Asia to the Church of the future. Dr. Trench has an able excursus on the "Historico-prophetical interpretation" at the end of the volume, and to this we refer our readers for the full exposition and discussion of the subject. He takes the purely historical view of these epistles, which appears to us to agree best with the injunction,—"Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter." (Revel. i. 10.) But while declining to discuss this question of the *prophetical* or *non-prophetical* character of these Seven Epistles, we cannot resist the temptation of quoting a passage concerning their *historical* character. Speaking of

those who deny all reference whatever in these Epistles to Churches actually existing when the risen and ascended Lord dictated them to the apostle, Dr. Trench says:—

"Origen is justly condemned, that, advancing a step beyond other allegorists, who *slighted* the facts of the Old Testament history for the sake of mystical meanings which they believed to lie behind them, he denied concerning many events recorded there as historical, that they actually happened at all; rearing the superstructure of his mystical meaning, not on the establishment of the literal sense, but on its ruins. Every reverent student of the Word of God must feel that so he often lets go a substance in snatching at a shadow, that shadow itself really eluding his grasp after all. He who in this sense assails the strong historic substructures of Scripture, may not know all which he is doing: but he is indeed doing his best to turn the glorious superstructure built on these—which, though resting on earth, pierces heaven—into a mere sky-pageant painted on the air, a cloud-palace waiting to be shifted and changed by every breath of the caprice of man, and at length fading and melting into the common air."—(p. 220.)

We thank Dr. Trench for these eloquent and seasonable words. We have heard a great deal in these latter days about *ideology* and the *ideological* interpretation of Scripture. This in plain language means the denial of the veracity and historical character of the Scriptures, or at least of such portions of them as are subjected to the ideological process. The truth of *idea* may be retained when the truth of *fact* is abandoned. Certainly this may be when the narrative is avowedly fictitious. The parables of our Lord are a case in point. But when the narrative is professedly historical, the death of the idea will speedily follow the death of the fact. No doubt there are "difficulties of belief in connexion with creation and the fall," but the way to meet these difficulties is not by cutting away the groundwork of historical fact. The Scriptures refuse to submit to this treatment. Simple-minded readers instinctively feel that they are on historical ground, and those in whom the *historic sense* is most fully cultivated and developed are at one with the simple-minded believer. And if idealising hypercriticism were once to sweep away the historical foundations of faith, every vestige of the idea would speedily vanish. There are men now who are vainly endeavouring to retain Christian ideas when they have wholly surrendered Christian facts. Every year these ideas dwindle or alter their aspects, until at last only the faintest "aftershine" of the faith of their childhood tinges the skirts of the black night of their unbelief. The fate of the individual is but a type of what would befal Christendom if idealising theologians were to succeed in overthrowing the historical credibility of the records of our faith.

But while Dr. Trench justly stigmatises those who deny the

historical character of the contents and reference of these Seven Epistles; and while he controverts the position of those expositors (as Mede and Vitringa), who, admitting a literal sense, build upon it a prophetical, he maintains not only that these Epistles were written for the edification of the Universal Church, but that, more than this,—

"These Seven Churches of Asia are not an accidental aggregation which might just as conveniently have been eight, six, or any other number; that, on the contrary, there is a fitness in this number, and that these seven do in some sort represent the Universal Church; that we have a right to contemplate the seven as offering to us the great and leading aspects, moral and spiritual, which Churches gathered in the name of Christ out of the world will assume." (p. 211.)

We think that there may be good grounds for this opinion. It seems very probable that these Seven Churches in particular are addressed, not merely for their own sake, and because there was something in their condition needing correction and reproof (indeed in two of them, Smyrna and Philadelphia, the Lord finds, or at least notices, only matter for praise), but because they are representative, typical churches, foreshadowing the grand characteristics of church life in all ages. The mystical significance of the number seven throughout this book (see pp. 53—59, where Dr. Trench has some good remarks on the point), and the preference of some of these churches to others holding apparently more prominent stations, lead to this conclusion. This, perhaps, is—

"The reason why Philadelphia is included, and Miletus passed by; Thyatira, outwardly so insignificant, chosen, when one might have expected Magnesia or Tralles. Then, what notable contrasts have we here! A church face to face with danger and death (Smyrna), and a church at ease, settling down upon its lees (Sardis); a church with abundant means and loud profession, yet doing little or nothing for the furtherance of the truth (Laodicea); and a church with little strength and little power, yet accomplishing a mighty work for Christ (Philadelphia); a church intolerant of doctrinal error, yet too much lacking that love towards its Lord for which nothing else is a substitute (Ephesus); and over against this a church, not careful nor zealous, as it ought to be, for doctrinal purity, but diligent in the work and ministry of love (Thyatira). Or, to review these same churches from another point of view—a church in conflict with heathen libertinism, the sinful freedom of the flesh (Ephesus), and a church or churches in conflict with Jewish superstition, the sinful bondage of the spirit (Pergamum, Philadelphia); or, for the indolence of man a more perilous case than either, churches with no active forms of opposition to the truth in the midst of them, to brace their energies, and to cause them, in the act of defending the imperilled truth, to know it better, and to love it more (Sardis, Laodicea). That these churches are more or less *representative* churches, and were selected because they are so; that they form a complex within and among themselves,

mutually fulfilling and completing one another; that the great Head of the Church contemplates them, for the time being, as symbolic of His universal church; implying as much in that mystic seven, and giving many other indications of the same;—this also will be accepted, if not by all, yet by many." (pp. 211, 212.)

In fact, we cannot read these Epistles attentively, with a competent knowledge of the tendencies and conflicts, the temptations and perils of our own age, without seeing them typified and foreshadowed in the condition of the seven Asian churches; nor will such discernment justly lie under the imputation of bringing to them what we bring out of them. The dangers which these churches encountered, and to which some of them succumbed, were outward persecution, Jewish legalism, Gnostic licentiousness, and worldly prosperity. It would be premature to affirm that the age of outward persecution has altogether passed away. Though the shouts of emancipated Italy are ringing in our ears, we have not forgotten the Madiai. Members of the Evangelical Alliance will have yet fresh in their recollection the sufferings of evangelical Christians in Germany and Sweden. The history of missionary labour in Madagascar, and of the persecutions endured by the native converts, recals the martyr-church of the first three centuries. How much social persecution, even in our own land, may attend the steadfast walk of faith, and assertion of religious principle and conviction, will only be made known when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed. Is there nothing in spirit and principle akin with the conflict waged by the churches at Smyrna and Philadelphia against Jewish legalism, against those "which say they are Jews and are not," "but do lie;" in the assertion of evangelical freedom, of "the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free," and of deliverance from the bondage of the law through the grace of Christ; against those Romanizers who would impose upon us a yoke which neither we nor our fathers could bear? And while we do not assert nor insinuate that the leaders of the rationalizing movement resemble personally the Gnostic heretics against whom the churches of Ephesus, Pergamos, and Thyatira were summoned to contend, yet fidelity compels us to declare that the false freedom which is striving to break down the authority of God's word is most surely opening wide the gates which will let in licentiousness like a flood. Nor can we overlook the solemn warning and lesson which the church at Ephesus reads to evangelical Christians. A church unweariedly active and patient in works of usefulness, intolerant of evil-doers, sound in the faith, and testing by the word of God the teachers of error, is yet sharply rebuked for her spiritual declension. And who that knows anything of his own heart, and of the history of congregations in our own church, and outside its pale, but will sorrowfully acknowledge that there may be orthodoxy,

ministerial fidelity, and zeal, with very little love to Christ himself?

We named worldly prosperity as one of the dangers of the church of Christ. On this subject let us hear Dr. Trench:—

"It is very well worthy of notice, that the two churches which are spiritually in the most sunken condition of all,—that, namely, of Sardis, and this of Laodicea,—are also the two in which alone there is no mention made, either of adversaries from without, or of hinderers to the truth from within. Of the absence of heathen adversaries there has been occasion to speak already; but more noticeable still is the fact, that there neither appear here nor there Nicolaitans, or Balaamites, or Jezebelites, or those who say they are Jews and are not; seeking to seduce Christ's servants, and making it needful for them earnestly to contend for the truth, if they would not be robbed of it altogether. In the coldness and deadness of these churches, which had no truth to secure or to defend from gainsayers, we may see a pregnant hint of all which the church owes to the heresies and heretics that, one after another, have assailed her. Owing them no thanks for what she has gained by them, her gains themselves have been immense; and there are remarkable acknowledgments to this effect made by more than one of the early fathers. Contending against these, she has learned, not merely to define more accurately, but to grasp more firmly, and to prize more dearly, that truth of which they would fain have deprived her. What would the church of the second century have been if it had never learned its strength, and the treasures of wisdom and knowledge which it had in Christ Jesus, in the course of that tremendous conflict with the Gnostics which it then sustained? Would the church itself have ever been the *true* Gnostic, except for these *false* ones? Again, what an education for it were the fast-succeeding conflicts of the two next centuries; and not in intellectual education only, but, as 'iron sharpeneth iron,' so the zeal of the adversaries of the truth served often to excite the zeal and love, which might else have abated, of its friends. Assuredly it was not good for the Sardian and Laodicean churches to be without this necessity of earnestly contending for the truth. Perhaps they gloried in their freedom from conflicts which were agitating and troubling the other churches around them. But we may be bold to say, that in a world of imperfections like our's, it argued no healthy spiritual life, that there should have been none there to call the truth into question and debate. Misgrowths are, at all events, growths; and if there is a spiritual condition which is *above* errors, so also there is one which is *beneath* them, when there is not interest enough in theology, not care enough to know anything certain about God or about man's relation to God, even to generate a heresy. As we read the history of the church, we may perhaps find some consolation in thoughts like these. Assuredly, in reading many a page in that history, we need the strongest consolations which we can anywhere find." (pp. 196, 197.)

Assuredly, as we turn to days when controversies which touch the very existence of our faith are raging around us, and the hands from which we looked only for aid are laid upon that

divine and holy thing which we love, we need some such consolation as this. Let this fact, that the Sardian and Laodicean churches were not the stronger or the more spiritual from being exempt from the heretical assaults which disturbed the peace of their sister churches, be our comfort. It is not surprising that the ministers of God's word, who are spending all their strength and energy in conflict with worldliness and sin, and who ask for no better thing than to give their undivided attention to the work that demands it all, and that fills their whole hearts, should feel inexpressibly perplexed and saddened to be called off by the controversies of the hour. It is not surprising that they should lament this as a most inopportune and barren distraction. But it is not altogether thus. If it be, as Dr. Trench remarks, and as all ecclesiastical history proves that it is, a fact that the controversies through which the church has passed in bygone ages have always issued in bringing her into a clearer consciousness and firmer grasp of the truth under her living Guide and Teacher, so will it be now. The "neology of the cloister" may well afflict men who are engaged in the work of the parish and the pulpit; but it will end only in the surer establishment of the truth. The assaults of to-day upon the atonement, justification by faith, the authority and the inspiration of the Scriptures, will not rob us of our cherished beliefs; and in dying away they will leave us richer, not poorer, than before.

In the interpretation of particular words and passages, Dr. Trench has exhibited his usual learning, and sober, discriminating judgment; and in a book in which there are several moot points, has preserved his habitual tone of calmness and candour. Presbyterians and Congregationalists will not like Dr. Trench's view of "the angel" of each several church,—that he is the bishop, in the episcopalian sense of the term—the overseer of the pastors as well as of the people; but even they will find no reason to complain of the tone in which this opinion is maintained. If Dr. Trench be right, the existence of the episcopate in the later apostolic times, as the twelve were gradually withdrawn from their oversight of the churches, and that as a divinely recognised institution, is proved. For ourselves, this appears the most natural, and as harmonizing best with the universal prevalence of episcopacy in the early church. Something very like it is admitted by Neander and the late Dr. Pye Smith,—a plurality of elders in each congregation, with a perpetual president; an arrangement sanctioned by St. John. Even on this assumption, the *principle* of episcopacy is recognised in the Scriptures to the satisfaction of all lovers of order who know anything of the working of the congregational theory. Whether Polycarp was the angel of the church in Smyrna at the time when this Epistle was addressed to it, is less easy of

proof, and not so important, though Dr. Trench has assigned some reasons for its probability, or at least possibility. (pp. 90—92.)

Dr. Trench's explanation of "the white stone" (Rev. ii. 17) is the best that we have ever seen. His view is briefly this. The "white stone" is a precious stone, shining white, namely, a diamond. Now, the mysterious Urim and Thummim was in all probability a diamond inscribed with the holy Tetragrammaton, the ineffable name of God, contained in the folded breast-plate of judgment, the wearer, the high priest, alone being acquainted with the inscription. The symbolical meaning is apparent. The white stone inscribed with the new name, known to none but those to whom the Great High Priest of our profession shall give it, is "some revelation of the glory of God, only in that higher state capable of being communicated by Him to His people, and which they only can understand who have actually received." (p. 126.) For the arguments by which this view is supported we refer to the work itself. Its advantages are, that the symbolism is Hebrew, not ethnic, in harmony with the symbolism of the whole of the Apocalypse; that it corresponds to the "hidden manna" in the preceding clause, equally referring to the wilderness period of the history of God's people; and that it gives a consistent meaning, which most explanations of the "white stone" do not. If there be any objection to this view, it is that ψῆφος is not the Septuagint or New Testament word for a *precious* stone; and that, in particular, λίθος is the general word for the precious stones in the breastplate of judgment in Exod. xxviii. 17. (Sept.) But the objection is not insuperable, seeing that, as Dr. Trench remarks, ψῆφος is sometimes used, in later Greek, for a precious stone, as ψῆφος δακτυλική, the gem in a seal-ring.

Our thanks are due to Dr. Trench for this book. It was written, as he tells us in the preface, in much sorrow, under the pressure of affliction. We can wish him no better consolation or strength than that which may be drawn from these Epistles, and from Him whose words they are, and of whom they testify.

THE DEPRIVED CLERGY AND THE EJECTED NONCONFORMISTS; OR, 1645 AND 1662.

THE *Congregational Union* has opened a crusade. This year it celebrates the bi-centenary of the ejection of the two thousand ministers from the Church of England in 1662; and it has a right to do so, for they were men worthy to be had in everlasting honour. They were sufferers, most of them innocent

sufferers, for conscience sake. And in the persecution which cast them out the foundations of modern dissent were laid.

If this were all that could be said, no better materials could be desired, either for advancing the cause of dissent, or damaging the church of England. Had the Congregational Union confined itself to the former task, we should not have interfered. But since it has thought fit to open the campaign in a spirit of avowed hostility to the church of England, we shall make no apology for reminding our dissenting friends of a few circumstances connected with this disastrous and melancholy affair, which common justice will not allow to be forgotten.

The ejection of the two thousand Nonconformists of 1662 was the last act of a long and miserable revolution. It had dragged on for twenty years through strife and bloodshed, bloodshed on the field and bloodshed on the scaffold, and ended where it began, without establishing any one great principle either of religious or of civil liberty. All had to be done over again; and all was done, and well done, by the men who had been taught moderation by their fathers' violence, and who won success by avoiding their errors. The revolution of 1688 owes its calmness, its moderation, and therefore its triumph, to the revolution which began in 1642, and died out disgracefully with the ejection of the non-conforming clergy. Yet this last act, bad as it may seem, was not what it is frequently described. It was not an unprovoked aggression. It was not without some show of justice. It was an act of retaliation; it was a repayment in kind for injuries done upon a greater scale, and with far greater barbarities, by Presbyterians and Independents against the episcopal clergy. And since our congregational friends seem not to be aware of this, they will thank us for explaining briefly how the matter really stands; and our own readers will not be displeased to be reminded of some passages in our domestic history, which of later years have been almost forgotten.

The revolution, then, had opened with the trial and execution of an archbishop, whose faults were great, and whose folly was even greater than his faults. We need not add that none of these were such as to justify his death; for no man now endeavours to excuse it. Then followed the overthrow of the episcopal church, and of course the ejection of the bishops. Some of these were ambitious, worldly-minded men; some of them, though without much zeal, were great scholars; many were eminent for learning, zeal, and piety. But all fared alike; or, if any difference were made, the best men were the most hardly used. Bishop Hall of Norwich would have been revered as an eminent saint, and admired as a man of genius, a preacher, and an author, in any age of the church. He was moderate in his politics; in doctrine he was called a Puritan. But he was a bishop, and therefore insulted by the soldiers, mobbed by the

common people, cast out penniless by the revolutionary parliament, and left in his old age to lean on the staff which never failed him—the staff which comforted the Psalmist, when called to pass, in his old age, along the same dark valley, the valley of the shadow of death. Prideaux, bishop of Worcester, was of the school which High Churchmen then, as in later times, sneered at as puritanical. It was said while he was yet living, that "in him the wit of Jewel, Rainolds, and Hooker united as in one, and seemed to triumph anew." He was, moreover, "an humble man of plain and downright behaviour, and careless of money, unless it was to bestow upon the poor, to whom he was very charitable, until he became one of them himself. Yet he suffered as much as the worst men, and died in a mean condition, leaving to his children, as he tells them in his will, no other legacy than pious poverty, God's blessing, and a father's prayers." No theological library is even now complete without a copy of his works. He was a hard student, and had to the last a cheerful spirit, and withal a good stomach, of which there goes this memorable story. "Towards the end of his life, a friend coming to see him, and saluting him in the common form of, 'How doth your lordship do?' 'Never better in my life,' said he; 'only I have too great a stomach; for I have eaten that little plate which the sequestrators left me, I have eaten a great library of excellent books, I have eaten a great deal of linen, much of my brass, some of my pewter, and now I am come to eat iron, and what will come next I know not.'"* All this he suffered from the party whom the two thousand Nonconformists were supposed, and not without some truth, to represent. When episcopacy was restored, is it surprising that these stories—and there were hundreds like them—were not forgotten? For the sufferers were not confined to the hierarchy. It had been resolved in parliament to have a presbyterian church, and at the same time to have what the parliament itself termed *a root and branch purgation* of the clergy. The latter part of this notable device was carried out with a fervent zeal; the former broke down, and utterly miscarried. When the parliament began to see its way a little more clearly, it made the discovery that a presbyterian church would be still more difficult to deal with than the old episcopacy. The English people would none of it. It seemed to them as despotic as the old hierarchy. Under other names it would have had its Star Chambers and Courts of High Commission in every county. The scheme was utterly abortive, and the Independents, in a few years, established themselves in the parsonages and pulpits which the Presbyterians had snugly prepared for their own reception. Cromwell was their leader, and he it was who first formed in the army what was termed "a gathered church;"

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, &c. He gives his authorities.

for they disliked the name of Independents, which the Presbyterians had fastened on them as a badge of reproach. "Old Noll" is justly claimed by the Congregationalists as one of themselves, a gathered Churchman. Short work would he have made with some of their proceedings, had he been in the chair at the great meeting of which Mr. Bull gave some account in our last Number! Perhaps he would have asked them—for he *did* ask awkward questions in very plain words sometimes—if they were not half-crazed to exalt him into "something like a demi-god," just three years after the church of England had asked the queen's permission to leave out the service for "the Royal Martyr" from the prayer-book.

These, however, the Presbyterians and Independents, were the two parties who made up the parliament in 1645. Between them it was resolved to clear out all *malignants* from the ministry. Just as, ten years before, every clergyman who did not run into the popish extravagance of Laud was a Puritan, so now every clergyman who did not crouch to a despotic parliament was a malignant; or, which was quite as fatal, "hugely suspected of malignancy." Five committees of the House of Commons were appointed—"committees for scandalous ministers," they were called; and certainly they did their work well, as revolutionary bodies like to have it done. Every accusation was listened to, every scandal credited; the vilest arts were used to promote complaints against the ministers, and every hinderance thrown in the way of those who would have spoken in their favour. "Parishioners were animated against their minister, and few or none of the loyal clergy escaped the lash." "Honesty and learning," said the illustrious Selden, who, though a member of the House, was disgusted with its proceedings, "were sins enough in a clergyman." Under these committees, commissioners were despatched into every part of the kingdom with summary powers. The persecution lasted from eight to ten years; and we owe it to Cromwell's memory, that what mitigations it received were owing chiefly to his more tolerant spirit. He connived at the preaching of archbishop Usher; and after he found himself firmly seated, and able to set all parties at defiance,—Anabaptists, Presbyterians, or gathered Churchmen,—he gave no encouragement to the hunting up of delinquents, and bringing them to justice. Calamy, himself a sufferer in 1662, has given us the history of that disgraceful affair, and described the harrowing scenes of the fatal St. Bartholomew's day; and Walker, a clergyman of Exeter, has, with at least equal zeal, chronicled the lives and sorrows of the episcopal clergy deprived by the parliament. Walker makes a grand total of six thousand sufferers. His book, a closely printed folio, in double columns, was not published till after Calamy's history, to which it was intended as an answer.

It is splenetic and vindictive, and affords one of a thousand instances to show how a good cause is damaged by a bad temper. Walker allows no virtues to a nonconformist, and is unwilling to admit that there could be any vice in a royalist. From the day on which his book first saw the light, it has been under the fire of a never-ceasing criticism. It has been as well abused by dissenters as Fox's Book of Martyrs by Roman Catholics. In his preface he admits that, what from imperfect information, from men holding pluralities, and from other causes, he may have unintentionally erred sometimes; and the same sufferer may, in a few instances, have appeared twice or even three times over in different places. But making every reasonable abatement, his volume carries with it the stamp of truth. Walker, though a violent man, was an upright one. But if we were even to grant (which would be an outrageous concession) that one half, or even two-thirds of his reputed sufferers were fictitious persons, who had no more reality than the saints upon the Romish calendar, there would still remain two thousand suspended episcopalians against Dr. Calamy's two thousand nonconformists. But as Walker goes through each diocese, and takes each parish seriatim, giving the name of the clergyman deprived, and, when he could obtain it, a short biography, we do not see how it was possible either that he should have been imposed upon to any great extent, or that he himself could have committed any formidable imposture upon the world. When he published his book, the occurrences he professes to relate were still within living memories. And let it also be understood, that of the two thousand sufferers of 1662, no inconsiderable number reconsidered the step they had taken, and afterwards conformed. Dr. Calamy, with laudable candour, notes those instances, and they occur on almost every page. If we pare down Walker, Calamy must submit to the same process. As the numbers of the one diminish, the numbers of the other must be reduced in perhaps the same proportion. There is another circumstance of which our friends of the Congregational Union must be reminded. Of the ejected ministers to whom they lay claim as the fathers of their church, and its early confessors, a large proportion were intruders. They were not Episcopalians; they never had been. Their orders were Presbyterian or Congregational. They had been imposed in times of violence upon parishes to which they had no other right than right of the strongest. They had been thrust often upon reluctant parishes by revolutionary committees, and at the sword's point. They had often displaced men as godly as themselves. The revolution had travelled through its frightful circuit. It had flung itself round again with wild contortions to the point from which it set out. It ended just where it had begun. The men who

had been unjustly thrust in were now cruelly cast out. It may be maintained that their possession of the parishes they held was lawful, because the nation, by its *de facto* government, had decreed the abolition of episcopacy. If so, the same measure must be meted to them again now, when the *de facto* and *de jure* government of 1662 had decreed the abolition of Presbyterian and gathered churches, and passed the Act of Uniformity. But it is a pitiful squabble, which party sinned most against the great principles of truth and righteousness; more pitiful still to see it revived for the mean purpose of raising prejudices against the church of England after the lapse of more than two hundred years. And most of all it may well raise the astonishment of honest men, that the ejection of the two thousand ministers, not one of whom had a doubt, or the shadow of a doubt, as to the lawfulness and expediency of an established church, should be made the pretext for an assault upon all "state churches," as if they, of all men, had been martyrs to the "voluntary principle." The fact was precisely the reverse. They felt that they were sufferers, not because they were compelled against their consciences to sit at meat in the idol's temple of an establishment, but because when its polluted table was spread no seat was left for them!

We know, of course, that the parliamentary committees were instructed to cast out only "scandalous ministers." We know, too, what has been said by Baxter and others in defence of these proceedings; though Baxter was very far from defending them in the gross. For who could define a scandal so as to shield an Episcopalian in times when it was a scandal to throw out the remotest hint that the parliament might do wrong, or the unhappy king do right? What honest churchman could retain a living when he might be fined £5 for using the prayer-book once, £100 for repeating the offence, and was guilty of a felony for the third transgression—a felony which exposed the culprit to the risk of swinging on the gallows, or (to a man of education the scarcely milder sentence) of slavery for life in the intolerant Puritan colonies of New England? If it be said that the sequestered clergy of 1645 were in any proper sense delinquents, while we are ready to allow that too many of them were miserably inefficient men, and some, no doubt, immoral, and that the state of the church demanded reformation, still it is incredible that all, or even the majority, were such. Had no record of their lives been handed down to us, we should not credit the slander with regard to any body of men of decent station, whose character was in fact their livelihood. But the names of not a few of the sufferers have been handed down to us. There were Balcanqual, master of the Savoy, who represented the Church of England with bishop Hall at the synod of Dort, and Fuller, its historian, and the historian of the

church of Christ; Bryan Walton, whose Polyglott Bible was the pride of scholars in his day, and has not lost its authority in ours; Pearson, who commented on the creed, and Dr. Isaac Barrow, whose portrait, with those of Locke and Newton, adorns the noble hall of Trinity, Cambridge—three such men as were seldom educated in one age, much less in one seat of learning. We could set down a hundred others, all men of renown, of whom it would be impertinent to attempt a eulogy. Such were Abraham Cowley, the poet, and Dr. Featley, of Lambeth, and Udal, who had suffered as a Puritan, a pattern of meekness and love, and probably a descendant of that Udal who suffered as a Puritan in the reign of Elizabeth. There were Drs. Fell, and Potter, and Hammond, and Sanderson, and Ratcliffe, and Sheldon, and Pococke, all of Oxford, whose learning, even in revolutionary times, might have secured for them a better fate. At Cambridge there were Seth Ward and Samuel Ward, Sancroft, and Sparrow, and Thorndyke, and at least a score of others of lesser name. But why thus swell the list? We will only say that amongst the parochial clergy there were not a few who bore names still remembered with affection, or still borne with honour in the Church of England. There is mention made of Ven, rector of Thelbridge, Devon, who, though not sequestered, was "brought into trouble," in which he showed both wit and courage, such as others of the same name have shown in later times. When the commissioners, or *triers*, as they were termed, had the impertinence to ask him, "who and what the devil was?" he answered ὁ πειράζων; "meaning," says Walker, "that he was a *trier*, if they had had wit enough to understand him, which I believe they had not, because he escaped without being turned out." And lastly, we read of John Riland, A.M., the lineal ancestor of Riland, the friend and correspondent of Venn of Huddersfield, and therefore of another Riland, our venerable friend, who still survives, and whose writings on church reform are not unknown to many of our readers. We will give the brief sketch of his life as it stands in Walker's volume. It presents a fair, and by no means an extreme view of the sufferings of the deprived clergy, and on other accounts the reader will not think it unworthy of a place in our Observer.

"John Riland, M.A., was born at Over-Quinton, in the county of Gloucester. Entered, first, of Magdalen Hall in Oxford, and soon after removed to the adjoining college of that name, where he became Fellow in the year 1641. In what year he obtained the living of Exhal, I know not. It was in the gift of the Crown and consistent, as I presume, with his Fellowship, because he was turned out of it in the year 1647, at which time it is plain he had not left the college. He was dispossessed of Exhal by a party of soldiers from the town of Warwick, who, at the same time, settled one Moor, a Jersey-comber,

in his rectory, which gave Mr. Riland hopes that he should soon recover it out of the hands of such a scandalous intruder. But he found himself much mistaken; for though he spent several years in prosecution of his rights, it was all in vain. Some time after he had been thus dragooned out of his living, he was in very great danger of his life also; for, meeting some of those soldiers upon the road, one of them rode up to him, and discharged a pistol at him so near that the fire of it burnt both his hair and his hat, but, by the good providence of God, the ball missed him; in memory of which deliverance he kept that day as long as he lived, setting it apart every year for religious duties. Neither was this all that he suffered; for his study at the college was likewise broken open, and not only all his books, but what he valued much more, all his collections and papers, were taken away. As for the former of them, they came into the hands of a certain person who, with the plunder of this and some other studies, set up two of his sons for booksellers, but both of them broke, and came to nothing. By the account which I have of him, he doth not seem to have been resident in this college at all after his ejectment from his living; for immediately after his giving over the pursuit of his benefice, it is said he lived a very private, retired life till 1660; at which time he was presented to the rectory of Bilton, in this county, December 6th, 1661, he was promoted likewise to the archdeaconry of Coventry, as also, about the same time, to a prebend in the church of Litchfield; and in 1665, he had the rectory of Birmingham conferred upon him; where he continued to the time of his death, which happened March 3rd, 1672, in the fifty-third year of his age. A gentleman of both his names, and, as I presume, his son, gives his character in these words: 'He was a very learned and humble, pious and peaceable, charitable and heavenly-minded man. He was of unwearied industry and application in studying the holy scriptures, primitive fathers, and philosophers in their original languages; out of which he made very large and elaborate collections, and useful observations; all which were lost in that general ravage before mentioned. He was very constant in his meditations and devotions both public and private; which he delivered with that plainness, and simplicity of speech and deportment, that there was not the least appearance of any unnatural and forced flights and enthusiastic raptures. There was such a strict and universal holiness in his life and conversation, that he is now called at Birmingham 'that holy man.' He was so very affable and humble, that he never passed by any one without some particular regard and friendly salutation. He was such a lover of peace, that he laboured much for it; and when he could not persuade those who were at variance to abate anything of the height of their demands, he many times deposited the money out of his own pocket, that he might make one of two contending parties. He was so charitable, that he carried a poor's-box about him, and never reckoned himself poor but when that was empty; and it was not a single charity he gave them, because he not only fed their bodies but their souls; for when he gave them a dole of bread in the church, he called them together, and then framed a discourse to them particularly suited to their poor circumstances. And, indeed, his exhortations on these occasions were so excellent and edifying that several of the chief

inhabitants came to hear them, and went away as well satisfied with those as the poor with his bread. Such qualifications as these seldom fail of good encouragement, which he found at the Restoration, as was before observed; all which was freely conferred on him without any seeking of his; nor did he anyways enrich himself, or his family, by them.'"

Such were some of the men whom a presbyterian parliament and a "gathered" churchman—now "a sort of demi-god"—with an army at his bidding, combined to cast out of the Church of England. We have not dwelt upon the miseries they endured, or attempted to enlist the reader's sympathy on their behalf by the recital of their grievous wrongs, and often dreadful sufferings. We have mentioned a few great names, we have passed in silence over scores—nay, hundreds of great sufferers. We will not say with bishop Bramhall, "Let Mr. Baxter sum up in one catalogue all the non-conformists throughout the kingdom of England ever since the beginning of the reformation, who have been cast aside or driven away . . . . and if he compare their persecutions, the sufferings of his supposed confessors will appear to have been flea-bitings in comparison of ours." Still less will we add, with the too angry bishop, whose prejudices might really have qualified him for a seat in the congregational union—"But after all this, the greatest disparity remaineth yet untouched; that is, in the cause of their sufferings—the one suffered for faith, and the other for faction." We will add nothing of this kind; for we have no disposition for this paltry game of capping every outrage on the one side, with an equal or a greater act of intolerance on the other. We shall merely intimate to political dissenters, that the policy they are now pursuing is not the wisest in the world. If it were necessary to decide which has been the most arbitrary, the most tyrannical, the most unjust, when power was in its hands, and provocation violent, the Church of England on the one hand, or dissent in any one of its numerous phases, from the reformation downwards, this is a question which, for their own sakes, dissenters would do well never to agitate. It would become them better, and us too, to bow down our heads to the dust, and cry earnestly to God to forgive the unspeakable folly which leads either churchmen or dissenters to gloat upon the records of the others' crimes; and thus, under the pretext of liberality, to poison our own hearts, and bar the entrance against every just and generous sentiment. If churchmen have reason to deplore the ejection of the non-conformists, dissenters have equal reason to blush for the despotic conduct of their forefathers, and their injustice to the episcopal clergy. They are suffering for it to this hour, perhaps unjustly; but they pay a heavy penalty in various ways, which, if it were our duty to remind them either of their faults or their humiliations, we could easily recount. Church-

men suffer, too, for the bigotry which expelled the non-conformists. Some act of uniformity was necessary. Some factious men, and some honest men, were utterly impracticable. We have no doubt it was necessary to put some few to silence. But the expulsion of the two thousand was a wicked measure. A comprehension had been promised, and none was offered; the gate was strait before, and now it was made yet straiter. He who visits the sins of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation even in them that fear Him, has not yet ceased to chasten both churchmen and dissenters for the injustice, the spiritual pride, the obstinacy, and the revengeful spirit displayed in 1645 and 1662. Instead of mutual revilings, is it not time at length that both should begin to "hear the rod, and who hath appointed it"?

We will conclude with a word on the character of Cromwell. It has been buried, till within the last twenty years, under loads of slander, the accumulation of two centuries. It is now dug up again and idolized, and the idolatry is just as worthless as the slander, and as undeserved. Twelve years ago, when Dr. Merle D'Aubigné published his idle book on Cromwell, a mere *rechauffé* of Carlyle, we reviewed it in the Christian Observer; and nothing has since then come to light which leads us to alter our decision. He was not a hypocrite, he was something more than a selfish usurper; he was in heart a patriot, but his ambition was too strong for his patriotism, and there was something of the fanatic in his piety. All patriotism, it will be granted, did not expire when Cromwell died, nor all pure religion. How was it, then, that of all his contemporaries none cast a wreath upon his coffin? Many of them were true lovers of liberty to the last; not one of them bends the knee before the shrine of Carlyle's "demi-god." True it is, they could not speak out; but in their private journals and confidential letters, when they are obliged to speak at all, they describe him as a man who had basely betrayed their cause. Of his religion in his later days, they say nothing, for they had nothing good to say. He was kind to the Quakers, and George Fox was, perhaps, his best friend at last. The Baptists of those days certainly thought him no demi-god. In an address sent by them to the exiled king in 1658, which may be seen in Clarendon, he is described as "that detestable traitor, that prodigy of nature, that opprobrium of mankind, that landscape of iniquity, that sink of sin, and that compendium of baseness, who now calls himself our Protector." Baxter was a shrewd man, and we all know what Baxter thought of the Protector. Thomas Goodwin was his chaplain; but in after years even Goodwin was discreetly silent. The revolution of 1688 appeared, and the true heroes of the past generation were immediately recognised. Russell, and Hampden, and Lord Falkland were placed at

once, not in the pagan temple of fame, but in the nobler temple of a nation's heart and reverence. The men of real piety, puritans or churchmen,—high churchmen, like Sanderson; low churchmen, like bishop Hall; puritans, like Marshall, Calamy, and Baxter, men long dead, or still surviving—all, as at a bound, recovered their position. But for Cromwell no place was found. He had betrayed a great cause; the cause, which was that of constitutional freedom, was again safe; but he had not been its saviour. He was not the martyr who had died in its defence. He had made it odious; he had made it for a while contemptible. Had he lived a few years longer he must have seen the ruin of all his ambitious projects, and would probably have died an exile, if he had not died upon the scaffold which he had erected for other and far better men—for the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Holland, and Lord Capel; for Christopher Love, and Slingsby, and Dr. Hewett. It was not from incapacity that Cromwell failed; it was from a mean and sordid selfishness, from a devouring ambition, and from the want of that high principle of honour based upon religion, the language of which was always upon his lips, while his heart was far from it; though some feeble traces of its influence, we must charitably allow, were visible, if not in public, yet always in domestic life. Of those facts of history which do not lie upon its immediate surface, few are clearer than that his guilty ambition was to wear a crown, and that he died detested, pitied, or despised.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

Dear Sir,—I desire to draw your attention to the fourth article in the Christian Observer for January last. A year has almost elapsed, and yet the subject has not been formally handled by the Observer, although it is causing much anxiety and many heart-burnings throughout the country.

Many Churchmen suspect the object of *Rural Decanal Meetings*; they doubt the authority of Rural Deans to call them, and deny the obligation of the clergy to attend them; they see in them an effort at centralization, threatening the parochial system of the Church of England, and the independence of the beneficed clergy. You will do well by taking up the subject, and you will oblige many.

I am, dear Sir, your obedient servant,

December 24, 1861. A Constant Reader.

[In the church of Rome, the rural dean exercised spiritual functions, and his proper office was the inspection of the lives and manners of

the clergy and people within his district, in order to report them to the bishop. In the Church of England the office is purely secular, and his chief business is to inspect the parish churches, and report to the archdeacon or bishop if they fall into decay. He holds no court, nor is the office a judicial one. Indeed, from the silence of the canons, and other constitutions and acts of parliament subsequent to the reformation, it seems highly probable that the reformers did not mean to retain the office. In many of the northern dioceses, it either never existed, or had fallen into oblivion, until it was revived within the last few years; any attempt to invest it with a ministerial character or judicial powers ought to be firmly resisted by all those of the clergy who value their independence, or respect the constitution of the church of England.

Within its own limits the office is very useful, especially where the archdeaconries are large. The rural dean becomes the medium of communication between the neighbouring clergy and the bishop. One of themselves, he has their confidence, and often their personal friendship. He may invite them to meet for mutual consultation on numberless questions of local importance, on which they may wish to learn each other's opinions, or to transmit them to the bishop, and receive his advice or instructions in return. A ruri-decanal meeting of the clergy may, where all parties are of one mind, become an interesting clerical meeting for the discussion of spiritual things. But it has no authority more than any other clerical meeting. Nor could the bishop invest it with such authority; for he can only delegate his own power to his inferior clergy by means of a commission; and that commission can issue only in accordance with the law, and under special circumstances which the law prescribes.—ED.]

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—In the "Correspondence" of your November Number two apparently unconnected subjects—the British Association (p. 888), and the yet Future Return of the Ten Tribes (p. 891), are alluded to.

In September, 1854, a Paper was read before the British Association on the subject of the Ten Tribes of Israel. The writer afterwards published his Paper in a separate pamphlet.*

No fact, perhaps, is clearer in the Old Testament than this—viz., that Hezekiah kept his great passover (2 Chron. xxx. 3, 13, 15) on the fourteenth day of the second month of the *first* year of his reign. The writer of the Paper in question deliberately informs his hearers,—Samaria "was taken by Shalmaneser in the ninth year of Hoshea, which was the *sixth* year of the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah. (2 Kings xvii. 10.) It must have been after this event, and in apprehension of a like fate impending over Judah, that Hezekiah 'took counsel of his princes and all the congregation to keep a solemn passover.' (2 Chron. xxx. 2.) He then 'sent to all Israel and Judah, and wrote letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh, that they should come to the house of the Lord to keep the passover at Jerusalem.'"

* "Question of the Supposed Lost Tribes of Israel. A Paper read before Section E. of the British Association at Liverpool, the 20th September, 1854." Arthur Hall, Virtue and Co. 1855.

The letters to Ephraim and Manasseh and other tribes were clearly written in the latter half of the first month of the *first* year of Hezekiah's reign, and *before* the overthrow of Samaria by Shalmaneser.

From this careless blunder the author of the Paper says—"It is indubitable that even *immediately after* Israel is said to have been carried away captive by the Assyrians, there was still a large remnant of them left in their own land—we may conclude *even the larger portion of them*—among whom we have specified six out of the ten tribes; viz., Dan and Ephraim, Manasseh, Asher, Issachar, and Zebulun, which tribes may therefore be presumed to have been mainly left,* *to become amalgamated with those of Judah and Benjamin.*" (pp. 18, 19.)

The object of the Paper in which this strange mistake occurs is, to show that the notion of the present separate existence of the *supposed* lost ten tribes, and their future restoration, is wholly without foundation.

AN OLD SUBSCRIBER.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

The Glorious Gospel of Christ considered in its Relations to the Present Life. By the Author of "God is Love," &c. London: Darton. 1861.

THOSE of our readers who have accustomed themselves to the modes of thought exhibited in the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*, or in Romaine's *Sermons on the Law and Gospel*, will be startled, as we confess ourselves to have been, when they hear of a practical treatise on the Ten Commandments, sent forth under the title of "The Glorious Gospel of Christ;" and it must be admitted that this is not the usual sense attached to the word "gospel." Men have generally used themselves to limit its meaning to that exhibited in 1 Cor. xv. 1—3; wherein St. Paul speaks of "the gospel which I preached unto you; how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures." So common has this one sense of the meaning of the word become, that many men who have preached ably and well on all the moral precepts of the New Testament, have been deserted by their congregations, simply because it was said, that "they did not preach the Gospel."

But there is no danger into which we are more apt to fall, than that of restricting and limiting the meaning of the great distinguishing words and phrases of God's word. Most of them have a largeness, a comprehensiveness, which sets at nought all such limitations. Those of our readers who have *studied* (as well as *referred to*) Cru-

* See 1 Kings xiv. 15. "*The Lord shall root up Israel out of this good land.*" This is prophecy. And what is the language of history? "The Lord was very angry with Israel, and *removed them out of his sight*—delivering them into the hands of spoilers, *until he had cast them out of his sight.*" 2 Kings xvii., xviii. 20. In the following passage history and prophecy are combined—"And I will cast you (Judah) out of my sight, *as I have cast out all your brethren*, even the whole seed of Ephraim." (Jer. vii. 5.)

den's Concordance, will remember how considerable a part of the value of that book consists in the careful and comprehensive definitions which he has given us of all the main topics, words, and phrases found in Holy Scripture. Thus, "salvation," he shows us, has six meanings; "sanctification" has four; and "justification" has five; and so, unquestionably, the term "gospel" is applied in Scripture to several distinct things. A single passage from St. Paul, however, justifies the author of the volume before us in the use which he has made of the word. The apostle, in his first epistle to Timothy, enumerates various breaches of the moral law, and then continues, "And if there be any other thing that is contrary to sound doctrine, according to the glorious gospel of the blessed God which is committed to my trust:" herein plainly showing, that "the glorious gospel," in his view, included all "sound doctrine," and "all sound doctrine" embraced the whole moral law. If the author, therefore, should find many persons objecting to his application of the term "gospel," we should recommend him to place 1 Tim. i. 8—11, on his title-page; and in the presence of that authority, all objectors must be silenced.

The book itself is a worthy follower of its author's former volumes, "God is Love," "The Comforter," "Our Heavenly Home," &c.; of each of which the public has demanded several editions. The title on the back is that which will chiefly occasion the surprise of which we have spoken; for it is simply "The Glorious Gospel;" and on opening the book, the reader finds on the top of each page, "Duties enjoined by the Ten Commandments." But the whole title is, "The Glorious Gospel of Christ, considered in its relations to the present life;" and the volume may be regarded as an extensive commentary on the injunction of St. Paul, "Ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord: walk as children of light." (Ephes. v. 8.) The first three chapters are devoted to an exposition of the Ten Commandments, occupying more than one hundred and thirty pages. The author then passes on to the sermon on the Mount, and from that proceeds to our Lord's other discourses, and to the preceptive teachings of the apostolic epistles. We need hardly say, that he is everywhere sound, lucid, and judicious; or that he is entirely free from the least thought or word which could contravene the fundamental doctrine, that "we are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings."

A passage which occurs in his concluding chapter, led our thoughts onwards to a day which, we trust, is not far distant. In discussing the "Practical Results," he remarks that—

"If all loved and feared God, and shrank from the commission of any act which they knew would be displeasing to Him, our world would undergo a moral and social transformation, which would render it a resemblance to heaven. If not physically, at least morally, the wilderness would rejoice and blossom as the rose. How glorious would be a state of things in which there would be no crimes against one's self, nor against society; and in which no necessity would exist for police, for soldiers, for judges, for prisons, or other places of punishment. How blessed to feel, that every word spoken by our fellow men was sincere and truthful, and that every one was what he professed and appeared to be. How ecstatic the pleasure of seeing every countenance beaming with friendship, and radiant with love. How delightful the knowledge, that as we ourselves were earnestly seeking the happiness of all around us, so every member of the great brotherhood of man no less sin-

cerely sought our well-being, and would do everything in his power to promote it." (p. 405.)

But is the probable incoming of such a state of things a mere dream, an idle romance, and nothing more? On the contrary, it is one of the greatest of all certainties. A day is assuredly at hand, of which the Omniscient God hath said:—"The Lord shall arise upon thee, and His glory shall be seen upon thee; I will make thy officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness. Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders; but thou shalt call thy walls Salvation, and thy gates Praise." And the basis and groundwork of this marvellous change is distinctly stated:—"*Thy people also shall be all righteous:* they shall inherit the land for ever, the branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be glorified." This is the essence, the intrinsic character of this mighty change; whether the Lord Jesus shall be personally visible or not; whether His advent shall be preceded or accompanied by terrible judgments or not, are questions, not immaterial indeed, but still inferior and subsidiary to this. There shall be seen some day "a righteous nation that keepeth the truth." (Isa. xxvi. 2.) And this wondrous thing shall be "the work of God's hands, that he may be glorified." Indeed, how else could such a thing be seen on this earth? But what is needed to produce it? Nothing else, nothing more than the fulfilment of that glorious promise given by the mouth of Jeremiah, and reiterated by St. Paul: "I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts, and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people; and they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for all shall know me, from the least unto the greatest." (Heb. viii. 11.)

But how, as Nicodemus asked—"How can these things be?" The answer has been already given us, more than once or twice. We have had clusters of the grapes of Eshcol; and we know assuredly, that "the land (which is promised) floweth with milk and honey."

In June, 1816, at Sierra Leone, in West Africa, gathered out of the holds of many slave-trading vessels, was seen a crowd of naked savages, in the most fearfully deplorable plight. Consisting of various African tribes, they were in constant warfare with each other. Clothing they would not use, even when given them. Morals they had none; thieving and plunder, with all uncleanness, marked their daily life; which, indeed, differed little from that of a herd of wild animals, suddenly caged together.

Among this mass of helpless, hopeless wretchedness and vice there was dropped down a single unlettered man, William Johnson, who had been a porter in a sugar baker's warehouse in Whitechapel. The Spirit of God, only a year or two before, had changed his heart, and "a live coal from off the altar" had touched his tongue. In less than three years afterwards, in April, 1819, another missionary from England, and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Jesty, visited this horde of naked and depraved savages, and they thus describe the change:—

"On Sunday at ten o'clock I saw a sight which at once astonished and delighted me. The bell at the church rang for Divine service, and the schools of boys and

girls walked two and two to the church: all extremely clean and neatly dressed. The eagerness of the people to hear the word will appear from their early attendance. There is a bell in the steeple of the church; but it is of little use, for the church is usually full half an hour before the bell tolls. I here witnessed a Christian congregation in a heathen land—a people fearing God and working righteousness. The tear of godly sorrow rolled down many a coloured cheek, and showed the contrition of a heart that felt its own vileness. At three in the afternoon there was again a very full attendance, so that scarce an individual was to be seen in the town; so eager are they to hear the word. At six we met again, and although many had to come from a considerable distance, and up a tremendous hill, I did not perceive any decrease of number, or any weariness in their frequent attendance on the means of grace. We left the church about eight o'clock, and returned to Mr. Johnson's house. While at supper I heard singing, and in a few minutes we had at least 120 boys and girls in the piazza to sing a parting hymn. Thus was our first Sabbath spent at Regent's Town. Never did I pass such a day in my dear native country! Never did I witness such a congregation in a professedly Christian land, nor ever beheld such apparent sincerity and brotherly love."

God can, then, and does, even in our day, "raise up children unto Abraham," out of stones, or wild beasts more irreclaimable than stones. Only let "the breath of life" come, and they will be seen to "stand upon their feet, an exceeding great army."

We shall not easily forget the striking and impressive manner in which a venerable servant of God, long since departed to his rest, turned round in the midst of a sermon towards the Communion table, and, alluding to a search for happiness, said, with deep feeling, "There is the way! no man can keep those ten brief precepts without being a happy man! It is not wealth that can make him so, nor power, nor mental acquirements. No! it is conformity to the will of God, and nothing else. In keeping Thy commandments there is great reward." The same thought is expanded in the present volume, which, like the writer's former productions, is one on which he will never have to look back with regret. He has drank in the spirit of the nineteenth psalm—one of David's noblest compositions—and can say from personal experience, "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple: the statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart: the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes: the fear of the Lord is clean, enduring for ever: the judgments of the Lord are true, and righteous altogether. More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold: sweeter also than honey or the honey comb." Conversion, enlightening, heavenly wisdom; a heart rejoicing, and that for ever—what more is needed for solid, substantial happiness; or what, but the general extension of this "fear of the Lord," to make earth the vestibule of heaven?

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

From a number of other subjects more or less important, public attention still glides off, and fixes upon America. Messrs. Slidell and Mason, the Confederate commissioners, were surrendered on the demand of our ambassador at the close of the year. The appre-

hension of a war with the Federal States was thus happily removed, to the joy of the whole nation; for it was felt that while we might suffer much, we could not possibly gain anything by such a rupture. Nor had we the least ill-will against the Federalists, or, on the other hand, the slightest wish to promote the cause of the Confederates, which is, unhappily, the cause of the slave-dealer and slave-owner. The satisfaction England would have felt was, however, diminished by the tone of Mr. Seward's official answer to the courteous though firm demand of the British government. He admitted the injustice done to us in the affair of the Trent; and yet he intimated that, had the detention of the prisoners been of the least importance to America, they would not have been surrendered. But the history of past diplomacy did not lead us to expect an excess of courtesy from the cabinet of Washington, and it was soon felt that this bravado was intended rather to soothe America than to affront Great Britain; and that Mr. Seward and the President really deserve some credit for braving the indignation of their excited countrymen, and daring, substantially, to do right. Perhaps we owe their decision in some measure to the representations which France, and, following her example, Prussia, Belgium, and even Austria, have made, unsolicited by us, to the American government; one and all protesting against the seizure of the commissioners as a violation of the rights of neutral nations. But before this wound has closed, the Federal States have unfortunately opened another. Their blockade of the Southern ports has all along been notoriously ineffective; and of this they have themselves given the strongest proof in sinking fifteen ships filled with granite, "a stone fleet," in the main channel of Charleston harbour, the only harbour of importance on a coast of eight hundred miles. This has produced a deeper impression through the whole of Europe than captain Wilkes's outrage on the Trent. It is universally reprobated as lawless, cruel, and revengeful; and it is the revenge of weakness; for had the Federals any reasonable prospect of regaining the Southern States, and restoring the Union, it is impossible they should have destroyed its finest harbour, and so doing have stamped undying hatred to themselves in the hearts of millions. It is stated, within the last few days, that the emperor of the French has resolved no longer to respect the blockade, and that England, having been solicited to join with him, has declined to do so, while she promises to render her "moral assistance." This, indeed, she has done already. Earl Russell has published a despatch in which he instructs Lord Lyons to remonstrate against this violation of the rights of nations. But we need not enlarge upon a subject on which Europe is already sufficiently exasperated, and which will produce its own bitter fruits hereafter.

America has long thought us unkind, and now, we are told, proclaims us unjust. We should indeed be guilty of great injustice if we said that the Federal States had had no precedents for barbarities even as shocking as the sinking of the stone fleet in Charleston harbour. It is well we should be reminded of the crimes of our own forefathers. It is too true that in our own great civil war we in England poisoned wells and running streams, and shot each other with poisoned bullets. This the Royalists undoubtedly did at Wardour Castle and Brampton

House; and Cromwell's people, not to be behind in wickedness, drowned Irish rebels in sacks, and shot and hung prisoners taken in battle. Nor are Federals likely to forget that we hired Indian warriors, with their tomahawk and scalping knife, in the war of Independence. But will America shelter herself behind such precedents? We claim to be their best friends, and we dare to tell them unwelcome truths. From the outset their cause has seemed to us a hopeless one; they may conquer the South, they never will reunite it. Had England felt the jealousy they foolishly impute to us, our interest would have been to have held our peace. We should have looked on with satisfaction, while each party was impoverishing the other. We should have cherished their mutual hatred, instead of entreating them to desist from a useless and most wretched war. They will now have learned that in June last the emperor of the French would have broken their paper blockade had not England absolutely refused either to join with or to sanction such a step. They know that we are suffering the greatest privations from the want of Southern cotton, and yet we are content to suffer rather than to break our neutrality; and above all, they know that if we are indifferent to the contest, it is because, whatever professions have been made, neither party has, up to this moment, taken a single step to put an end to slavery, or to lighten with its little finger one fetter of the slave. Worse than all, the American pulpit is silent on all these iniquities—silent as the grave. The time will surely come when they will think on these things, and do justice to the mother country.

It still seems as if we were on the threshold of great events on the continent of Europe, and indeed all over the world. But the avalanche hangs long in suspense before it thunders on the plain. The Pope is still at Rome, and so is the French army. But there is now an Italian parliament and a united Italy. Men speak their minds boldly in the one, and their voice reverberates through the other. Garibaldi calls on all true Italians to be ready; and the king of Italy by his silence seems to assent. His parliament pronounces the Pope to be no temporal sovereign, and his prime minister, Ricasoli, laughs out at Peter's pence. If such a state of things should last long, it will be a new chapter in the world's history. We pass over a naval expedition, which we, in conjunction with France, are sending out to chastise the ferocity of some of the South American republics. That new world, which Mr. Canning called into existence to redress the balance of the old, has not fulfilled the promise of its founder. It has been for many years a horde of assassins, and the combined forces will render a service to humanity if they sweep some of these so-called republics from the earth, and establish, under whatever name or policy, a just government, and give them a strong hand to guide it.

Returning home, we have cause enough for thankfulness on the one hand, and national contrition on the other. There is much distress in our manufacturing districts; and though we may hope that the severity of the winter is nearly passed, the want of employment, and consequent distress, continues to increase. We fear it must do so while the American civil war continues; for though the exclusion of her cotton is already met by large supplies from India, the loss of her trade is a serious matter. There are some signs that the unnatural

contest will die out in the spring from the exhaustion of the North; she seems already on the verge of a national bankruptcy, and has been obliged to resort to a paper currency. But we must not be too confident; nor need the Federal states be too desponding. We suspended cash payments during our great war with France for twenty years, and yet lived through the crisis. It seems to us a question of national confidence. Of the material resources of America none can entertain a doubt; but are they available? The answer is, can the Federalists trust each other? England did so; and, never for an instant doubting her own ability and determination to pay her just debts, came through the ordeal, with immense suffering it is true, but yet successfully. The only question is, will America in this respect exercise equal self-denial, bear cheerfully a heavy load of taxes, and will each State refuse to listen to the suggestion of any further disruption of the once great republic? If so, the war may be protracted to a fearful length, and her credit still remain unimpaired.

A terrible calamity has occurred in one of our large coal pits in Northumberland. 219 men and boys found a living tomb 600 feet deep in the bowels of the earth, after a lingering agony of four or five days of hopeless, helpless imprisonment. "Out of the depths," no doubt, "they cried unto the Lord;" and may we not hope that "He heard their prayer, and delivered their souls from death?" The Queen sent by the telegraph to inquire while there was yet hope, and to tell them that "her heart bled." Surviving widows, or those soon to become such, were for an instant lightened of their load of anguish, and wiped off their tears to bless their Queen. But, alas! it was a case in which no help came from man—not a soul escaped alive; and now a second time within a month, from the palace to the cottage, England mourns.

We mentioned in our December number a very suspicious attempt to draw the University of Oxford into a scheme for the education of "the lower middle class"—poor tradesmen's sons, we presume, are meant, and farmers' lads, and so forth—under the control of the Rev. Mr. Woodard, whose name is well known in connection with similar schools or colleges at Lancing and Hurstpierpoint, and a female school at Bognor. These institutions were charged with popish practices; a hand-bill was circulated just before the meeting was held, in which it was stated that crucifixes were distributed to the boys in the schools, and that a system of private confession was practised and encouraged. At the meeting, which was held in the Sheldon Theatre, Dr. Jeune read the paper, with the remark that, "as vice-chancellor of that university, he met insinuations of that kind with silent contempt." He was followed by the bishop of Oxford, who did not indeed contradict the statement, but made, according to the report in the *Times*, some comments upon it:—

"I must touch for a moment that unpleasant thing to handle, the placard to which you have referred, and which I noticed that you held, sir, as you read it, with the very tip of your finger. The work of this day would not have been complete if there were no such placard. No great effort to do good to man was ever yet started or accomplished without the voice creeping out from under some hidden covert, 'You had better let it alone.' For the most part these voices, as they have done here, clothe themselves in sounds which are most distasteful to the ears of generous men. Yes, sir, there was a serpent in Paradise, and we have

found that there is a snake in the grass of Hurstpierpoint. But the placard is headed with a word which takes much with some people. In very large letters, sir, there is 'facts.' To those who remember what the late Mr. Canning said about 'facts,' perhaps it is not altogether so convincing, for he declared that there is nothing in the world so fallacious as facts, except figures. But let us suppose for a moment that these are really facts. I say, that just in proportion as that is so, is it the duty of this University to take the part which she is now invited to take, because, assuming that there are such insidious attempts and such evil principles at work, how are they to be best counteracted? How do you prevent one or two ill-conditioned fellows carrying out their own ill-conditioned schemes? Why, by filling the room with honest men. Then let the honest men in Oxford come forward with their love of truth, and their affection for our Protestant Church, and these suspected malignants, with their dark practices, will be foiled in their evil designs. It is the part of such a body as this to see that there is depth of principle, and honesty in carrying that principle out, in the educational labours carried on throughout the country."

Mr. Golightly, of Oriel, within a few days published a letter to the Vice-chancellor, in which he avowed himself the author of the handbill, gave sufficient reasons for not having affixed his name to it, and repeated the charges already made. And not only repeated the charges already made, but added, that strange reports had reached him of other popish practices; of *beads*, for instance, being distributed, as well as crucifixes. This drew from Mr. Woodard (who, we must observe, was present in the theatre, and heard the charge and the remarks upon it by the vice-chancellor and bishop of Oxford in perfect silence) a reply, in which he denies in form, but admits in substance, the charges brought against the institution. Mr. Golightly, in a second letter, repeats both charges, and seems to us to prove all that he repeats. Mr. Woodard's denial turns upon a single word. The handbill said that confession was *encouraged;* "it is not true," says Mr. Woodard, "that confession is *encouraged* amongst the boys at St. Nicholas' College; on the contrary, it is carefully *restricted*. For the chaplain engages, first, not to solicit boys to use private confession; secondly, not to admit them to it before the parents or guardians have given their consent; and thirdly, if they do come, to make a report to the bishop. In a great public school, is it safe to do less?" And as to the second charge, that crucifixes were distributed amongst the boys, he denies it altogether; at least, he denies that any crucifixes are to be found in the school at Hurstpierpoint. Mr. Golightly asks what greater encouragement can be needed than is implied in Mr. Woodard's own statement? If a lad thinks that he shall thus find favour in the eyes of his masters, he will ask to confess; and if the consent of parents be required, the fond, ignorant, or indifferent ones will certainly grant it. Besides, the question may be so put before them, that they shall be made to think that there is at least no great harm in it. If, in addition to this, the boy's self-importance is to be flattered by a special report of his pious disposition to the bishop, what further encouragement can be required? As to the crucifixes, Mr. Golightly replies by presenting evidence which cannot be denied without exposing several parties, from whom his information was derived, to the charge of a crime only short of perjury; one of them having "solemnly declared before a county magistrate, that a student who lodged in her house wore a crucifix some four inches in length, made of silver, and suspended by a ribbon round his neck. He declared that he, in common with his companions, had it

given to him at the college, with the injunction that if *he came to hold religious opinions contrary to what he was there taught, he was to return it.*" "That there are no crucifixes to be found at Hurstpierpoint school now," Mr. Golightly quietly remarks, "is very likely. There has been *plenty of time for the removal of them since the meeting, and of the beads too.*" Mr. Golightly adds from the *Union* newspaper of December, 1857, a narrative of the funeral of one of the boys of the college of the most thoroughly Romish character, including the singing the *De profundis*, and chanting the *Miserere*. Here the matter rests at present. Mr. Golightly concludes his second pamphlet with an indignant appeal, which *has not yet met with any official response* either from the vice-chancellor or the bishop of Rochester, or from other quarters, from some of whom it is impatiently expected. We mention the bishop of Rochester especially, as a distinguished member of the University of Cambridge. For we have good authority for saying that *Mr. Woodard or his friends*, not satisfied with their Oxford triumph, *have been making a bold effort to gain a footing in the University of Cambridge.* It is chiefly on this account that we have again called attention to the subject. The vice-chancellor of Cambridge, we are satisfied, will be upon his guard, the bishop of Rochester will not again allow himself to be the victim of a fraud, such as would secure for its author, whoever he may be, immediate expulsion from the Stock Exchange. Mr. Golightly concludes his second pamphlet thus:—

"I venture to think, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, that you must now be perfectly satisfied that you and the other members of Mr. Woodard's Committee have been made the victims of as daring a fraud as ever was attempted to be practised on a public body; or, to use your own words in your speech in the Theatre, have been actually 'entrapped' into the support of a scheme which, 'under the guise of loyal attachment to the Church of England,' has for its object 'the promotion of principles at variance with her principles, and the allegiance you owe her.' You remarked, that 'an extraordinary man had arisen among us.' Yes, I agree with you in thinking that Mr. Woodard is indeed an extraordinary man; for he has not only imposed upon the Bishop of his Diocese, the Bishop of Rochester, Lord Robert Cecil, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I know not how many influential gentlemen besides, but actually persuaded them to come to Oxford to assist him by their presence and oratory in his attempt to impose upon us. Yet I venture to hope, that after this exposure we shall hear no more of him, and I am quite sure that his system will find no favour with this University. Our instructions are all above board; our religious services, not in profession only, but in reality, are in accordance with the principles of our reformed Church. Neither crucifixes nor crosses are put into our students' hands. When we confess our sins, it is to God and not to man. It was within our walls that Bp. Latimer uttered his memorable prophecy, 'Never fear, brother Ridley, we shall this day light a candle in England, which shall never be put out:' and, let the danger come from what quarter it may, I trust in God that not all the malice and subtlety of the devil or man shall be able to put it out.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A CONSTANT READER—In our next, if he will meanwhile furnish us with his name and address. We have a large and thriving family of this name, and we are proud of them. But we should be glad if a few of them would adopt some other *patronymic*.

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ON REPENTANCE.

RELIGION was never so prominent or popular as at the present day. It meets you in the most unexpected forms, places, and times. No doubt, much is real and saving. But we question whether any man who knows the grace of God in truth, is satisfied with the aspect and tendency of this religion. In quarters which tend towards Rome, it is the religion of imagination,—captivating, superstitious, and showy. In others, which sympathize with the German school, it is the religion of intellect; intellect is its subject and object; and to the standard of the intellect its mysteries are pared down. In other quarters, again, religion is not much more than excited feeling and evanescent emotion.

For our own part, we discern many symptoms which appear unhealthy and unpromising. We see too little of conscience-work in the religion of our time. It lacks inward conflict,—it has but little wrestling with sin in the soul,—people seem to endure the pangs of the new birth, as if unconscious,—there is little of that desperate, realizing struggle with the powers of sin and hell, of which our bible-taught fathers felt and said such solemn things. It lacks the bones and sinews of hardier times. It is a different thing from that masculine godliness which flourished in the age of the Apostles, or even the Reformers and Puritans of our own country. There is much speaking for God, but with faltering tongue; profession is spread over a wider surface, but it lacks power, depth, peace. Some deplore it in their restless aching of heart; others settle down in chronic heaviness, and bondage that grows hopeless; and some scorners say, that the gospel itself is at fault: it has lost the power of former days, and needs to be better adapted to this earnest age.

Among great gospel truths, none is more commonly mistaken than Repentance. It is the very key-stone of the arch of spiritual Christianity. If that be loose, a man's faith and hopes must all totter. If that be safe, the whole masonry of personal religion, built of living stones, will stand firm and immovable under the pressure of temptation or trouble, and outlast the convulsions of death.

Why is repentance necessary? What is repentance? What is its proper place in the way of salvation? To the first question we answer:—

(1.) *Repentance is necessary, because the word of God everywhere demands it.*—We find repentance typified in the ritual of Moses, taught in the book of Job, illustrated in the historical books of Samuel, Kings, Ezra; it finds devotional utterance in the Psalms, and it is urged by the prophets from Isaiah to Malachi. Then, repentance was the burden of the preacher's voice, who thundered his warnings against sin and everlasting perdition in the ears of listening multitudes who flocked to the wilderness of the Jordan. It was the subject-matter of the Lord's own ministry, and was exemplified by His matchless chapter of soul-awakening parables, the fifteenth of St. Luke. It enriched, everywhere, the writings and teachings of the apostles. It is heard in the deep tone of warning that lingers on the ears of the Seven Churches, and through them it speaks to us, "I will come to thee quickly, and remove thy candlestick out of its place, except thou repent." Thus, if we examine the whole Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, we find everywhere that repentance forms an essential element of bible-teaching.

(2.) *Repentance is necessary, because God has a controversy with men about sin.*—The law of God is broken. We do not now go into the fact. It is admitted. Blame must lie somewhere; either on God, for making a law too holy and exacting, or the blame of wilful and wicked disobedience must lie upon the sinner's head. We know well where the blame lies. We bow our heads in conscious guilt before the righteous condemnation of God. We have no just ground of complaint before God. The confession falls from our guilty lips, "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done evil in thy sight, that thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, and clear when thou judgest." If this great controversy between God and man is ever to end, and peace to be restored, concession must be made on the part of the offender; and that concession is repentance. Man must put himself in his proper place—abased, prostrate, penitent, before the throne of God.

(3.) *Repentance is necessary; for without it, the glorious Gospel of the blessed God will never be desired or received.*—"The whole need not the physician." The self-righteous seek no reconciliation. Impenitence ensures the rejection of the

Saviour's message. Impenitence can neither glorify the Divine justice in punishing, nor the Divine mercy in sparing. The impenitent man stands upon his rights. He justifies himself, excuses, extenuates. He sets his virtues against his vices, proposes his own terms of peace, and protests against the wrong-doing of sending him to eternal destruction, while so many, worse than he, find acceptance. He proudly takes his place among "the ninety-nine just persons who need no repentance." Thus, without repentance, no man will ever be willing to seek or receive pardoning mercy, as the free gift of God in Christ Jesus. "Every species of religion," says Thomas Scott, "in which repentance does not form a prominent part from first to last, is justly to be suspected; nay, certainly to be condemned as unscriptural and destructive."

What is the repentance which is unto salvation?

(1.) We need not spend much time in *negative definitions*. It is not the penance of the Roman Catholics, which Archbishop Sandys says "standeth upon three feet—confession, contrition, satisfaction." It is not the hazy and obscure element of regret which modifies the "earnestness" of a more liberal school. It is not merely the experience of babes in Christ, which the advancing saint outgrows and leaves behind. It is not the grey twilight of Christianity which is soon lost in the noonday of assured faith, as some revivalists would lead us to think. Repentance is nothing superficial, or transient, or external. It is not bodily, but spiritual; not spiritual only, but transforming; not partial and temporary, but it pervades the whole man, and is permanently enduring,—"Old things pass away, and all things become new."

Then, what is repentance?

(2.) The Greek (μετανοια) gives half the definition; at least it supplies the genus. *Repentance is a change of mind.* But a change *about what?* We answer, it is a change of mind *about God*, His character, government, will. It is a change of mind *about sin*, its evil, baseness, guilt, origin, prevalence, issue. It is a change of mind *about myself*, my personal standing before a holy God,—born in sin, vile by nature, every day omitting and doing what I ought not, and adding in many ways to the sins of others: in fact, repentance is a change wrought by the Holy Spirit upon the entire man,—what he is, what he thinks, what he feels, what he does, what he ceases to do,—in his relation to God, and the soul, and salvation,—all is changed.

We very much like the definition given by Scott, accurate and comprehensive; it is,—"Repentance is a change of judgment, inclination, affections respecting sin immediately, accompanied, preceded, or followed by a change of judgment, inclination, and affection respecting God and His law,—Christ

and His Gospel,—ourselves and our conduct,—this world and the next." (i. 230.) To open this a little:—

(*a.*) Repentance is a change in *the judgment which a sinful man forms on the great concerns of his eternity.* Opinions on spiritual things, which have swayed him hitherto, are brought to the scale and chart of truth, and examined anew. This is set forth as the work of the Holy Spirit, in the Lord's great discourse upon the Comforter in the sixteenth of St. John: "When He is come, He shall reprove the world of sin." All men have their opinions about sin. Partial, and false, and distorted opinions they are. Many, indeed, come to the self-deceiving conclusion, "that they have no sin." "The truth is not in them." But when He comes, the Spirit of truth, the supreme Master of the soul, "to whom all hearts are open," He goes over the proof again, shows with authority where the error lay, detects these wrong and self-righteous conclusions, and brings the man, by clear conviction, to acknowledge and bewail his manifold sins and iniquities.

"Lord, I am vile, conceived in sin,
And born unholy and unclean."

(*b.*) *These sound convictions of sin are oftenest produced by going into details.* In that great indictment, the third of Romans, where St. Paul arraigns the Jewish and Gentile world before the bar of God, he made specific charges against them (προῃτιασαμεθα παντας) to prove that they are all under sin. Commencing with sins of the mind and heart, "there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God;" he describes their condition as lapsed and gone,—"gone out of the way and become unprofitable;" then charges them with total failure in the purpose for which God made them, "there is none that doeth good, no, not one;" then follows the dark catalogue of their accumulated iniquities: sins of the throat, tongue, lips, mouth, are dwelt upon with reiterated significance; deeds of murderous violence are pursued by "swift feet," while "their ways" are strewn with the victims of "destruction" and wide-spread scenes of "misery;" wilful ignorance of the "way of peace," and proud contempt for God and his displeasure, complete his condemning proof. It is thus by the citation of facts, and presenting them in strong array of testimony, that the apostle proves all to be under sin, "that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God." One specific sin, of deep and unparalleled malignancy, was also charged on the Jews by Peter,—"Him ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain." The strong fabric of Paul's self-righteousness was demolished when, by the heavenly vision, the crime of persecuting Jesus

was brought home with irresistible conviction. In like manner, the social infidelities of her past years, brought forcibly to recollection, sent back the Samaritan woman a convicted penitent, urging her companions, "Come, see a man that told me all that ever I did." Thus the Holy Spirit produces conviction by reviving, minutely and in detail, the memories of forgotten sins,—"I will reprove thee, and show thee the things that thou hast done." The sinner is then said to "possess his sins,"—and a shameful possession he finds them.

(*c.*) *In repentance the Holy Spirit convinces the man how great an evil sin is.* Hitherto he has regarded it lightly, as a venial thing. It never troubled him. But now he sees things in a different light. The Spirit, that great revealer of Christ, and of the works of the devil which Christ came to destroy, has laid the lesson before the man's soul for his serious consideration. "Know, therefore, and see, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and my fear is not in thee." (Jer. ii. 29.) Now he is learning what sin is in the sight of God. "All these are things that I hate, saith the Lord." (Zech. viii. 17.) By what providential chastisements God may see fit to illustrate and enforce these lessons, we cannot say. But every true penitent feels and confesses that he acted like one infatuated, if not insane; so headstrong and heedless was his addictedness to sin. "Thou hast done evil as thou couldst." The Saviour's prayer for the forgiveness of his murderers strongly testified their blind misconception of sin's evil,—"they know not what they do." Visited by the convincing Spirit of God, these dark clouds of ignorance and falsehood are dispelled; solemnized by such discoveries of evil, hitherto unknown, he exclaims in abasement and terror of soul—"Thou hast set our misdeeds before thee, our secret sins in the light of thy countenance."

(*d.*) *In repentance, the Spirit follows up these convictions, by unveiling the future, and showing what sin must hereafter lead to.* The great sentence of God's righteous judgment is pronounced with a solemnity which silences every excuse,—"The soul that sinneth, it shall die." The sentence falls upon the awakened conscience like a thunderclap from the heavens. Driven from his refuges of lies, arraigned, convicted, "his mouth is stopped," "he has the sentence of death in himself;" he feels as if the vials of God's wrath were beginning already to be poured out, the "poison whereof drinks up his spirit;" the image of the angel of death, "whetting his glittering sword," and "his hand taking hold of judgment," seems to haunt his troubled mind, and ever breaks his peace. God's arrow has not merely grazed the surface, but pierced his heart with a wound deep and incurable, yea—"thine arrows stick fast in me, and thy hand presseth me sore." And many an awakened

soul testifies how the Spirit can point to the burning pit of hell,—bid him look down there, and see what is prepared for them who walk the broad road, and mingle among its careless multitudes.

(*e.*) *For this great work of convincing of sin, we want the Holy Spirit.* Some intellectual perceptions of heavenly things may be gained by parental or pastoral teaching, without the Spirit; but they are feeble, cold, and lifeless as moonlight; they do not reach the evil; they leave men still "walking in the vanity of their mind," "because of the blindness of their heart." A clear intellect which perceives the truth, and a blind heart that disrelishes and perverts it, explain the phenomenon of our barren ministrations. With faithful and untiring hand, we may "hold forth the word of life;" but it is "light shining in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not." The illumination of the Holy Ghost is wanted—the "Spirit of wisdom and understanding." He quickens and concentrates the thoughts upon the things of God; throws a new, and powerful, and personal meaning into the warnings and promises of Scripture; gives a keen insight into the mind of the Lord; opens the eyes of the understanding;

> "Lights up every dark recess
> Of the heart's ungodliness;"

makes eternal things so real and so near, that, amazed at the new world of truth which has burst upon his vision, the sinner exclaims with wonder at himself, "One thing I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see."

This, then, is the first business of the minister of Christ; knowing God's testimony concerning man, he must appeal to men's judgments, reasoning with them out of Scripture about God and the soul and eternity, seeking to bring them to the light that their deeds may be reproved. It ought to be the prayer of every believer, "Lord, forgive their feebleness, and make them more and more skilful and mighty to win souls."

But repentance is a change in the moral feelings as well as the intellectual perceptions.

(*a.*) *Convinced of sin by the Spirit of Christ, self-satisfaction is at an end.* The strong anxiety of the awakened soul is to know what God thinks of him. Other considerations are subordinate. How does God look on me now? This is implied in the expression,—"repentance towards God." And now, that his eyes are opened to see the glory of God, his repentance is deepened by increasing acquaintance with God. He knows more and more what God thinks of him. He knows, too, what he thinks of God. "He sees his sins in the light of His countenance." He feels how grievously he has wronged *the* Best of beings. He has listened to Satan's misrepresen-

tations, instead of learning the Father from "the faithful and true witness" who alone is able to "declare Him." "No man knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him." He sees his error. "Now mine eye seeth thee; wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes." Other views of God's character have their influence, but it is prominently the "goodness of God that leadeth to repentance," His abounding goodness in Providence, and His more abounding goodness in Grace. For, His goodness is seen conspicuously, as in a glass, in the person and redeeming work of Christ. It is this which gave the charm and power to His own ministry, when Christ himself, the Revealer of the Father, the express Image of His character, stood upon this world of sin, and commanded men to repent,—the strongest motive to repentance was to be called upon by Him who, at such a cost, came to bring men to repentance, and then to make their repentance acceptable.

Some may undervalue it as an old-fashioned method of dealing with souls; but to us those cases of conversion seem the most sound and satisfactory, when the fear of God's displeasure against sin troubles solemnly the conscience. Like Lot, we would linger among the world's abominations, even till the storm of destruction begins to fall; but God sends these alarming fears of coming wrath, like angels taking the sinner violently by the hand, and speaking in his ears, "Escape for thy life, get thee to the mountains, lest thou be consumed." These terrors of the Lord make the tidings of the gospel all the more precious. And Christ is the more welcome to the mourner in Zion, when thus he feels the burden fallen off at the foot of the Cross, and exchanges "beauty for ashes, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness."

(*b.*) But besides this sense of God's displeasure, strong and deep and alarming as it is, *the repenting sinner feels an unfeigned sorrow about sin.* His heart is full. He must weep; he does weep. The more he thinks of himself and his past conduct towards God, the more occasion he has to weep. The Holy Ghost has laid his burden upon the conscience. Sin is no slight sorrow now. The Spirit is in him as the "Spirit of mourning." And "godly sorrow worketh repentance." This sorrow is no slight, passing thing; it is deep, abiding, effective. It has a work to do on the soul; and it does that work. "It worketh repentance." It makes the sinner more solemnly alive to his guilty state before God; he confesses that he has done the evils with which God charges him; he bewails the estrangement of heart from God; that his sins have separated between God and himself; he feels himself an exile far from the Father's house, and deserves to be exiled. It is under this process of sorrow he is brought to see that he has destroyed

himself; but now he is more than willing to receive the welcome tidings that "with the Lord there is mercy, and with Him is plenteous redemption."

(*c.*) *We attempt to lay down no rules as to the degree or manifestations of sorrow for sin.* They depend much upon temperament and other causes. Tears often flow freely when the heart is but slightly punctured. A man may be sorry without godly sorrow that worketh repentance. King Saul was sorry when Samuel told him the Lord had rejected him, but he had no true repentance. Herod was sorry when John the Baptist's head was demanded, but Herod was not a penitent. Felix trembled, but he returned to his sin and perished. Sickness, peril, or the fear of dying, will extort tears from worldly men; but it is only the sorrow of the world, and, like breath on the surface of the mirror, it passes away and leaves no trace behind.

(*d.*) *Here, again, the sorrow of a true penitent has respect to God.* It was the thought of his Father, his Father's house, and his Father's surpassing goodness even to the hired servants, that broke the Prodigal down. It is the contrast between His perfect goodness and my wretched sins and ingratitude that makes me weep. And above all, when we meditate upon the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ in His love to men, and when we turn our eyes to the cross of Christ, and think of the untold agonies of that scene, the amazing love there illustrated, the everlasting evils averted and the everlasting blessings gained,—when the soul is brought to see the mystery of that finished redemption, and the kingdom of Heaven which He opened,—then do we heartily bewail our manifold sins and iniquities, and feel the burden of them to be intolerable. It is not so much by looking at sin itself, nor at the wrath of God revealed against it, that godly sorrow is deepened; but when men look on Him whom they pierced, and see something of the mystery of Eternal love, then it is they mourn with inconsolable distress as "one that is in bitterness for his first-born."

(*e.*) *Some people mourn because they cannot mourn.* The work is often mistaken. The very hardness of their heart, its dull, senseless apathy under divine dealings, is to many their phase of spiritual anxiety. Many offer the prayer,

> "Grant me my sins to feel,
> And then the load remove;
> Wound, and pour in my wounds to heal
> The balm of pardoning love."

It may be rather by feeling your hard insensibility, than by floods of tears, that you may be taught the need of Christ. "More are drawn to Christ," says Thomas Shepherd,

"under sense of a dead, blind heart, than by sorrows, humiliations, and terrors." What you call insensibility, in fact, is your experience of sin's hardening power. Mourn over it. Condemn it before God. Make it the urgent business on which you must go to Christ, and beg of Him, for His mercy's sake, to "take away that heart of stone, and give you a heart of flesh."

(*f.*) *We might add a few words on the error of seeking to shape all cases of soul-trouble according to the same mould.* All the operations of the Spirit upon the soul agree in their main elements, but vary in circumstances. All God's people undergo this change of mind,—all are convinced of sin,—all have godly sorrow,—all are led by the Spirit to Christ,—but all are not led through the same process. It varies immensely. God the Spirit works in His own way. We are not to bend God's rules to make them fit in with man'si deas. We are not to pronounce too hastily, that this seed is not growing out of good ground; or that it has no depth of earth, and will in time of trial fall away. We must wait. And in applying Scripture instances, we should be wise. Lydia at Philippi, and the treasurer of Candace, say some, showed no sorrow for sin. We do not know that. Every detail of spiritual work is not recorded. Unless Lydia had experienced the change of mind which constitutes repentance, and known what godly sorrow means, St. Paul would hardly have "counted her faithful;" nor would Philip have baptized the treasurer, unless he discerned in that interesting convert both repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.

III. Repentance is also change of will, or of conscience controlling the will. *Left to himself, the impenitent sinner is a proud, self-important creature.* He boasts to himself, and often to others, that he can go anywhere and do anything. He stands and prays thus with himself: "God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are." Nothing is more marked than the alteration which repentance makes in this respect. The backbone of his self-righteous pride is broken. He is disabled, prostrate, without strength. This humiliation before God, this sense of poverty, this trembling at the word of God, bringing down and laying low, even with the dust, is ascribed to the law applied by the Spirit. "I, through the law, am dead to the law, that I might live unto God." In what way the law works death, we stop not now to say. But, we are afraid that much of the transient repentance which is prevalent arises from the want of a sound work of humiliation on the conscience; the root of pride is not destroyed; the man retains a latent impression that there is still some good thing in him. He is not thoroughly humbled; not brought to self-despair; he has still some confidence in the flesh. He would

come to Christ, but with measured, stately steps, bringing something in his hand. He would bow before the Lord, but he would make some conditions about bowing also in the house of Rimmon. In true repentance all this is at an end. The soul is silent, contrite, abased; he is poor in spirit; has no proud looks; presumes not to propose terms to the Lord; offers no self-defence; makes no apology for this sin, or pleads for that sin to be spared; no complaining of God's ways, as if they were severe, or His sayings as hard; he is not offended in Christ, but willing to part with right eyes and right hands; he comes before the Lord as the citizens of Calais to Edward III., with ropes round their necks, ready to die if he so appoint. "The Lord is righteous, but I am vile; let Him do with me what seems good in His sight." If I perish, I perish. Lord, do with me as Thou wilt. I have no claim but on Thy compassion. I have no argument but from Thy mercy. I have no hope but in Thy gracious promises; but this is my hope, my argument, my claim—"God is in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their iniquities unto them." I throw myself on Thy blessed promise,—"Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out."

We add a few words on the position which repentance occupies in God's method of grace.

1. We have no sympathy with those who represent repentance as a stage of spiritual experience, *through which the soul passes, and then it is left behind,—done with,*—as a school-boy leaves his Delectus when he begins to read Virgil. No; it is more like his grammar; he may not say much about it, but he is daily entering more deeply into its meaning, and intuitively applies it to all he reads. We believe that repentance is one of the fruits of the Spirit, which grows to richer maturity in the higher elevations of spiritual experience. The Holy Spirit will go on to give a right judgment in all things, to bring the affections and desires into complete harmony with the will of Christ; so that we love that which He commands, and desire that which He promises. And, if the will abased,—subdued,—turned from pride and self and sin to do the Lord's will,—if this be an element in repentance, no sincere Christian will desire to outlive his repentance. It is, in fact, the work of God's Spirit upon the soul of man, shown in one special aspect. Faith is the work of the Spirit in another aspect. Adoption in another. Glorification in another. • Faith is the sinner looking at the cross. Repentance is the sinner lying prostrate before the cross, looking at himself, and, as he looks, he weeps bitterly.

2. *Faith in Christ has very much to do with bringing the soul to such repentance as is here described.* We cannot

conceive a change reaching, as it does, to the whole man, that can even be contemplated apart from Christ,—His teaching, sympathy, death, His resurrection and glory. No instance of repentance is more genuine than that of St. Peter; but it was the eye of the Lord Jesus that broke his heart; and it was the loving word of Jesus, asking him thrice about his love, but not whispering one word about his sin,—this grieved him to the heart. "It is a settled point," says Calvin, "that repentance not only follows upon faith, but springs out of it."

3. *But on this we would lay especial stress, viz., let repentance be kept in its proper place.* If it ever be presented, directly or indirectly, as a ground of peace with God, souls are damaged fearfully in their dearest interests. There, in the great question of reconciliation with God, let the sanctifying work of the Spirit on the soul have no mention. Render to Christ the things that are Christ's, and to the Spirit the things that are the Spirit's. We are afraid of speaking of repentance as an experience which the sinner must attain before he believes. Anything which seems like preparation for receiving Christ has at least a suspicious air. Inquiring souls are ever prone to bring something to Christ. "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord?" Come, we say, with nothing. Only come yourself. If a man brings his repentance as the price of peace, Christ will be no party to such negotiation. Repentance is one thing—Divine atonement is another. Repentance is the work of the Spirit—Divine atonement was finished by Christ. Peace with God never can spring from looking at myself, any more than a patient can get health by watching the symptoms of his disease. It is not my character, my feelings, my experience, that can give peace, but Christ, who is my peace. Seeking to bring a sinner to peace with God, there is but one name, one way, one atoning sacrifice — "God in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself." To Him I must come,—and come as a sinner,—sincerely, honestly, without the cloak of self-righteousness, or bringing the bribe of merit, or pleading even my repentance as any recommendation. I come, as a sinner, to the Saviour; my coming in that spirit shows my need; and thus to Christ alone, my all in all,—

"Just as I am, poor, wretched, blind;
Sight, riches, healing of the mind,
Yea, all I need in thee to find,
O Lamb of God, I come!"

W. B. M.

THE JEWS IN EUROPE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAP. IV.—THE JEWS IN FRANCE.

PASS we now across the Channel with the banished Hebrews, and there let us strive to restore to their pristine order the stray Sibylline leaves of their history in France; a task which many revolutions and prolonged disabilities render more difficult even than in England. There also, as in Spain, this Semitic element was more entirely diffused through the whole body of society, and for a more lengthened period, than in our own country; and hence the distinction between the Jew and his Christian master, though never wholly lost sight of, was more often in danger of being obliterated, from the want in the French character of that distinctiveness and self-isolation which mark the Englishman in every age. The Frenchman of all ranks had less difficulty in associating with the cosmopolite Hebrew than was felt by the exclusive islander. But if he thus became more intimate with the child of Abraham, it was unhappily for the most part only the more to oppress him. Familiarity did away in France with much of that awe which sometimes operated to preserve the life and property of the English Jew; who, if like Cain he wandered "a fugitive and a vagabond" in a land not his own, had still, it might be thought, an indelible mark set by God upon his countenance, which might prevent the awe-struck Gentile from slaying that singular being who seemed to be, under the new dispensation, the outcast and accursed of God. But when, as in France, the Hebrew race long formed numerically so large a portion of the community, it was found that they were men of like passions with their Christian neighbours. And as they gained in the eyes of mediæval critics a place, though the lowest, in the standard of recognised society, so they lost the privileges which, in ignorant times and countries, attach to the exceptions of humanity, as now in the East to the madman, the idiot, and the fool. The Jew, when no longer regarded as labouring under the immediate visitation of God, did not therefore become more, but rather less, safe in the hands of the rude men of the middle ages, with whom nothing could compensate for inferiority of physical strength and personal prowess. Imbecility of mind they sometimes regarded with reverence—imbecility of body only furnished additional temptations to put in practice

> "The good old rule, the simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> That they should keep who can."

We have before seen one of the Merovingian kings effecting Jewish conversion by force; and Gregory of Tours tells us that they were already in his time numerous and wealthy in Gaul, and noted for the practice of usury.* Subsequent princes of the line of Clovis, Clothaire II., and Dagobert, increased the Jewish disabilities; and the councils of Rheims and Chalons-sur-Marne endeavoured to check their traffic in Christian slaves. Bat the intolerance of the Rois Fainéants of the later Merovingian race was exchanged for the conciliatory policy adopted by the wiser Carlovingians towards such wealthy and useful subjects. The empire of Charlemagne opened a wide field for their commercial industry. In the south of France especially they formed the link between the Saracens of the Spanish March and the traders of Christendom. They trafficked with the East from Narbonne and Marseilles. Their quarter at Lyons, unlike the miserable ghettos of most continental cities, united with marvellous skill and beauty the architecture of the East and West; and their Rabbins established public schools at Carcassone, Montpelier, and Nismes, which rivalled those opened under Charlemagne himself by Alcuin of England, Clement of Ireland, and Theodulph of Germany.† Isaac the Jew twice conducted a mission from the court of Aix-la-Chapelle to that of Bagdad; andt he monkish chroniclers fail not to detail the curious and costly offerings (among them, the keys of the Holy Sepulchre) entrusted to him for the Emperor of the West by the great Haroun al Raschid.‡ Another Jew, the physician Zedekiah, was the chief adviser of Louis le Debonnaire; and throughout his reign, and that of Charles the Bald, there was one law for the Hebrew and the Christian subject. Agobard, bishop of Lyons, found complaints to his sovereign and denunciations in the church alike ineffectual to bring down the Jews from their high estate, till the distractions of the empire under the later Carlovingians deprived them of their royal patronage, and bowed their necks beneath the feudal yoke of those numberless petty princes who substituted the dominion of their own will for law, and chose to enrich themselves by the plunder and massacre rather than by the tribute and protection of the Jews. Then began evil days for the house of Israel. The whole world was at war with them. The Roman hierarchy and the feudal society united to annihilate their civil and re-

* Greg. Turon. L. iv. C. 12, and L. vii. C. 23.

† Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, tom. ii. p. 517, and tom. iii. p. 531. Michelet, Hist. de France, L. iv. C. vi.

‡ Eginhard (vit. Car. Mag.) gives a full account of these friendly relations of the caliph of Bagdad with the German prince at Aix-la-Chapelle. The monk of St. Gall (L. ii. C. 14) says,—"The poet's figurative expression to denote an impossibility, 'Aut Ararim Parthus bibet, aut Germania Tigrim,' became at this time a literal truth through Charles's relations with Haroun."

ligious liberties; and the church encouraged the people, no less than the people supported the church, to bring charges against them of all possible and impossible kinds.* In times of national calamities or political catastrophes they were ever the guilty causes. To correspond with the infidels, as their fellow enemies to the cross of Christ, to poison the wells, and even the rivers, or by other fatal secrets only known to them to cause pestilence and famine;† to obtain possession of the consecrated host by theft or bribery, and submit it to shameful insult;‡ or, as we have seen already, to decoy Christian children to their homes, and there crucify them;§—these are a few, and only a few, of the charges which France, in common with the whole world of the West, brought against the people which God had placed as a living image of the East in the midst of Christendom. At Toulouse it was customary to give a blow on the face to a Jew on every anniversary of the Passion.‖ At Beziers, the usage prevailed of attacking the Jews' houses from Palm Sunday to Easter; and the faithful were regularly stirred up by a sermon from the bishop to celebrate in this manner the holy week.¶ At Puy, in all disputes between Jews, the choristers of the cathedral were the umpires, "to the end that the great innocence of the judges might correct the great roguery of the litigants."** In Provence and in Burgundy they were prohibited the use of the public baths, except on Fridays, when they were open to them in common with mountebanks and persons of ill fame.†† And yet in the south of France their condition was far better than in the north, where the Capetian monarchs earlier ob-

* The Jew, introduced in Abelard's dialogue concerning the supreme good, "inter philosophum, Judæum, et Christianum," observes, in drawing a lively picture of the wretched condition of the Jews, "Unde nobis præcipue superest lucrum, ut alienegenis fœnerantes hinc miseram sustentemus vitam, quod nos quidem maxime ipsis effecit invidiosos, qui se in hoc plurimum arbitrantur gravatos."

† "Suadente diabolo" (leprosos) "per ministerium Judæorum . . . ut Christiani omnes morerentur, vel omnes uniformiter leprosi efficerentur." Cont. G. de Nangis, ann. 1321.

‡ Ex. gr. The miraculous wafer at St. Gudule, in Brussels, still exhibited annually on the 15th of July.

§ See the ballads published by M. Michel. Justin Martyr (Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, 227) preserves the fact, that one of the earliest calumnies of the Jews against the Christians was, that they killed a pagan child in order to dip in his blood the bread of the sacrament. There was retribution in the charge by the Christians against the Jews. To this day, in the East, whenever the pious Moslem wishes to persecute the wealthy Jew, the cry of child-murder is raised. Secret rites in all ages have rendered these stories credible; for as heresy is a question of opinion, and too subtle for mobs, social crimes which they can understand serve the purpose of inflaming their passions. "Omne ignotum pro nefando."

‖ Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, tom. ii. p. 151.

¶ Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, tom. ii. p. 485. But we learn from Castel (Memoires du Languedoc, L. iii. p. 523) that they purchased exemption from this in 1160.

** Michelet, Hist. de France, L. iv. C. 6. Note.

†† Michaud, Histoire des Croisades, tom. ii. p. 598.

tained real power, and were able to enforce in person edicts of extortion or expulsion. During the first crusades, the king and the Jew profited together from the absence and poverty of the baronial holders of fiefs, who either made their lands over to them for prices far below their value in order to obtain the equipment for a journey to seek a new home—often a grave—in Palestine; or by their absence or death caused their remaining territorial possessions to revert to the king as suzerain, or to the Jew as mortgagee.* In this way those that tarried at home divided the spoil, till at the commencement of the reign of Philip Augustus the Jews had a claim on almost all the estates in the country and half of Paris; and that able and unscrupulous monarch considered himself called upon to assert his authority as more than a nominal king. The arm which was to deal such heavy blows on rebellious barons and disloyal churchmen tried its maiden strength on the Hebrew community. A royal edict in A.D. 1181 confiscated their movables, and commanded them to sell their immovables and depart from the kingdom—that is, from the north of France; for south of the Loire the edicts of the king at Paris were as yet but little respected. But though Philip Dieu-donné might thus wipe away the national debt, and with the assent and even approbation of all classes banish from the country of the Langue d'oyl those whom the more heretical land of the Langue d'oc covertly favoured, yet he could not for long do without these universal bankers of the civilized world, who by their national and commercial cohesion formed a secret monetary league, whose ramifications extended throughout Europe. In A.D. 1198 he was fain to invite them back to the north of France; and this people, *patiens quia æternus*, returned to this inhospitable kingdom, though to be fettered by new laws to lower the rate of interest and regulate the standard of money. The short reign of Louis VIII. was signalised by still severer decrees, annulling all future interests on debts due to Jews, and commanding the payment of the capital in three years in three separate instalments. Similar enactments were promulgated in the first years of his son—yet that son was St. Louis.

It may seem strange to us that a man, at once so wise, and just, and holy, should enact, "Les meubles aux Juifs sont au

* It is curious to see how seldom the Jews in Palestine are noticed by the Crusaders; perhaps from the indiscriminating destruction of all the inhabitants found there by the soldiers of the Cross. Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1160—A.D. 1173) found only 400 Jews at Tyre, 200 at Jerusalem, 153 at Ascalon, 50 at Tiberias, all living in great poverty and meanness. Yet, though the Holy Land was almost a desert, it is affecting to read the indications of devoted attachment to its air and soil found in mediæval Jewish writings.

Baron,"*—should brand them with the Rouelle—should commit to the flames in Paris twenty-four wagons full of Hebrew lore,—should suffer them to be massacred by the populace and Pastoureux,† and should even in his private intercourse with his friend the Sire de Joinville justify the "argumentum ad baculum" in the conversion of Jews. Forhe gave as his comment on the story of the old knight who so felled the Rabbi at the conference at Cluny—"that no one, however learned or perfect a theologian he may be, ought to dispute with the Jews; but the layman, whenever he hears the Christian faith contemned, should defend it not only by words, but with a sharp-edged sword, with which he should strike the scandalizers and disbelievers, until it enter their bodies as far as the hilt."‡ But his conduct with regard to the Jews was dictated by the same religious feeling which animated his whole life. He was actuated by a conscientious conviction of the unlawfulness of usury, and an undying hatred of the enemies to Christ and His church. We cannot blame him that, as regards the Jews, he was not before his age; and can only regret that in the memorable exception which he presented in his ordinances to the fiscal tyranny of the whole line of kings, of which he was either the heir or ancestor, he did not make that exception universal by including under his protection his Hebrew subjects. The severity of the laws of Louis IX. was increased by Philip III. Philip IV. (the Fair) repeated the policy of Philip Augustus, and expelled the Jews from the soil of France. The weakened monarchy of Louis X. and Philip V. was compelled to tolerate what it could not exist without—a monied to counterbalance a baronial and ecclesiastical aristocracy. Yet the reign of the latter is rendered memorable in the sad calendar of modern Jewish history by the wholesale massacre of the Jews by the Pastoureux, especially in Languedoc and Aquitaine. Charles IV., the next monarch, again expelled them; and the last king of the first line of the house of Capet well sustained the persecuting character of his race.

We hear little of them under the line of Valois till the reign of John II., during whose captivity they obtained from his son Charles (the Regent) the privilege of returning to the country from whence they had thrice gone forth as banished men. That wise prince knew their value. In spite of the opposition of the clergy and people, he recruited the exhausted treasury of the state by raising loans from the Jews. During the early

* Stat. St. Louis.

† Velly, Hist. de France, tom. viii. p. 99. And then the continuator of Nangis says,—"Sicut fumus subitò evanuit tota illa commotio." Spicilegium, tom. iii. p. 77.

‡ Joinville's Memoires de St. Louis, Part I.

part of the reign of Charles VI. we find them still treated with equity and consideration; and they seemed in a more favourable position than they had occupied since the days of the Carlovingian Louis le Debonnaire, when the malady which plunged France in a sea of troubles involved the house of Israel in the common wreck. The melancholy and morbid conscience of the king, even in his intervals of sanity, was continually worked upon by his confessor to purge the realm of their hated presence. They were expelled in A.D. 1394, not to return again till the history of the middle ages is lost in that of modern times. Even in A.D. 1576 they were rated in France to toil with animals, and their existence was not recognised by law so late as A.D. 1771, except in one or two places, on account of cessions and capitulations.* At the revolution they rose out of the ruins of the system of regal and ecclesiastical tyranny which had so long weighed them down. The National Convention granted them equal rights as citizens in A.D. 1791. Napoleon allowed them to obtain considerable rank in his army and the Legion of Honour,† and gave them, as well as Protestant Christians, an ecclesiastical organization. There are many now living who remember the day when, fifty-five years ago, he assembled a Jewish Sanhedrim in the city of Paris,‡ and caused some to believe and avow that Napoleon, the conqueror of the world, was indeed their prince marching to universal victory—their long expected Messiah.§ The question of prohibited food was the main cause of the breaking up of the assembly, and the abuse by the Jews of their new privileges in several of the Rhenish provinces caused Bonaparte (though unwillingly) to lay restrictions upon them. They were not interfered with on the restoration of the Bourbons, and since the revolution of 1830 the liberalism of successive French governments has conferred upon the Rabbins, in common with the heads of other sects, a stipendiary allowance.‖

* Denisart, Collect. de Jurisprud. Art. Juifs, tom. iii. ed. 1771.

† Schlosser, Hist. of 18th Cent. Vol. vii. p. 284, &c.

‡ From "The Transactions of the Sanhedrim," p. 150, &c., we see how much the Jewesses of Europe have profited by Christianity; and that the pious Jew is a wiser and better man for the religion which he disbelieves. Living in an atmosphere of Christianity, the child of Abraham bows to the public opinion of a Christian land; and, professing the imperfect morality of the Old Testament, acts without knowing it on the principles of the New. The Rabbins of Paris allowed that on the question of polygamy the influence of European manners had universally prevailed among the Jews in the West; and, though the Oral Law says "A man may marry many wives, even a hundred, either at once, or one after another," and polygamy, in fact, prevailed among the European Jews (as it does still among the eastern) till the 11th century, that the Synod of Worms, composed of a hundred Rabbins, with R. Gershon, anathematised it "from the wish of adopting the customs of the inhabitants of this part of the world."

§ D'Israeli, Genius of Judaism, Chap. x.

‖ The materials which have been reluctantly condensed into the concluding summary have been taken for the most

It was our intention, had our space allowed us, to pursue the same plan which we have followed in speaking of Spain, England, and France, with regard to Germany, Italy, Poland, and other continental countries where the Jews were found in distinct communities in the mediæval period. We might then have seen how in the Empire they contributed greatly, by their commercial enterprise, to the early importance of Metz, Cologne, Treves, and other trading cities of the Moselle and the Rhine; and how the first German soldiers of the Cross repaid the debt by the massacres under Walter the Penniless, Peter the Hermit, and the monk Godescal, which made even churchmen and crusaders like St. Bernard indignantly admonish the Frankish armaments that "the Jews were to be converted, not to be persecuted, nor to be slain, nor even to be driven into exile."* We might have travelled with Benjamin of Tudela, among his Jewish brethren of the Rhineland, about 1170 A.D., and found them rich, generous, learned, hospitable, and living in the eager hope of the coming of the Messiah. Then following the course of the same noble river towards the sea, to the level plains watered by the Meuse and Scheldt, and passing southward still to the duchies of Burgundy, Gueldres, and Brabant, the counties of Flanders, Hainault, and Zutphen,† and the wealthy trading towns, whose magistrates leagued on equal terms with princes and with kings, and which more than once (as at Courtrai) humbled the chivalry of France, we should have found the sons of Jacob numerous, wealthy, and influential, at Amsterdam, Utrecht, Leyden, and Rotterdam, especially towards the close of the fifteenth century; and much earlier in Antwerp, Malines, and Brussels, as well as at Bruges, Ghent, Yprès, and Liege. We might have wondered at the blindness which sometimes excluded them from imperial free cities like Frankfort and Nuremberg, and not less at the fanaticism of enthusiasts (like the Flagellants) suffered to gratify itself on the unresisting Jews, without the intervention to prevent it of emperor, bishop, or count. Again, we might have

part from Ersch. und Gruber, Encyklopädie, Sect. ii. Vol. xxvii.; Zunz, Zeitschrift; Zunz, Die Namen der Juden; Zunz, Die synagogale Poesie der Juden. Beside the authorities cited above (for Germany); and for Italy—Muratori, Annali d'Italia; Sismondi, Hist. des Republiques Italiennes.

* St. Bernard also asked very justly of Rudolf the monk, who was rousing the Germans of the Rhineland to murder the Jews, "Does not the church obtain a richer victory over the Jews by daily bringing them over from their errors and converting them, than if by the sword she destroyed them all at a *blow?*" *He says* also, that they are scattered among all nations "as living memorials of Christ's passion under the Divine judgment;" and appeals to the prayer of the universal church for the conversion of the Jews, with which such proceedings stood so directly at variance. The Jewish Chronicle of Jehoschua ben Meir says of St. Bernard's humane interposition,—"He from his heart spake good concerning Israel."

† M. H. J. Koenen, in a work which received the prize in 1842 from the Provincial Society of Arts and Sciences at Utrecht, proves the settlement of the Jews in the Low Countries long before the emancipation of the United Provinces from the Spanish yoke.

seen in the heart of the empire the foundation at Prague, Presburg, Breslau, and Vienna, of those colonies of Jews which still enjoy so high a reputation among the scholars and traders of central Europe. Or we might have relieved the tedium of common-place history by referring their greatness in Poland,* so long the stronghold of the Rabbinical papacy and still the focus of the Jewish people, to the love of Casimir the Great for Esther, the beautiful Jewess. Like her namesake, the wife of the great king Ahasuerus, she used her influence over her royal lover to secure the privileges, welfare, and safety of her brethren of the Captivity. Or, once more, we might have heard the accents of the Hebrew tongue mingling in the confusion of languages in the countries which skirt the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas, and have traced their separate existence in the Italian republics,† as well as in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and the States of the Church. We might have seen the Roman pontiffs for the most part setting an example of humanity and toleration to Christendom, by treating the Jews almost as fellow-men; and contenting themselves with confining them to a particular quarter of the Eternal City, and with compelling them to pay a small poll-tax for this permission, as well as to listen to sermons annually preached for their benefit.‡

In conclusion, we would venture a few remarks to prove that those commercial and literary qualities of the Jewish mind, which shone so conspicuously in the middle ages, are not diminished in modern times, but that they have advanced with the advancement of civilization and literature up to the present hour. It is almost hopeless to attempt to give anything like a complete catalogue, even for the last hundred years, of the great Jews who have put themselves at the head of the intellectual movement in their own body, or even in the Christian community. The mediæval Rabbins claimed Aristotle for a Jew;§ their descendants may with greater truth number Baruch Spinoza‖ among the children of Abraham. Moses Mendelsohn the philosopher,¶ and his grandson the musician;

* "In that kingdom they formed the only middle order between the nobles and the serfs. Almost every branch of traffic was in their hands. They were the shop traders, corn merchants, and innkeepers; in some towns they formed the greater part of the population; in some villages almost the whole."—Milman, Hist. of the Jews. Vol. iii. Book xxviii.

"Poland has been called 'the Jews' Paradise.'..... No Christian has any chance of doing anything, or business of any kind."—Henderson's Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia, &c.

† Of Venice Luzzati says, "Sane auctoritas excellentissimi Senatus Veneti, Judæos admittentis, ceteris omnibus exemplo esse deberet, ad quod eosdem similiter reciperent."

‡ Froissart, i. C. 151. John xxiii. (Balthazar Cozza) forms an exception, Monstrelet, i. C. 62.

§ Bartolocci, Bibl. Rabbinica, p. 471.

‖ Though a native of Amsterdam, he was the son of a Portuguese Jew.

¶ He greatly owed his early advancement to Lessing, the friend of the Jews and of humanity.

Meyerbeer and Rachel, the great artists of the opera and the theatre; Jacobi, the mathematician; Ganz, the jurist; Fould, the ministerial financier, and Cremieu, the prince of advocates; Mendizabel, ex-premier of Spain; Soult, late president of the French council, and marshal of the empire; with the brothers Rothschild, Sir Moses Montefiore, and many more of the leaders on the exchanges of Europe, all rank as Jews. Further, their influence is not less great on the mind of Europe as regards questions of even higher interest. A converted Jew, Nicholas de Lyra,* in the fourteenth century wrote and spoke with such energy in behalf of reformed Christianity before the Reformation, that the men of the sixteenth said commonly,—

"Si Lyra non lyrasset,
Lutherus non saltasset."†

In our own day there have not been wanting men among them to carry on the work of reformation. Professors Neander, Wehl, Brenery, Stah, and Capadose, all converted Jews, with five others not converted in the University of Halle, three at Breslau, and no less than thirty in all out of the hundred and sixty professors of Berlin, with others like them, have done and are doing good service both in Church and State, in the fields of theology, history, philology,‡ and science, in the Universities of Germany. And we may add our firm belief that no great mental movement of Europe takes place in which the Jews do not largely participate. Among the first Jesuits it is known that some were Jews. The Jewish birth of John Ronge is strongly surmised. The mighty revolution of mind now preparing in Germany is developing itself under the auspices of Jews. Their influence on the daily political press is acknowledged everywhere; and their power as literary contributors is magical over almost every leading continental journal.

Whereto all this is leading the Christian and the Jew, is a question for the student of prophecy rather than of history. We must leave the latter, as at first we found him, a pilgrim and a sojourner in the alien's land, with staff in hand and loins girt up, as a man from home. We must ourselves labour to cast down the fragments of the partition wall which so long kept the Jew without the pale of Christian sympathy. We may hope that the drear bondage, moral and mental as well as

* Lyre, in Normandy. He embraced Christianity, and wrote most valuable Commentaries: Jane, wife of Philip V. of France, made him one of her executors, 1325; he died 1340.

† Of which the ancient paraphrase ran thus:—

"If Lyra had not harped on profanation,
Luther had never planned the Reformation."

‡ See Bunsen's History of the Philosophy of Language (in his History of the Philosophy of Human Destiny and Development, vol. i. chap. vi. p. 172.) There the labours of the Jew Furst of Leipsic, in the field of Comparative Philology, are honoured as fully as those of the Christian Delitzsch of Halle.

physical, of the house of Israel is well nigh over, and that the genial warmth of the sun of Christian civilization will daily melt away from their hearts more of the ice of ages. We trust also, as the day of their freedom dawns still more brightly, and the shadows flee away, to see the children of Israel yet more fully recognised as members of the body of our common society; not interfering with the other members, but enjoying and fulfilling peculiar rights and duties. Then may we rejoice to see the sons and daughters of Judah take down their harps from the willow trees of the strange countries whither God has sent them into captivity, and to hear them in the lays of their own royal poet singing—

> "Lo the winter is past—and the rain is over and gone.
> The flowers appear on the earth:
> The time of the singing of birds is come:
> And the voice of the turtle is heard in the land."

THE MORMONS: BURTON'S CITY OF THE SAINTS.

The City of the Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains to California. By Richard F. Burton, Author of "A Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Mecca." Longman and Co. 1861.

We have wanted for some time past to know something more of the great Mormon settlement. We take it for granted that our readers are already acquainted with the early history of this strange delusion; the childish imposture on which it was founded; the ludicrous impotence with which it first struggled into notice; its sudden growth into a monstrous manhood; and its subsequent reverses at Nauvoo, when its prophet was shot in a characteristic American riot, and his followers were compelled to flee for their lives. Brigham Young then assumed the prophetic mantle, and has worn it ever since; and with it the papal tiara, and the Turkish scimitar,—at once the spiritual sovereign and the military chieftain of his tribe. Under his guidance the dispirited Mormons, strong in a desperate fanaticism, migrated in a body to the valley of the Salt Lake, far, as they hoped, from the haunts of men. Here they have established themselves, and taken root; and they now form a community the most extraordinary, in some respects, the world has ever seen. This is the new world to which Mr. Burton conducts us. We should have preferred a guide of a more reverent spirit, but we must take him as he is. He appears to have collected his facts with care; with his opinions we are not concerned. With regard to his religious principles we confess we are utterly at a loss to know

what they are. And we fear that he himself could give us no satisfactory information upon that all-important subject.

However, he seems to have the two requisites we want: he is a shrewd observer, and, no doubt, an accurate reporter of what he saw. We must commit ourselves to his guidance; and, passing over his adventures with the wild, scalping Indian tribes, through whose lands he passed, we stand with him at length entranced at the gorge of the mountain pass where the City of the Saints, and the whole region of the land of Utah, first bursts upon the sight.

"The valley presently lay full before our sight. At this place the pilgrim emigrants, like the Hajis of Mecca and Jerusalem, give vent to the emotions long pent up within their bosoms, by sobs and tears, laughter and congratulations, psalms and hysterics. It is, indeed, no wonder that the children dance, and the strong men cheer and shout, and that nervous women, broken with fatigue and hope deferred, scream and faint; that the ignorant should fondly believe that the 'Spirit of God pervades the very atmosphere,' and that Zion on the tops of the mountains is nearer heaven than other parts of the earth. In good sooth, though uninfluenced by religious fervour—beyond the natural satisfaction of seeing a bran new holy city—even I could not, after nineteen days in a mail-wagon, gaze upon the scene without emotion.

"The hour was about six P.M., the atmosphere was touched with a dreamy haze, as it generally is in the vicinity of the lake—a little bank of rose-coloured clouds, edged with flames of purple and gold, floated in the upper air, whilst the mellow radiance of an American autumn, that bright interlude between the extremes of heat and cold, diffused its mild, soft lustre over the face of earth.

"The sun, whose slanting rays shone full in our eyes, was setting in a flood of heavenly light behind the bold, jagged outline of 'Antelope Island,' which, though distant twenty miles to the north-west, hardly appeared to be ten. At its feet, and then bounding the far horizon, lay, like a band of burnished silver, the Great Salt Lake, that still, innocent Dead Sea. South-westwards, also, and equally deceptive as regards distance, rose the boundary of the valley plain, the Oquirrh Range, sharply *silhouetted* by a sweep of sunshine over its summits, against the depths of an evening sky, in that direction so pure, so clear, that vision, one might fancy, could penetrate behind the curtain into regions beyond the confines of man's ken. In the brilliant-reflected light, which softened off into a glow of delicate pink, we could distinguish the lines of Brigham's, Coon's, and other *Kanyons*, which water has traced through the wooded flanks of the Oquirrh down to the shadows already purpling the misty benches at their base. Three distinct and several shades—light azure, blue, and brown-blue—graduated the distances, which extended at least thirty miles.

"This valley—this lovely panorama of green and azure and gold—this land, fresh as it were from the hands of God, is apparently girt on all sides by hills: the highest peaks, raised 7000 to 8000 feet above the plain *of their* bases, show, by gulches veined with lines of snow, that even *in this season winter* frowns upon the last smile of summer."

The City of the Saints itself, when entered, has but few attractions, though in some respects it reminded the traveller of modern Athens without the Acropolis. It is somewhat oriental in appearance, built of sun-dried *adobe*, common to all parts of the eastern world—a sort of brick of a dull leaden blue; and the houses, a single storey in height, are roofed with shingles or boards of nearly the same colour. The streets, as in most American cities, run parallel to each other in tedious straight lines. The effect must be monotonous; and domes and minarets, churches and chapels, throw no relief upon the scene. There is one huge tabernacle concealed, except the roof, as we see in a lithograph print, by a lofty wall, within which the strange, and we must call it blasphemous, worship of the Mormonites is performed. The population of the city is about 9000. Order appears to be very well observed. No wonder this, when, if any man on any account displease governor Brigham Young and his ruling elders, he is quietly "put out of the way." There are no lamps in any but the "main-street;" yet the city is as safe, we are told, as St. James's Square in London. There are twenty-five or thirty policemen, but their duty is purely nominal. But even gold may be bought too dear, and the good order of the City of the Saints, like that of many a continental city, is paid for at rather a high price. There is, in fact, a constant system of the vilest espionage, with many a secret murder lying buried, from all eyes but His who seeth in secret, low down beneath its dark foundations.

"Near the angle of Main-street, I was shown the place where, a short time before my arrival, a curious murder was committed. Two men, named Johnston and Brown, *mauvais sujets*, who had notoriously been guilty of forgery and horse-stealing, were sauntering home one fine evening, when both fell, with a bullet to each accurately placed under the heart arm. The bodies were carried to the court-house, which is here the morgue or dead-house, to be exposed, as is the custom, for a time. The citizens, when asked if they suspected who did the deed, invariably replied, with a philosophical sang froid, that in the first place they didn't know, and, secondly, that they didn't care."

Mr. Burton thinks this a sort of wild unflinching and unerring justice, secret and sudden—"in fact, the rod of iron which protects the good;" and he bids us take notice that arsenic, strychnine, and other dastardly poisons of Europe are apparently unknown all the way from the Mississippi to the Great Salt Lake City. It would seem they are superfluous, when a single shot does the whole business without further delay, and with no fear of consequences. Every man carries a revolver or a bowie knife, or both, and seems to use them with as little hesitation as our rudest lads pick up stones in the street,

and pelt each other for mere amusement or on the slightest provocation.

Brigham Young is at once the life of the Mormon imposture, its civil and religious head, and its prime minister and master of police; its pope, its Napoleon, its Talleyrand, and its Fouchet, all in one. He professes likewise to be a prophet, and is known amongst his followers by the style and title of Seer, Revelator, and Prophet. He is an American, now sixty years old; though in appearance he seems a hearty man of about forty-five. From the account here given of him, his person and carriage are rather prepossessing. His manner is cold, and without dignity either natural or self-imposed; "but he is neither fanatical nor morose; he has the manners of a respectable New England farmer, and has all the natural shrewdness which we have learned to assign to his countrymen in that walk of life." Whether he be the dupe and victim of the wretched imposture which he represents, or merely the heartless knave and sensualist who finds it to his interest to impose on others the lie which he himself discredits, must be left to conjecture. Looking at the total want of moral or historical evidence, either for the book of Mormon, or for any one of all the revelations of which the system boasts, our first impression would be that neither he, nor any of his long-headed coadjutors, can have the slightest respect for the monstrous imposture. But we must remember there comes a time when the liar and his lie are one; married to each other in the bonds of immortal infamy, and bound fast together by the curse of God. A time when the Scripture is fulfilled,—"And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie; that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness;" and to this dreadful state who shall dare to say these men may not possibly have attained? Such as he is, however, the power of Brigham Young is absolute. Yet he seems, even in his own city, to live in fear: he has guards at his gates, and never appears in public unattended by friends and followers, who are of course armed with their revolvers. This would seem extraordinary if the City of the Salt Lake were really the City of the Saints, or Brigham Young a prophet; yet Mr. Burton informs us that there is an absolute necessity for precaution; since many a ruffian, if he found an opportunity, would, from pure love of notoriety, even without stronger incentive, try his revolver or bowie-knife upon the "Big Mormon." Rome boasts that she is the holy city of Christendom; and the resemblance between the two capitals is striking. Rome has a spiritual sovereign, and he, too, is afraid to walk out without his guards, and, till the French

kindly undertook her police, she was more deeply stained with blood spilt by assassins than any city in Europe, her own Naples alone excepted.

Let us follow the Latter Day Saints to their Bowery, and look in upon the worship in which, whether it be sincere or not, we cannot affect to join. The edifice is about a hundred feet long, and as many broad, with a roofing of boughs and bushes, supported by rough posts; it is open for ventilation on the sides, and contains about three thousand hearers, all seated upon benches. We must go early to secure a seat. At 10 A.M. the meeting opens with a spiritual song, conducted by an orchestra —a violin, a bass, two women and four male performers, who sing tolerably well. Several addresses are now delivered, the burden of which seems to be the past and future triumphs of Mormonism. There is a total want of reverence, though something resembling prayer is offered; another hymn is sung, and Brigham Young now appears, "dressed, as usual, in grey, home-spun and home-woven, and wearing, like most of the elders, a tall, steeple-crowned straw hat, with a broad black ribbon, and the rare refinement of black kid gloves." He enters the tribune covered, and apparently greeting those near him.—A great silence now prevailed, which told that something was about to happen:—

"Mr. Brigham Young removed his hat, advanced to the end of the tribune, expectorated, stooping over the spittoon, which was concealed from sight by the boarding, restored the balance of fluid by a glass of water from a well-filled decanter on the stand, and leaning slightly forwards upon both hands propped on the green baize of the tribune, addressed his followers.

"The discourse began slowly, word crept titubantly after word, and the opening phrases were hardly audible: but as the orator warmed, his voice rose high and sonorous, and a fluency so remarkable succeeded falter and hesitation, that, although the phenomenon is not rare in strong speakers, the latter seemed almost to have been a work of art. The manner was pleasing and animated, and the matter fluent, impromptu, and well turned, spoken rather than preached; if it had a fault, it was rather rambling and unconnected. Of course colloquialisms of all kinds were introduced; such as 'He became for you and I,' and so forth. The gestures were easy and rounded, not without a certain grace, though evidently untaught; one, however, must be excepted, namely, that of raising and shaking the forefinger. This is often done in the Eastern states; but the rest of the world over it is considered threatening and bullying."

The address was long; but we shall not insult our readers with the blasphemous trash that followed, nor with the oration of the second president, Mr. Hebert Kimball. This gentleman prefers, we are told, an everyday manner of speech, which savours of familiarity rather than reverence. Both Brigham Young and he—the one by *mimicry*, the other

by *drollery*, amuse the congregation. Of the two, Kimball is the more entertaining. "The people look more amused when he speaks than when others harangue them; and they laugh heartily, as almost all crowds will, at the thinnest phantom of a joke."

This, then, is the religious worship of the Latter Day Saints. Its levity is the natural consequence of the horrible profanation which makes the Deity altogether such an one as themselves, having a body, parts, and passions. Yet to indulge in this vile delusion thousands have forsaken all the joys of home and kindred. For this they have forsaken the God of their fathers, and they worship now, not with reverence and godly fear, but with familiarity, low jokes, and laughter. One would think the meanest and most degraded soul amongst them must feel weary, disgusted, and ashamed. A prayer of dismissal, during which all stood up, and the benediction, to which all said Amen, concluded the melancholy service. The sacrament was not administered on this occasion, but it is often given; if that can be in any sense a sacrament in which water is used instead of wine, because "the latter is a Gentile manufactory." Two elders walk up and down the rows, one carrying a pitcher, the other a plate of broken bread, and each sex partakes of both. Mr. Burton informs us that he spent a Sunday morning in a painful but appropriate exercise, reading the books of Mormon and Maroni the prophet. That the exercise was painful, we have no doubt. All those who have made the attempt will give a ready assent to the brief criticism—

"That surely there never was a book so thoroughly dull and heavy: it is monotonous as a sage prairie. Though not liable to be terrified by dry or hard reading, I was, it is only fair to own, unable to turn over more than a few chapters at a time; and my conviction is, that very few are so highly gifted that they have been able to read it through at a heat."

Of all the literary impostures which ever duped the credulity of fanatics or of fools, the book of Mormon is at once the dullest and the most transparent; to be rivalled only, in either respect, with its supplementary Maroni. Compared with it, the Koran is both entertaining and rational. Indeed, we may charitably doubt whether it was ever meant by its author to impose upon any human being. It was written by poor Spaulding, an illiterate, weak-minded Baptist or Independent minister, during his last illness; a sort of pious romance, intended for his own amusement. His widow put it aside in an old chest as of no value, till it was stolen by Joe Smith or one of his associates. The knave professed to have dug it up, with some other Indian antiquities, in a cave, which a tribe of Indians, then extinct, had once inhabited. With it, he said, were two plates of gold, *containing the* ancient Mormon statutes, of which Smith pub-

lished fac-similes. The original plates no mortal ever saw, not even Joe Smith himself. But the imposture took; ready believers were at hand; Smith, drawn into the whirlpool, was hurried forward; and as he could not escape without disgrace, he piled one falsehood upon another, became the head of the new religion, and in time its proto-martyr. It must be observed, that the book which formed the subject of Mr. Burton's Sunday morning's appropriate exercise by no means includes the whole of the present Mormon doctrine. It does not contain a word in favour of a material deity, nor of polygamy. In fact, the latter is forbidden; it rests upon a special revelation of a later date, given to Joseph Smith, the Seer, at Nauvoo, 12th of July, 1843. The Mormon bible, therefore, now holds the same place in Mormon estimation as the true bible among papists; its authority is unquestioned, but its leaves remain unopened. Indeed, in communities where a new revelation is always ready to confront a fresh difficulty,—as amongst Irvingites at home and Mormonites abroad,—no book of ancient statutes will be much respected. Like an act of parliament, it may at any time be repealed or superseded by another act, which may qualify the sense, or contradict the letter, of the older one. Thus Mormonism presents an ever-changing aspect; and into what it may ultimately resolve itself, none can foresee.

Mr. Burton writes with the air of an apologist; sometimes we could believe him a Mormonite disguised; but upon the whole, we conclude that he is one of those strange creatures who can breathe only in an atmosphere of contradiction. Other writers allude to the indecencies of Mormonism: he denies the charge. But he informs us, on another page, that Mormons think it a merit to speak openly upon subjects never mentioned except in the clinical lecture-room, and this even in the house of worship; and that Mr. Kimball is accused of rebuking his young wives from the pulpit in language which would secure, within two minutes, his expulsion from any decent tradesman's parlour. Other writers have maintained that the wives of the polygamists of the Great Salt Lake city are watched by their lords with oriental jealousy; that their spirits are depressed, and that they feel themselves degraded. He maintains, on the contrary, that they are free and joyous. But he remarks, incidentally, that at an evening party he and his companion were especially forewarned not to offer to two married ladies who were present without their husbands the ordinary civility of seeing them home; and that one of them made her escape before the party broke up to avoid the possibility of such dangerous attentions. Instead of the respect paid to women by the whole Saxon family, and nowhere more scrupulously than in the States, they are treated here as in oriental lands. Their social precedence is denied; or, as Mr. Burton jeeringly says,

"they are made to give place to that which the Latin grammar tells us is the more worthy sex." This can scarcely contribute to their happiness, certainly not to their dignity. Other writers have told us that the youths grow up neglected and depraved: he defends their morals and their education; but at sixteen or seventeen he allows that if they ride a bare-backed horse with the ease and grace of a Bedouin, they give their opinions on every subject with equal freedom, though perhaps less grace; and drink day by day their half bottle of whiskey. Other writers tell us that the Mormons are a bigoted, intolerant race: Mr. Burton, of course, maintains that no religionists he ever met with are so tolerant; and yet, on another page, he admits that they deny salvation to all without their pale, and refuse to every black man a place within it, placing him for ever beyond the hope of mercy!

There are mysteries, too, or, at least, there is a pretence of mystery, which only Mormons know, in some of their religious rites. The population of the city consists in part of Gentiles: these submit to the Mormon government, and attend upon its outward forms; but they are not amongst the initiated, and cannot reveal its freemasonry. Visitors, of course, are in the dark; and there is much we wish to know of which Mr. Burton admits that he has nothing to tell us. He has said enough to satisfy us that, although the surface is perhaps a little fairer and cleaner than we supposed, in the depths beneath there is a chamber of horrors. In such a city a stranger, after a short visit, will probably know no more of the real state of things than a Protestant at Rome, who might walk arm-and-arm with the Inquisitor and his attendants through the halls of the Inquisition, would know of popish cruelty. All he sees is venerable, everything claims his admiration. But what of the hideous dungeons beneath his feet? What of the female skeletons in those pits of quick-lime, and how came they to be there?

Up to the present time the Mormon imposture has been the most successful the world ever knew. Popery—the worst corruption of Christianity—was of slow growth, and many centuries passed before its anti-Christian features were perfectly revealed. Islamism at the end of thirty years had scarcely begun its triumphs. It was but in the year 1830 that Joseph Smith, the Seer and Revelator of the new religion, first announced his pretensions; and now, at the end of thirty years, the disciples of this apparently most contemptible of all false prophets number themselves by hundreds of thousands. They are to be found in every part of the world where men dare to profess the religion of their choice; but chiefly in America, and then, next in numbers, in Great Britain and her colonies. It is too true that in London they have seventeen *places* of worship; and that they boast of four thousand volun-

teer missionaries, and thirty thousand lay members in Great Britain. We hope there may be exaggeration; but the Emigration returns show, that within the last twenty years, there has been an emigration from Liverpool alone of 28,739 souls for the Utah settlement. And it goes on increasing. The last ten years, to the close of 1861, present us with a total of 21,195; and last year alone the number was 1953. There can, we fear, be no mistake. For the last ten years Mr. Burton gives a table with the name of every ship and her commander, the day on which she sailed, and the number of souls she carried out. Utah is to the Latter-day Saints what Palestine is to the Jew, and the expenses of the voyage are defrayed, if necessary, from contributions made by the whole Mormon church. But if Utah and the Valley of the Salt Lake are its chosen seat, the American states are the most favourable in the next degree to the growth of this vast delusion. The exact number of Latter-day Saints or Mormons within the Union it is impossible to arrive at, for the census is in America a party measure. In 1856 their own census agent made a return of 76,335 inhabitants of Utah. Two years afterwards the Peace commissioners sent by the United States reported that the Saints did not exceed 40,000 to 50,000 souls; that half of these were foreigners; but that they could bring 7000 men into the field, of whom 1000 were "valuable for cavalry." They themselves affirm that the Utah territory contains from 90,000 to 100,000; they are ambitious to make up the latter number (or were so recently, for the civil war has already affected their patriotism in that respect), since it would entitle them to claim admission into the Union as a separate state. The whole world, they say, contains from 300,000 to 400,000 Latter-day Saints. Every country in the north of Europe swells the long file of pilgrims. Of the old and delicate, many perish by the way. The road to the Sacred City may be traced, mile after mile, by the heaving turf and mouldering sod beneath which they sleep —victims of the lie which told them that even youth would return, and its hot blood again rush through their veins, and give vigour to their frames in this land of promise. But after all their losses, a mixed multitude arrive each year at the spot where the plains of Utah burst upon their view, and the long wished for city is in sight. Still America is the great feeder and the proper home of Mormonism. The American element in Mormondom pervades and leavens the whole mass. Of the thirteen members of the upper house of its provincial or state convention there were, in 1860, ten Americans, two English, and one Irishman. Of the officers, viz., the secretary and his assistant, sergeant-at-arms, messenger, firemen, and chaplain, four were Americans, one English, and one Irishman. The members of the Lower House, twenty-six in number, con-

sisted of twenty-four Americans and two Englishmen, including the speaker. In all posts of honour or of profit, native-born Americans preponderate. Dr. Southey, so long ago as 1828, perceived the danger to which America was exposed from some monstrous heresy yet unborn, and almost prophetically foretold the portentous comet in her yet untroubled sky. We are indebted to Mr. Burton's volume for drawing our attention to the long-forgotten words:—

"America is in more danger from religious fanaticism. The Government there not thinking it necessary to provide religious instruction for the people in many of the new States, the prevalence of superstition, and that, perhaps, in some wild and terrible shape, may be looked for as one likely consequence of this great and portentous omission. Were there another Mahomet to arise, there is no part of the world where he would find more scope or fairer opportunity than in that part of the Anglo-American Union into which the older states continually discharge the restless part of their population, leaving laws and gospel to overtake it if they can, for in the march of modern colonization both are left behind." *

Should the future bear any resemblance to the past, the progress of this vast delusion will soon become a source of anxiety to every neighbouring state, and of still deeper concern to every sincere Christian. But the future cannot be argued from the past. He is a good prophet, says the Greek proverb, who guesses well; but here even a guess is hazardous. All Satanic delusions, all fanatical impostures, shall one day perish; for every plant that our heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up. The end may be near; and it seems not improbable that on the death of Brigham Young the whole fabric of imposture may suddenly collapse and perish. It is the nature of fanaticism to attach itself to the man rather than the system; for fanaticism is essentially coarse and sensual, however subtle; and it sees the system it adores only as personified in the leader it has been taught to revere as more than mortal. Fanaticism is impatient of control except from the hand which it regards as moved by a diviner impulse; and before this it crouches with abject reverence. There may be, it is true, a succession of impostors, hard-headed, resolute, cool and cunning as Brigham Young himself; and, in that case, Mormonism may extend her conquests; for the system is congenial to the worst and lowest passions of our nature. A religion which sanctifies lust and selfishness, teaches that it is laudable to "spoil the Gentiles," and makes assassination a duty, is not likely to perish for want of converts, if only they can be held together by some iron hand.

Already the Mormons look confidently to the time when, instead of seeking union with the Federal States, they shall

* Southey's Colloquies, published in March, 1829.

cast off its incumbrance. They claim for themselves, like other secessionists, and like the Federal States themselves at no remote period, the sacred right of insurrection. They say they are the salt of the Union, and in the fulness of time they shall break the republic in pieces like a potter's vessel. Nor is the boast improbable. Separated from the Western States by a lofty chain of mountains, they will have little to fear from that quarter. Weak as the Federal government must be when the civil war is over, whatever be its result, a glance at the map will show that the territory of Utah, which is now reckoned the second in the eight minor States, by which it is surrounded, is well qualified to become their head. It produces iron and coal; and the deposits of both are said to be inexhaustible; other metals have been found; gold is supposed to exist, and lumps of virgin silver have been discovered in the mountains. It is well provided with water, and has its fresh-water lakes as well as that great inland sea, the Salt Lake, sixty or seventy miles in length, and about half as many wide (it yields about twenty per cent. of pure common salt, and about two per cent. of foreign salt). As usually reckoned, the Utah territory is six hundred miles long from east to west, and three hundred and fifty broad, and the area in square miles equals that of a great European kingdom. If the States lying on the Pacific should assert their independence, Utah may become the Empire State of the new community, and the Mormons stand at the head of a new republic; and it may be as dangerous for a time to civilization in the new world as Mohammedanism once was in the East. Its methods are equally unscrupulous; and if it had the power, we believe it would persecute the true followers of the Cross with equal hatred, perhaps with equal zeal, though not with equal courage. Perfidy and assassination would be its weapons; its baseness would teach it to prefer such methods to the drawn scimitar and the open field. It seems at present to be gathering the elements of future power, perhaps of future conquest. Union, secresy, wealth, scorn for all mankind, and a sovereign contempt of all institutions except its own, intense fanaticism, and an ambition which nothing less than its own history can justify,—these are in its hands, or they lie within its reach. The future may witness its swift destruction—a destruction swifter than its growth; or it may be one of those last plagues which He only shall destroy, before whom heaven and earth shall flee away, and at whose glance Antichrist in every form shall perish.

DEACONESSES OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH, AS EXHIBITED IN THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

SIR,—In the discussions respecting the Female Diaconate which have arisen in England, and which, I hope, are likely to continue till this diaconate is established among us in a wise and practical form, some thought has naturally been given to the Deaconesses of the Early Church.

It does not indeed follow, that if we are to have an authorised ministration of women as a part of our ecclesiastical system, it must necessarily be the restoration of something in the ecclesiastical system of the first three or four centuries. Such a ministry might be suggested by the circumstances of our times, and fully justified by Scripture, without having anything exactly corresponding with it in Primitive times.

The converse distinction, on the other hand, also must be borne in mind. The Scriptural aspect of this question, and its early Ecclesiastical aspect, are two different subjects. It is quite conceivable that we might find a system prevailing in the first three or four centuries of such a character as, when compared with the New Testament, evidently to jar and clash with the Inspired Writings. In such a case, to restore what is early, would not be to establish what is Apostolical.

These two cautions cannot be too carefully remembered. But the remembrance of them does not make us feel it at all less desirable to study the question of that diaconate of women which existed in the early ages. Before we can even discuss the question of restoring Primitive Deaconesses, we must know what those Deaconesses were. We must also endeavour to distinguish between what was essential and what was accidental in their office. Thus only shall we be able to determine whether the circumstances of our times are such as to demand or suggest the restoration of the ancient system.

Feeling the importance of this inquiry, I have made it my business, with such leisure as I could command, to prosecute it independently, not simply reading what others have compiled, but examining the original sources. And I shall be glad if you can find room for some of the results.

As to the original sources of information themselves, they are very widely scattered over a large range of writings extending through several centuries. We find incidental notices of Deaconesses in commentaries, in treatises, in histories, in the decrees of Councils, in the enactments of both the Civil and Canon Law, and even in heathen writers. It may be doubted *whether these notices* have ever been collected, examined, and

criticised as carefully and closely as the subject deserves. It must indeed be acknowledged that Ziegler* among the Germans, and our own Bingham,† have written concerning it with much learning and discrimination. Nor ought the Dutch Suicer‡ to be forgotten, who in a shorter compass has given an excellent summary of the chief facts of the case. But still these, and all other writers on the subject, have left something to be desired. One source of information,—the so-called Apostolical Constitutions—has certainly not been used with this view so fully as it might have been. It is, perhaps, the most important document with which we have to do in the present investigation; and I believe my whole task will be simplified, if I confine myself to it in the present letter. No doubt the argument is far more powerful when its various elements are used in combination. The true force of historical evidence is best seen when other historical evidence can be adduced to the same effect. But there is some advantage in the present instance, as regards clearness, in pursuing certain threads separately and independently. And if the strands of the rope are once distinctly in our hands, it is not very difficult afterwards to combine them.

A word must be said first upon the Apostolical Constitutions themselves. To discuss thoroughly their intrinsic value, the history of their formation, their probable date, would be quite impossible here. Still a few sentences on the subject are necessary.§

Now, in the first place, we cannot possibly accept these Constitutions as given literally by the Apostles. Nor can we even take them as a pure unmixed representation of the Church of the first three centuries. There is no doubt that they are largely interpolated from corrupt sources and from later periods. But then it must be observed that this does not affect our present argument so much as at first sight appears. Whatever is said about Deaconesses in the Apostolical Constitutions, proves *their existence* within the period during which these Constitutions came into their present form. It is evidence, moreover, of the *state of feeling* in the Church regarding those officers within that period. And the lower the date to which we must bring down the composition of these documents, the larger is the range of time through which we can trace these officers, and

* Casparis Ziegleri *de Diaconis et Diaconissis Liber Commentarius* (Wittenberg, 1678). The book is now rather rare, and is to be had sometimes bound up with his *Superintendens*, sometimes with his dissertation *de Dote Ecclesiæ*. He treats of Deaconesses in his last chapter.

† *Antiq. of the Chr. Church*, vol. i. bk. ii. ch. 22.

‡ See under the head "Diaconissa," in his *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*.

§ I have throughout, besides the book and section, given the page from the well-known *Patres Apostolici* of Cotelier (Antw. 1698). I may add, that there is a recent and very convenient edition of the Constitutions alone by Ueltzen. (Schwerin and Rostock, 1853.)

through which we can gather scattered notices of prevailing sentiment in regard to them.

But now, as to the date itself, I believe the opinion of those is correct, who consider a very large part of these Constitutions to be Ante-Nicene. It would not be difficult to range high authorities on two sides, the spurious and corrupt character of the documents in question being maintained on one side, their early date and proximity to the Apostles on the other. This of itself presents a strong ground for thinking that the intermediate position is the right one; a view which (to adduce only one name) is in harmony with the judgment of a shrewd critic, whose opinion on such a point deserves to have great weight, the late Professor Blunt.* I cannot well doubt that the Constitutions do give us what may be called a picture of the Church of the first three centuries,—a picture distorted, doubtless, and in many places retouched,—but still a picture which is a moderately good likeness on the whole. It is a picture in which many personages are found irregularly grouped together, and probably not always in their right order and relation. Among these personages, there is no doubt that there are *Deaconesses* to be seen. It is with them alone that we are concerned at present.

We ask three principal questions in regard to these Deaconesses. (1.) How far are they really and definitely prominent personages in the scene before us? (2.) What were their official duties? (3.) What their ecclesiastical *status?* The answers to these questions will give us a clear and comprehensive view of the whole subject.

(1.) Now, in the first place, there is no doubt that the Deaconesses are *very prominent* in that picture of the Early Church which is given in the document under consideration.

The Apostolical Constitutions are by no means of great length; but those women who were engaged under this title in official ministrations are mentioned, or implied, more than twenty distinct times. And not only so; but considerable portions of two books (the third and eighth) are taken up with regulations having reference to their ministry. And perhaps even more stress ought to be laid on those incidental notices which assume the office as a matter of course. When, for instance, an institution is used in an illustrative manner, to exhibit an analogy or to elucidate a theory, it is evidently a familiar institution. Nor is the force of this remark weakened by the fact that the illustration or analogy may seem to us very

* *Plain Sermons*, vol. iii. p. 241. Prof. Blunt adduces as arguments for the early date of certain parts of the Constitutions, the allusions to persecutions, *to Heathen* tribunals, to them ix*ture of Christian and Heathen* members in the same family, to the poverty and mean rank of the Christians, and to the strong sympathy among them, indicating, in his opinion, scanty numbers and close relationship.

fanciful and even revolting. We shall perhaps be disposed to find little fault with such a passage as the following, where, in comparing Christianity with Judaism, it is said (ii. 25. Cotel. 238), that Jesus is the High-priest, the Presbyters are the Priests, "the Deacons and Deaconesses, and other subordinate "persons,* the Levites." In another place† (ii. 26. Cotel. 239) we find a similar analogy, but with different details. Here the Bishop represents the Almighty Father, the Deacon is compared to the Son, the Deaconess to the Spirit, inasmuch as "she does and speaks nothing without the Deacon," and moreover, "no woman is to come to the Bishop or Deacon without the Deaconess." In this instance we find it impossible to sympathize for a moment with this train of thought. But no argument could be better to prove the fact, that Deaconesses were a conspicuous part of the ecclesiastical organization of the time. On this head it is needless to say more. Whatever follows under the two other heads is a support and confirmation of this.

(2.) The last quotation introduces us at once to our second point, viz., the consideration of the *duties* of the primitive Deaconesses. We must not expect to be able to gather all their duties from the scattered notices in the Apostolical Constitutions; but one guiding principle which regulates these duties has already been before us. The ministrations of these persons had especial reference to the requirements of their own sex, and to the maintenance of decorum in the relations of men and women. Other passages in the Constitutions enable us to see this in detail.‡ Meantime, in order to perceive their full force, we must bear in mind the seclusion which was customary among Greek women, at the time when Christianity was established in the Levant.

This kind of seclusion was in some degree observed in the Early Church, and at times of public worship. At such times the Deaconesses were door-keepers (viii. 28. Cotel. 411.) to that part of the church where the women were assembled separately, as indeed is the custom among the Oriental Christians now. In another passage, where the church is compared to a ship (ii. 57. Cotel. 263) it is directed that the Deaconesses are to take their stand at the entrances of the women, "like those who receive the fares of the passengers as they go on board."

* These other subordinate persons, placed here in the same general group as the Deacons and Deaconesses, are Singers, Door-keepers, Widows, Virgins, and Orphans. I shall have occasion to refer to them afterwards.

† One of these contexts passes gradually into the other; and I cannot help thinking that the first part, where the Lay-people are addressed as "God's chosen church and holy nation," is of earlier date than *the last part, where* the Bishop is spoken of as "God's vicegerent upon earth."

‡ As another specimen of a general passage, I may mention iii. 19. (Cotel. 289) where it is said that the female Deacon is to make it "her active business to do service to the women." And again, iii. 15 (Cotel. 287) the Bishop is charged to choose "a faithful and holy Deaconess for the ministrations that relate to women."

And in what follows (ii. 58. Cotel. 267) it is particularly impressed upon them, that just as the Deacon is to see that any unknown stranger, or any poor man, or meanly-born man, coming into the congregation, is to be treated with respect, and have an honourable place cheerfully conceded to him; so the Deaconess is to attend to the comfort of all the women who come, whether rich or poor.*

Another service for which these ministers were wanted was on the occasion of the baptism of women. (iii. 15. Cotel. 287) This we understand at once, when we remember the primitive practice of immersion, as well as the secluded habits of females in the East. Thus it is said in a second passage, where the subject is mentioned (iii. 16. Cotel. 288), that Deaconesses are needed on such occasions, in order that the ceremony may be done "with becoming decency;" and in a third passage (viii. 28. Cotel. 411), that the arrangement is adopted "for the sake of decorum."†

The two duties which have just been mentioned may be truly called duties of routine. But there are other passages which exhibit the Deaconesses as engaged in a higher and less restricted sphere. Thus in a place (iii. 15. Cotel. 287) where it is said in general terms that "the services are many for which a female diaconate is needed," it is particularly specified that it may be necessary to employ women under domestic conditions, where men would be unsuitable. This evidently opens a wide field of usefulness. Whatever the acts in which she might be engaged, the range of the *influence* of a Deaconess would of course depend on her character and her circumstances. The same remarks are applicable to her service among the poor, which has been just touched on already, but which is more specifically mentioned elsewhere. (iii. 19. Cotel. 289.)

This last passage is worthy of especial notice for more reasons than one. It is prescribed that "the Deacons are to be, like the Bishop, free from blame, but more fitted for active service, that they may be able to minister to those who need help: and *the woman*," it is added, "must be zealous in ministering to the women: and *both*‡ must be ready for errands, for journeys, and for subordinate service of every kind." By "the woman" is meant "the female Deacon." Thus the passage is a very

* Something of the same kind is customary in the Society of Friends, whose rule is, that in public worship the men and women are seated separately. But the comparison may be pressed still further. In Sewel's "History of the Quakers" (1811) we are told, in an account of some opponents of the Order established by George Fox, that "they were greatly bent against the women's *meetings, who, as deaconesses*, met *together at set times*, to provide for poor families, and sick people that were in want," ii. 399.

† For an illustration of the last point I referred to the Quakers. For an illustration of this I may refer to the arrangements customary among the Baptists.

‡ This reminds us of one of the Puritan regulations regarding "Deacons of both kinds." See Quarterly Review for October, 1860, p. 359.

important commentary on 1 Tim. iii. 11, where "the women" are undoubtedly (as I think) not "the wives of the Deacons," but "female Deacons."

But the point before us is the nature of the duties of these ministering women. And here clearly we see something of their wider range. Thus the allusion to journeys brings at once to our recollection another passage of Scripture, viz., Rom. xvi. 1, where "Phœbe, the deaconess of the church of Cenchreæ," is presented to us as travelling on some Christian errand from Corinth to Rome. But we may proceed to gather more from this paragraph of the Constitutions, where the duties of the diaconate are pursued in detail, and with rich illustrations from those passages of Scripture which speak of the example of Him, who came "not to be ministered unto, but to minister." Bearing in mind the co-ordination of the male and female Deacons, we naturally apply to both whatever is general. And where "the sick" are mentioned, as they are very prominently, we feel that we are especially within the sphere of feminine ministration. Another point, too, is worthy of notice. It is urged on the Deacons (and I presume this includes both branches of the diaconate) that their duty is "to seek out cases of distress, and to inform the bishop of those who need visiting." "For ye ought," continues the sentence, "to be his very life of activity, and his means of obtaining information." This, however, is a wordy translation of a very terse and emphatic phrase. I have never seen so well expressed what I conceive the practical effect of a well-arranged female diaconate would be.* But I must pass to my third head, remarking only, as I proceed, that the fragments thus lightly put together show that the office of the Early Deaconesses was concerned, not only with the routine of public worship and baptism, but with the condition of the poor, the life of families, the sufferings of the sick, with the parochial work of the clergy, and even with distant missions.

(3.) From the duties, then, of the Deaconess we pass to her *ecclesiastical status:* and some of the passages which I have already quoted give us her true position at once. We have seen the Deacon and the Deaconess mentioned side by side as co-ordinate officers. And this is the case repeatedly in the Apostolical Constitutions. The latter was for the women what the former was for the men. We find the "man-deacon" and the "woman-deacon" as representing two sides of one office. This co-ordination of the two, and the subordination of both to the Bishops and Presbyters, together give a fair representation of the whole of the case.

* If I might hazard a conjecture, I should take the 19th Section of the third book to be an early and unmixed part of the Constitutions. It is full both of the words and the *spirit of the New Testament*; and it has no ultra-hierarchical features. Presbyters are not mentioned, and the diocese of the bishop seems to be little more than a parish. Compare Philipp. i. 1, iv. 2, 3.

The great line was drawn below the Presbyter. Just as it is said (iii. 6. Cotel. 277) that "women must not teach in the church; for that our great Teacher, the Lord Jesus, when He sent out the twelve, sent not women to preach: and yet had He no lack of women; for with Him were His mother and His sisters, also Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, the sisters of Lazarus, Salome, and others:"—so in another place (iii. 9. Cotel. 282, 284) it is said that "women ought themselves not to baptize, not to exercise priestly functions; for," it is added, "to ordain priestesses would be a Pagan impiety: had such an office been destined for women, the Lord would have been baptised, not by John, but by His mother."*

But further, the Deaconess was in fact rather below the Deacon. This is clear from a passage in the eighth book (viii. 28. Cotel. 411), where the functions of the different ecclesiastical persons are described. Thus it is there said that, in the absence of the Presbyter, the Deacon is to exercise discipline over the Deaconess, as well as over the Sub-deacon, the Reader, and the Singer. The same result follows from another passage (viii. 31. Cotel. 412), concerning what remains of oblations at the Eucharist, where it is directed that the Bishop is to receive four parts, the Presbyters three, the Deacons two, and the Deaconesses, with the other subordinate officials, only one,—"each class according to its dignity; for the church is not a "school of confusion, but of order."

But then, on the other hand, the Deaconess is by no means a mere lay person. She has an official *status*. She is formally appointed to something more than mere casual and voluntary duties.

In these Apostolical Constitutions we find three classes of women definitely mentioned as in some way distinguished from the rest of their sex—Deaconesses, Widows, and Virgins. At the Lord's Supper (viii. 13. Cotel. 405) these three classes communicate after the clergy and their subordinate ministers, and before the general body of the laity. But the Widows and Virgins do not appear in the same official character as the Deaconesses. The three classes are grouped together in the passage which was first cited in this letter (ii. 25. Cotel. 238); but immediately afterwards, when active official duty is to be used in the analogy (ii. 26. Cotel. 239), the Deaconess alone is adduced, and very different language is used of the others. The Widows and Orphans are compared to the Altar of Burnt-offering, the Virgins to the Altar of Incense. So we might contrast two consecutive sections in the eighth book, in one of which (viii. 30. Cotel. 411) it is said that tithes are intended partly for "the Virgins, the Widows, and those who are suffer-

* *It should* be noticed, that in the Constitutions the Deacon, as well as the *Deaconess, is precluded* from baptising (viii. 28. Cotel. 411).

ing from poverty;*" whereas in the other, which relates to oblations at the Eucharist (viii. 31. Cotel. 413), the Deaconesses have a position, as above noticed, among official persons, while Widows and Virgins are not mentioned. In my two other letters the terms "Widow" and "Virgin" will come under notice in their secondary application, as possibly synonymous with "Deaconess:" but in the Apostolical Constitutions I believe the distinction which I have drawn to be absolute; and, possibly, this distinction may have some bearing on the question of the antiquity of these documents. However this may be, it is important; and, so far as I know, it has not been clearly pointed out before.

The most forcible proofs, however, of this distinction have not yet been quoted. Several chapters at the beginning of the third book are occupied with details regarding the Widows; conveying the impression that they were a class of persons registered to receive relief, and also that they were a very troublesome class;† and then follows (iii. 7. Cotel. 281) the injunction—that they are to obey not only the Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, but also the Deaconesses. But above all, the decisive words in the eighth book are to be remarked,—"The Virgin is not ordained." (viii. 24. Cotel. 409.) "The Widow "is not ordained." (viii. 25, *ib.*) Whereas the Deaconess, on the other hand, is most explicitly "ordained."

I have said that the Deaconess is, according to the Constitutions, "ordained." By this I mean that she is set apart to her office by prayer and the laying on of hands. The prayer used on the occasion (and it is a most beautiful and expressive prayer) is actually given to us (viii. 20. Cotel. 408). And as to the laying on of hands, this is not a mere inference from the prayer, or from the technical meaning of a word. The direction is most explicit, and in strong contrast with the above-mentioned prohibition (viii. 19. Cotel. 407)—"As regards the Deaconess, O Bishop, thou shalt lay thy hands on her, in the presence of the Presbyters, the Deacons, and the Deaconesses; and thou shalt say"—. Then follows the prayer.‡

But now I have to say, in conclusion, with regard to this "ordination," that the very same technical term is applied (iii. 11. Cotel. 284) to Readers, Doorkeepers, and Singers, as well as to Deaconesses; and that the regulation concerning the imposition of hands on these female ministers is immediately followed by regulations in the same terms, having reference to

* In the same section it is said the first-fruits belong to the Priests, and those who exercise the Diaconate under them. I imagine the latter phrase may include both male and female Deacons.

† Here we recur inevitably to 1 Tim. v. 3—16; but discussion of this must be reserved.

‡ The prayer is quoted in the article on "Deaconesses" in the Quarterly Review, p. 354.

Sub-deacons and Readers:—"O Bishop, in appointing the Sub-deacon thou shalt lay thy hands on him." (viii. 21. Cotel. 408.) "Appoint the Reader by laying thy hands on him." (viii. 22. Cotel. 409.) We must not allow ourselves to be misled by the meaning of the word "ordination," as we now employ it. The imposition of hands had a wider range in the Early Church than it has with us;* and distinctions must be drawn with regard to the import of the ceremony on different occasions. In the case of the Bishop and the Presbyter, it is a solemn consecration. In the case of the Deaconess, it is only an official blessing. We ourselves are familiar with a line of demarcation, not very dissimilar, between Ordination and Confirmation.

It is not to be wondered at that those Protestants on the Continent who have been practically occupied in restoring the Primitive Female Diaconate, have differed in regard to the adoption of the imposition of hands. This question of restoration, however, is not the subject with which I am now concerned. I am endeavouring to reproduce and arrange the facts which ancient writings supply to us in illustration of this diaconate. We have now succeeded in obtaining from the Apostolical Constitutions a clear, though perhaps imperfect, representation of it. The ministers in question are exhibited to us here as strictly subordinate to the clergy, but still as a very conspicuous part of the ecclesiastical system: they had a very decidedly official position, though of the *Diaconic* as opposed to the *Presbyteral* kind; and their work had chief reference to Christians of their own sex, and arose partly out of the social circumstances of the times, and also is seen to touch those various points of social life, at which the service of women is peculiarly effectual.

From the general features of the case we naturally turn to details. And, no doubt, the Constitutions leave many questions unanswered. Yet they do answer, approximately or fully, some of those questions of detail which we are most inclined to ask. Within what limits of age were the Deaconesses chosen? Of this nothing seems to be said. How were they supported? From a passage quoted above we should gather that, so far as they needed support, it came from church collections. Were they allowed to retain their own property? Nothing is said which implies the contrary. Were they allowed to marry? There is no hint of any prohibition. What was their number? We have the sensible rule (iii. 19. Cotel. 289)† that it is to be "proportionate to the size of the congregation." Were they required to go through a time of probation? This is not made

* See Heb. vi. 2.

† This passage, adduced again below, is viewed as inclusive of both kinds of *Deacons*.

the subject of any express rule. What were their qualifications? To this the answer is explicit. As to condition, they were to be unmarried women or widows who had been once married (vi. 17. Cotel. 348): as to character, they were to be "blameless and of active habits" (iii. 19. Cotel. 289), "faithful and holy" (iii. 15. Cotel. 287), "faithful and worthy of honour" (vi. 17. Cotel. 348).

Some of these details will come more fully under notice in my second and third letters; the first of which will trace the subject through the Councils and the Canon and Civil Law, the latter through the writings of the Greek and Latin Fathers.

J. S. H.

[NOTE.—The whole subject of deaconesses, and the propriety of restoring them in the Church of England, as a separate order, are points on which we wish it to be understood that we reserve our judgment. The discussion of them, however, has become necessary, now that the Westminster Convocation have taken up the difficult question, and, as many of our readers will think, too hastily decided upon it. However, we feel that the discussion is safe in the hands of our correspondent, whose learning and sound protestantism eminently fit him for the task he has kindly imposed upon himself; and our readers, we are persuaded, will receive with pleasure his contributions on a subject of so much interest, both historical and ecclesiastical.—EDITOR.]

THE TRUE "SISTER OF MERCY."

BEHOLD yon maiden Form so softly treading
Each dusky alley, where pale Misery hides;
With silent footfall every staircase threading,
Where Sorrow or lone Suffering, abides.

Not tricked in garments night-like and forbidding,
As though she came the harbinger of grief;
The mazy passages her feet are thridding,
To minister to Woe its hoped relief.

Nor with pale moony face, by art beclouded,
Close veiled around, and hid from creature's sight,
And all that's human from the human shrouded,
As though 'twere sin to look, like Nature, bright.

Mantled in light, and with a face all sunny,
Mercy's true Sister moves among mankind;
With kindly smile, more potent far than money,
To soothe the racking sorrows of the mind.

Like Heaven's blue arch that o'er the earth is bending,
She bends benignant o'er the couch of Woe;
And though, like angel from the sky descending,
She gentle be, and pure as falling snow;

Yet not in holy pride, or busy prying,
Peers she behind the sacred veil of sorrow,
To cast a deeper shadow o'er the dying,
And make to-day more darkened than to-morrow.

No member is she of man's "Institution,"
Nor sent one of a banded Sisterhood,
Who, by stern rule, ply mercy's execution,—
But one self-winged by promptings simply good.

Her fount of charity so overflowing,
Is the true love of Christ, her dying Lord—
A love so fathomless it passeth knowing,
And feebly speaks by kindly deed and word.

With voice as soothing as the Spring's soft breezes,
She whispers solace to the heart of Grief;
And while her hand each heavy burden eases,
Her very aspect yields a *felt* relief.

Not with fixed frosty frown and look disdainful,
Nor with a proud and patronising air,
Which makes felt poverty felt doubly painful,—
Does she her errand to the Poor declare.

If o'er her face a cloud be sometime glooming,
It is an April cloud that drops warm tears;
And then the sky, its brightness fresh assuming,
Clears present sorrows and prospective fears.

This is true Mercy, gentle, kind, and tender,
Born of the bosom's native sympathy,
Which, feeling unto feeling quick to render,
Lights, as the sun the lake, man's lower sky.

For with soft touch of Nature in the creature,
In sighs she echoes to the aching heart;
And when faint Grief looks up with pallid feature,
The tears of pity from her eyelids start.

And want ye proof this is true Mercy's Sister,
In whom "the friend in need" the needy find?—
See! turning to her shadow, Pain hath kissed her,
And owned her as true mercy to mankind.

STEPHEN JENNER.

The Vicarage, Camberwell, Jan. 30, 1862.

DUTCH LIFE AND THE NETHERLANDS.

La Néerlande et la Vie Hollandaise. Par Alphonse Esquiroz.

DURING the sixteenth century every eye in Europe was turned with intense anxiety upon a little strip of sandy shore, washed, and often inundated, by the German Ocean, which seemed too

insignificant to bear a share in the world's history. Yet the struggle that was carried on in those burgher towns, rich as they were in merchandise, learning, and free opinion, was to set a mark on the advancing civilization of all nations which will never be erased so long as the world shall last. Against these Seven United Provinces the whole force of the proudest and richest monarchy in Europe was launched; the treasures of the rich soil of Spain, not then in its present decayed and desert state, the fleets of Cadiz, the gold of America, all were poured out for the conquest of this heroic little country, which was fighting, not for territory, but for leave to worship God in its own way. Hence this long war, which lasted eighty years, was a religious war; the despotism of a faith which had received a mighty blow from the hand of Luther, was in deadly opposition to the free Protestantism which the States demanded, and civil and religious liberty have been the gifts which their efforts granted to the world. England especially owes them a debt of gratitude; and had she entered into the struggle with the heartiness her best statesmen desired, but which the parsimony and fickleness of Queen Elizabeth prevented, Holland might have been spared much bloodshed.

The Netherlands are then, we may say, the work of the Reformation; their national existence emanates from the sacred doctrines which proclaim to the world the right of private judgment. Although the circumstances are no longer the same, their social principles are still moulded by their belief. More than half a century ago, religion was separated from the state; but constitutions, however good they may be, can change laws more quickly than they can modify the manners and historical character of a people. Hence, in a country where Protestantism has played so grand a part, no effort is spared to support the edifice of national faith. If attacked, the religious principle in Holland defends itself with numerous and powerful arms. It is the present state of a country once so interesting, now comparatively so insignificant, that we shall attempt to describe in its religious, charitable, and literary condition—referring to those parts of the work of M. Esquiroz which bear upon these subjects more especially; though we can recommend the whole as a book of much interest, and similar in plan to the sketches of English life which have made the author well known in our own country.

And to begin first with the universities, where literary and scientific life is in some sort concentrated; whilst the religion of the country is attached to them by ties which cannot be broken, animating and inspiring the youthful minds which come there to be formed. Each of the three, Leyden, Utrecht, and Groningen, bears its own distinctive character, to which we might find a parallel in our own country. The city of

Leyden may be termed the Versailles of Holland, from its air of fallen grandeur, deep sadness, and imposing solitude. Its cloth manufactories, once celebrated throughout the world, founded by the French refugees, are extinct; and nothing remains of its former riches but a handsome Hotel de Ville of the sixteenth century, two fine churches, canals with wide quays planted with trees, houses that still remind you of the better days of the republic, and a university. This last owes its establishment to the siege of the city by the Spaniards in 1573. Most heroic was its defence. For seven weeks bread was not seen within the walls, and six or seven thousand of the inhabitants died from pestilence. Nothing remained but to pierce the dykes, and a high tide following, the enemy was submerged, retreating with the loss of his cannon, and giving place to a convoy of boats, bringing provisions to the poor starved wretches who lined the banks. William the Silent, scarcely recovered from illness, hastened to the plague-stricken city, and offered them as a reward, freedom from certain taxes, or a university. The inhabitants did not hesitate; there was a universal cry for an institution which would extend and strengthen, by its learning, the political liberty conquered in war.

"The University of Leyden has fulfilled these expectations; by calling men of eminence to Holland, by adopting clever foreigners, it was not long in becoming a centre of intellect. A school which counts among its professors Justus Lipsius, Paul Merula, Scaliger, Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde, Vossius, Albinus, Boerhaave, and many others, assuredly merits respect. In the building is a hall where the portraits of the old professors are hung. In the presence of this assembly, where figure men celebrated in theology, science, and literature, I felt a deep emotion; the soul of old Netherlands was there. Among modern professors we may mention Van der Palm, and M. Thorbecke. The former, a pupil of the great Orientalist Schultens, has written the purest prose which exists in the Dutch language; whilst his sermons and Bible criticisms are esteemed valuable; at the early age of thirty-three he taught the Oriental languages. M. Thorbecke, now one of the most distinguished statesmen of Holland, was, some years ago, professor of law at Leyden. Born at Zwollé, of the middle class in life, he visited Germany, and attached himself to that country by his philosophical studies and natural affinities. His lectures excited the warmest sympathy among the clever youths of the university. One of his merits as a writer is the improvement he has introduced by avoiding the heavy prolix style of Dutch prose, and expressing himself more concisely: flying from diffuseness, he has, it is true, fallen into the opposite excess—a certain abruptness of expression; but he is never-

theless a thinker, and one of the few authors who have formed a school in Holland."

How deeply rationalism has spread its errors in Holland, we may trace in many of the sketches which M. Esquiroz gives of the leading men; confirmed as it has so lately been at the Evangelical Alliance meeting at Geneva. One of the professors of natural history at Leyden is accused of having written a book, entitled "Night and Day," in which he tries to prove that the advent of Christianity has arrested the development of science, civilization, and art; and that it would be especially wrong to attempt its introduction into Japan. So palpable an untruth was sure to rouse opposition in Holland; yet, so far is toleration carried, and such is the respect for convictions the most opposite to the general feeling, that M. Junghuhn still keeps his official position. He is a very celebrated botanist and geologist, and has published some original ideas on the formation of the Indian Archipelago: a perfect nomade, he is to-day in Holland, to-morrow in Java; forgetting the wants of nature, and as unequal in his studies as in his recreations.

If we turn from the scientific and literary interest of Leyden, we shall meet with the religious element in its severe orthodoxy at Utrecht, once the seat of a Catholic bishop, prince of the surrounding country, carrying on bloody wars with his rival the Bishop of Liége. A few years ago this bishoprick, with five others, was re-established by the papal court, and roused an excitement as great as a similar act did in England some time back. The press and the pulpit poured forth a torrent of invective, marking the strength and energy of Batavian protestantism. The university attaches itself strongly to the old Calvinistic faith, as set forth at the Synod of Dordrecht; and the professors try to shut the door against any stray sheep. The poet Bilderdijk did much during the last century to subdue the lax principles that had gained ground, and has left behind him a school, at the head of which are now M. Groen Van Prinsterer and M. da Costa. The first of these is a man of great talent, strong convictions, and a persevering will; possessed of an immense fortune, which he spends nobly, he did not disdain to publish "De Nederlander," a daily paper, at Utrecht, in order to support the principles he so strongly advocates. This proving unsuccessful, he had retired into private life, when the city of La Haye sent him as its representative to the States-General, where he collects round him a small party who would govern Holland by a kind of theocracy. He specially condemns the conduct of separatists. "It is not for us," he says, "to retire; these churches, now invaded by false teachers and false doctrines, are ours. We are the chosen, the real children of Holland; we must not desert the ranks, but put to flight the faithless."

M. da Costa is better known in England, where his character has been much admired, and his death equally lamented. We give a summary of his character in the language of M. Esquiroz :—

"M. Groen is the prose writer of orthodoxy, M. da Costa its poet. The son of a rich Portuguese Jew, he was converted to Protestantism by the influence of Bilderdijk, and believes himself to be the descendant of those prophets to whom the Almighty revealed His will in ancient days. We may define his poetry in one of his own lines,—'a music which passes between earth and heaven.' This rather vague music would gain somewhat if it partook more of our humble planet: a curious mysticism exalts and weakens his impetuous nature, which has preserved under a northern sky some drops of southern blood. One of the traits of the school to which he belongs is a hatred and contempt for political economy. He is in a rage with the commercial activity of our era, which he confounds with a blind worship of matter. All the invectives of the poets against locomotives—'this modern salamander'—cannot prevent their encircling the world. Poetry, which deceives itself as to date, and would render the human mind stationary, can have no future: the mistake is fatal; it neglects those eternal and inexhaustible springs of the beautiful, the human heart, nature, and the social drama. Dutch poetry should not abjure religious feeling; but this feeling, if it wander into unintelligible fictions connected with a sectarian spirit, and bounded by the narrow limits of a national church, can never replace the contemplation of God in the universe and in man."

The centre of Roman Catholicism, of Protestant orthodoxy, Utrecht is, we find, also the seat of a Jansenist bishop, leading us back to the court of Louis the Fourteenth and the destruction of Port Royal. Here did these dissenters from Romanism find a home when driven from their own country by persecution: they form now a sort of separate community. Small clean houses, shadowed by fruit trees arranged in a cloister form, the gates shut at a certain hour of the night, the calm silence and religious air, remind you of Port Royal without Nicole. In the centre rises a church, with the simple inscription—"Deo." The bishop is appointed by the chapter, and on the day of his election signifies it to the pope, who hastens to reply with a bull of excommunication: this is publicly and solemnly read from the pulpit of the church, and all returns to its former state of repose. The interest in this religious community is only historic; all about it has grown old: it stands a superannuated wreck, though an honourable one. Very different is the flourishing Moravian community at Zeist, a pretty village near Utrecht, with its happy family life, simple rejoicings, and missionary labours among the heathen. We have not, however, time to dwell on this subject, but pass on to the last of the universities—that of Groningen.

Here we find a change, not only in the flourishing appear-

ance of the city and the manners of the inhabitants, but also in the doctrines that are instilled. Situated but a few leagues from Hanover, German literature and science have distilled their poison into the Dutch mind, and made it the centre of heterodox or philosophical religion. The theologians of Groningen are, indeed, a separate school. We give the description of their rise from the author's own words:—

"This school was formed about 1833, in the bosom of the orthodox city itself. A professor of Utrecht, M. Van Heusde, opened out some new views in the arena of Christian faith. His ideas recommended themselves to M. Hofstede de Groot, a young and independent student of Groningen, who was seeking for reform. From the fusion of the doctrines of these two arose the nucleus of the theological society, whose head-quarters are now established at this university. MM. de Groot, Pareau, and Muurling, men learned in the history and remains of Christianity, divide between them the various branches of theological teaching: their ideas are by no means clear, nor well defined in their works. They deny having any desire to overthrow the reformation, but oppose synodal protestantism, beginning with a formal denial of all human authority in religion, and accusing their adversaries, who advocate a state church and a creed, of supporting papacy without the pope. As for themselves, they will neither have 'a pope of flesh and blood, nor one of paper.' The source of all illumination is to be found in the reading of the gospel, interpreted with complete independence of human reason; revelation being, according to them, only the education of mankind carried on in Jesus Christ. The period of the reformation was one of the glorious phases of this historic initiation, but it is for us to follow up what the reformers commenced. They themselves set the example of this constant revision of Christian doctrine by rejecting the mystery of the Trinity, of which they find no trace in the Bible; by denying the doctrine of predestination—Calvin's fundamental idea, which rests on the presumption of a wicked god, and restrains the human will; and, lastly, by casting aside the mystery of redemption, even as understood by modern theology, which they term a 'theology of blood.' We may well inquire if such a system deserve the name of a theology, or if it be not rather a philosophy masked by Christian forms. The obscurity which envelopes their language is, we fear, the consequence of a confusion of ideas. They want to unite two terms almost irreconcilable —rationalism and supernaturalism; hence results a system fertile in contradictions, against which they fight in the midst of darkness."

We can scarcely help inquiring if some of our modern lights have not graduated at Groningen. Unhappily, this philosophical school has found able defenders among young and ardent preachers, who unfurl the flag of the new Protestantism through the length and breadth of Holland. At the head of this movement are M. Meyboom, pastor at Amsterdam, and M. Zaalberg, pastor at La Haye. Their election was strongly

opposed in both cities by the Consistory, but at length they were appointed. On the day of their installation in their separate churches they took the same text,—"We are determined to know nothing among you save Jesus Christ." The two brothers in arms had given each other the key-note, and have continued to walk in the same path. The king, being in Amsterdam one Sunday when it was M. Meyboom's turn to preach, hesitated much whether he should support heterodoxy by his presence; but he decided in the affirmative—paying respect rather to religious tolerance than to the suspected doctrine of the preacher. Tranquil as Holland is in its political bearing, we see it torn and divided on religious questions; yet the ministers of every sect, remonstrants and memnonites, orthodox and heterodox, constantly exchange pulpits, and the people discuss with the deepest interest all religious questions.

We cannot afford space to dwell on the rich treasures collected together in the museums belonging to these universities. The trading relations which the Dutch have established with the Eastern Archipelago have procured for them specimens which are unique in Europe. Such is M. Siebold's collection at Leyden from Japan—a country which has, until lately, recognised none but the Dutch in its foreign intercourse. Such also is the botanical garden there. The director of the Herbarium, M. Blume, resided nine years in Java, and has published many and valuable works on the botanical geography of those beautiful countries, where the tropical sun nourishes a flora unknown to our colder climates. Groningen boasts of its anatomical and natural history museum, which, on the market day, is crowded by the country people,—marking the interest of a nation anxious for instruction. The life of the students partakes much of the half-trifling, half-serious amusements of the German students. Is a long-used cup broken? they must give it all the honours of a formal interment; speeches are made over the grave, and a monument with a Latin inscription placed over it. There is among them a great taste for historical fêtes, representing events in the past history of their country—such as the grand entry of Charles the Fifth into the town of Dordrecht,—when the costumes are rich and well got up, with the exception of a few anachronisms, such as modern bridles and saddles. As in all places, there are those who study, and those who do not; the latter being found more frequently at their clubs than at the lectures; while the former have revived the rhetoric meetings, where they recite poems, or attempt an improvisation on a given subject.

After what we have said of the freedom of worship in Holland, we need not be astonished to find that the poor persecuted Jews sought a refuge there and settled in large numbers. From the intolerant land of Spain they came by thousands,

when Ferdinand and Isabella resolved upon the edict of the 30th of March, 1492, which was to cover their lovely realms with sadness and solitude, and drive eight hundred thousand men, women, and children into exile. Numbers of these families sought a home in the Low Countries, and entering largely into commerce, have been in this respect the instruments of material and moral progress among European nations. Their transformation from a pastoral to a commercial people is one of the most singular examples of the change which circumstances can make in the character of a race: the laws forbidding them to buy land, no other career was open to them but the universally despised one of trade. The Spanish or Sephardim Jews formed the aristocracy of the despised race: they lived in the best quarters of Amsterdam and La Haye, and have built some of the handsomest houses in these rich cities; their synagogues are splendid, and, until lately, their service was conducted in the Spanish language.

"In Holland each synagogue governs itself, and provides for the necessities of its own poor. In proportion to their material resources and numbers, (there are about 64,000 Jews in the Netherlands,) they are more charitable than any other religious community. They have their own orphan establishments; on the pediment is the date of their erection, but it is from the beginning of the world that they count, 5621 years being the age they assign to it. There are fifty Jewish schools authorized by government, as well as some private institutions. Many of the liberal Jews, however, have no fear of sending their children to the public schools, where the education is entirely secular—religious teaching being received at other times. This state of things has been the subject of violent opposition from the ultra-protestant party, and the majority of the States-General seem disposed to adopt their view. Some well-disposed and liberal persons regard this reform with great sorrow. The union, they say, of protestant, catholic, and Jewish children under the same school discipline, is an excellent plan for teaching religious toleration. In a country where sects abound,—where division exists in division,—it is well to have a neuter ground where youths may meet and early learn the respect due to disinterested convictions. The education of Jewish women has long been neglected in Europe; a remnant of the old prejudice which exists in the Levant as to woman's inferiority, for Judaism betrays its oriental origin at every step. Such a reproach cannot now be addressed to their race in Holland: thanks to the intellectual culture of both sexes, as well as to the happy position they have occupied during the last two centuries, we now find their representatives in every liberal profession—at the bar, among the magistracy, in the education of the young, as well as in literature and art."

M. Esquiroz adds a long list of distinguished men (among others M. Lipman, one of the first barristers in Holland, who has embraced Christianity during the last few years); M. Pinto, also a barrister, editor of one of their magazines, and founder of

a society for assisting the poor Jews. Among the painters are Blés, Israels, Verveer, and Calisch. By this nation, too, the art of diamond cutting is almost exclusively possessed. In the city of Amsterdam alone are large establishments devoted to this trade; every attempt to remove it to London and Paris having totally failed. The great art, we learn from M. Esquiroz, is to decide what the rough diamond will become after cutting; its outer coat veils the colour and quality of the water—some yellow or brown ones losing their original tint under the cutter's hand, whilst others acquire it; hence follows immense loss if these transformations cannot be foreseen. There exist certain rules, but they seldom rest on invariable principles, and the knowledge seems to be hereditary; it is not to be acquired but as a natural instinct: "one must," as the director remarked, "be born to it." The trade, which is essentially one of luxury, is necessarily the soonest affected by political and commercial crises, otherwise it would be superior to most other handicrafts, the workmen earning, according to their skilfulness, from twenty-five to a hundred francs a-week. They are divided into two classes, the cutters and polishers; the latter worked at their own houses some twenty years ago, with a wheel turned by men, but now the masters have joined together and built manufactories where steam or horse power is employed, the men paying in return a fixed sum, and both find great advantage in the change.

"One day in the week, Friday, they work fifteen hours to make up for the loss of the Sabbath. It is curious to see the indifference with which these black hands turn over the masses of crystallized carbon, which are so highly valued by women and capitalists. Some of the workmen will steal scissors or other trifles, but the diamond never. The best hands are real artists; the famous Star of the South was polished in four months by one of these men; they were obliged to force him to lay aside his work and recover his breath by polishing inferior diamonds, such an enthusiastic affection did he acquire for it. I saw this brilliant at the very time it was finished; its lustre was dazzling, it burnt the eye to gaze on it."

M. Esquiroz devotes a long chapter to the charitable institutions of Holland, for which that country has always been celebrated. To us in England it would be unnecessary to enlarge as he does, seeing that we possess similar schools for orphans, for the blind, for the poor,—fruits of that large-hearted charity which is the glory of Protestantism. There is one of these institutions, however, which seems to differ in some respects from any of ours—the *tot nut van't Algemeen*, or Society of public Usefulness. It owed its rise in 1784 to a Protestant minister, Jean Nieuwenhuijzen, who said one day to some friends: "I see the learned men busy printing large books, and gaining for themselves a name among enlightened men; I see societies

formed, and the rich rejoicing in the revival of literature and the fine arts, but at the side of these lie masses of ignorant people who can neither read nor write; and if they could, have not the means nor the power to buy and understand these books. Things must not be left in this state; we ought to do something for these outcasts." We quote the author's description of what followed:—

"In the little town of Edam, a society was founded which in a short time extended itself over the whole of the Provinces, and it became necessary to transfer the centre of administration to Amsterdam. There I visited, in a house near the museum, the seat of an institution which has rendered such unquestionable services to Holland. It has become a power, but an altogether moral one; for, placed far from the official world, it rests only on an idea—on the devotedness of its members, and the love of doing good. At the time of its foundation the society was one, but since its amazing increase, each town becomes a section if eight persons are willing to accept the government. Each of these sections has the right of being represented at the general assembly which is yearly held in the capital. There are now three hundred sections, and the number of members amounts to fifteen thousand. The management is chiefly in the hands of the small shopkeepers, whilst the higher classes contribute to it from their purse; the sacrifices it demands are but small, varying in each province, and seldom amounting to more than two florins a-head. With this small budget the society has undertaken to exercise a sort of anonymous magistrature over the manners of the people. Primary instruction is, in a great part, its work. The excellent schools which exist in all the towns of the Netherlands have been modelled on the types that this institution offered. Its initiative is extended to all benevolent objects—infant schools, crèches (or babies' homes, as we might call them), schools for workmen, singing classes, savings' banks—have, so to speak, been born of this invisible and ever present power. The society undertakes the support and administration of these establishments until the day comes for the state, the commune, or some private individual to take them in hand. The benefits of education are not only spread over infancy and adults, but over all the people. Little books are published within the comprehension of all, teaching the rudiments of morality, science, history, and political economy: it has founded libraries, too, where the workman may gain an acquaintance with his moral and social condition. The director is a man of talent and good sense; we asked him to what causes he attributed the rapid advance of this institution. 'Its stability and development,' he replied, 'may first of all be explained by its philanthropical character, which suits the taste of the Dutch so admirably. I also attribute it to the very remarkable constitution of the society. You may seek in vain through the pages of history for a more perfect type of republican organization; the independence and autonomy of the departments is almost unlimited in that which relates to their interior administration, and the choice of means best fitted to gain the proposed end. Liberty in unity, such is, in effect, the character of the laws which are the strength of this association. There are yearly

soirées, at which the prizes are distributed, consisting of an honorary diploma, a present of books, or a gold or silver medal. The society thought there was a void in the civil law which punishes crime without recompensing virtuous actions; it seeks to fill this up by giving rewards for acts of courage or disinterested conduct."

Under its shadow, too, have arisen workhouses for those who are temporarily without home and means of subsistence. Some are drafted off to the "colonies de bienfaisance" established in 1818 by Prince Frederic when trade was bad. Land was bought, houses built, and tools purchased. They began with fifty cottages; now there are four hundred and twenty—each family living apart. An institution of a similar kind exists at La Haye, where a permanent council, formed of the deacons of all religious communities, administers to the wants of the poor. As is customary on the Continent, pleasure is taxed, and the theatres and shows at the *kermesse*, or fair, pay a certain sum, not to the state, but to the public chest of the church. Eight years ago the deacons, wishing to provide for those out of work, set about the redeeming of land from the sand which threatened to swallow up the country. The hills were lowered and carted away to clay lands, where it was used as a fertilizer, or to vessels for ballast, and the downs were developed into fields of potatoes or beet-root. More than a hundred families have been preserved from starvation every winter; men of all trades turn to this as their last resource, seeing that the wages, being little more than four florins a-week, are not sufficient for their support, which is eked out by former savings or gifts from the church to which they belong.

We know less of Dutch authors in England than of those of any other European country, and according to M. Esquiroz there is but little to tempt the translator.

No literature is so rich in moralists as theirs; but among clever men who have tried to give a lesson in poetry, there is none whose influence is more extended than that of Jacob Cats. His works seem to be in every hand, whether in the castle, the drawing-room, or the cottage, and take their place on the table beside the family Bible. He was born in 1577, and early entered into the service of the States-General; by them he was sent as ambassador to the court of Charles I., and still later to that of Cromwell, where he displayed that rectitude of spirit which so much distinguished him. After long travels, and study of many nations and languages, he settled down in his country house near La Haye, where, surrounded by his children and grandchildren, he indulged his literary and rural tastes, reclaiming land from the sand to form his garden, which has become one of the most delightful spots imaginable, and now belongs to the dowager queen of Holland. His books contain advice for all ages and stations; he always instructs,

and often consoles. We will translate one of his parables which M. Esquiroz gives as an example :—

"We read in ancient literature that at the hour when the sun sets in its splendour he pours from his rosy lips a golden light, and with this light a silvery sound which floats through space; but when the flame withdraws its musical rays, when the clouds of heaven passing by veil the radiant star, or the shadows of night darken its clearness, the heavenly figure becomes silent and not a sound is heard in the atmosphere. Thus was it in the days of old. And now a man who is living in splendour passes for a wise and clever fellow either in town or country, at court or at the university; all that comes from his mouth is admirable, but when the clouds of adversity pass before the sun of his fortune, when misfortune veils his light, his reign is over. All his moral value vanishes like a vapour; for where is he who can see a sage in a poor man?"

His morality, though excellent, is rather prolix and common place; in a poet you want to find some rays of fancy; the good is not always the beautiful; and most of the Dutch poets have followed his example, and made imagination subservient to a moral intention.

Of all their poets Vondel is undoubtedly the greatest, and has often been compared to Milton, especially in his "Lucifer," which is written in a dramatic form, and represents heaven, the fall of the angels, and that of man. He has composed an amazing number of tragedies, characterised by a grave, solemn style; sweet versification; weighty thoughts, yet little accessible to the ordinary reader. His life was throughout one of sadness; born at Cologne in 1587, his parents, who were Anabaptists, were obliged to fly from the religious persecutions, and opened a hosier's shop in Amsterdam. As the young poet grew up he showed himself little fitted for such an occupation; and when he married, he resigned the whole charge of the business to his wife, living in the room at the back of the shop, and drawing down on the scene sometimes the gods of Olympus, at others the angels of the Christian religion. His wife died and his son carried on the business, got deeply into debt, set off to Batavia, and left his father to pay 40,000 florins, and find himself ruined in his old age; his religious friends, too, were proscribed, imprisoned, and beheaded, and he narrowly escaped their fate. Alone and sad, the poor man had no one left but his daughter, who was also removed before him by sudden death. He became habitually morose, adding to his domestic sorrows a great dread of paying nature's last debt. "Death frightens me," he said; "I long for eternal life, but I would be carried to it like Elijah."

After Vondel, Bilderdijk is, without contradiction, the greatest poet Holland has produced. A man of immense learning, he touched upon every branch of human knowledge,

—theology, philosophy, medicine, astronomy, and the Oriental languages. When quite young he had pursued all with incredible ardour. The excitement of the French revolution, to which he was opposed heart and soul, led him to follow the Stadtholder into exile; he lived in England and also in Germany, giving lessons for a living. The restoration of the Orange family in 1815 was a happy event for him. He obtained a vacant chair at Leyden; but the bitterness of his satires, the rigidity of his religious principles, and the violence of his unsocial character, lost him his popularity, whilst domestic sorrows troubled the last days of his life, which ended in 1831. At the time his works first appeared, Dutch literature had fallen to its lowest ebb; he raised it. His prolific pen was engaged in every kind of work, and he succeeded in all; his most admired poem is entitled, "The Primitive World," and the enthusiasm expressed in his favour amounts to fanaticism.

The excellent pastor at Amsterdam, M. Beets, is a popular writer, under the assumed name of Hildebrand; but, generally speaking, the Dutch press is flooded with translations instead of original works. Nowhere are so many books published as in Holland in proportion to the number of inhabitants; but if we take away the sermons, prayer-books, and translations, there is little left to fix upon. Yet with such historic recollections, where the sentiment of liberty is joined to that of religion, with a people so strongly attached to the soil and local usages, with a strange sea-invaded country, with a moral intelligent youth, invincibly patriotic, the Netherlands might easily possess a literature springing from its own inspirations. There was a time when its political interests demanded its isolation from the rest of Europe; the boulevard of the Protestant faith, this little republic was obliged to hold itself apart from other states. Its solitude, once its strength, is now one cause of its moral weakness. Shut up in the narrow boundary of home life, unchangeable customs, strict civil and religious dogmas, the Dutchman persuades himself that there is nothing in the world like Holland; and until he gain a more enlarged and cosmopolitan view of affairs, there is little chance of his rising from the mediocre position he now holds among European nations.

SOON FORGOTTEN; OR, ENGLAND IN 1738.

An old book lies open before me. It is a stout octavo, of nearly 1000 pages, well printed, "the eighth edition, corrected and enlarged," the date 1738, and the title, *The Present State of Great Britain and Ireland.*

It is curious and interesting to alight suddenly amongst our forefathers of four or five generations ago, not as dressed up and pourtrayed for some distant day, nor yet by a hand that drew the portrait long after all of them had passed away, and which, therefore, dipped in imagination for some of its colouring; but in a record made for the people of its own day. Here are numerous details of the private life and social economy of Englishmen.

Turning over the pages, I observe how different would be all the chapters of such a book, or nearly all, in this year 1862; and how many new chapters must needs have been added on subjects familiar to us, but so entirely hidden from that day, that any foreshadowing of them would have been received with incredulity and derision,—steamboats, railroads, the electric telegraph, the Times newspaper, and much more besides.

The preface says that the book (referring evidently to the preceding editions) "is acknowledged on all hands to be the most perfect piece of its kind extant." It explains what care has been taken by the editor to secure the most accurate information, and it acknowledges valuable assistance as having been rendered by various authorities, in different departments of the state. The chapters thus introduced are not all of equal interest to us; but there are some to which any one who has a taste for such subjects would turn with avidity.

A chapter on "the Populousness of England, and the yearly Revenue of her Lands and Houses," incidentally reminds us that there was no census in those days. It adopts a rough mode of conjecture, first telling the reader that "the Republick of Holland is the most populous State of Europe, considering its extent;" and then adding—"'Tis true, England is not altogether so populous, but comes little short of it; though great numbers of men, women, and children transport themselves yearly into foreign parts, especially to the plantations in Asia, Africa, and America; most of whom live and die there. But then their loss is happily supply'd by a perpetual concourse of foreigners; otherwise England would go near to

be unpeopled in less than half an age." Then it proceeds to say that "to be convinc'd of the populousness of England, 'tis but computing its towns and cities;" so it tells the reader that there are twenty-eight cities (London probably containing "one million of souls"), six hundred and fifty market towns, "besides many good towns in which no market is kept, and an infinite number of villages." Slight help this to the reader; but all that could be offered to him in those days. The yearly rent of all the lands in England and Wales is computed at £10,000,000, and that of houses, not let with land, £2,000,000; besides "her prodigious wealth in jewels, plate, hoards of money, rich moveables, merchandize, &c."

To "a New and Exact Description of London" many pages are devoted. The metropolis is described as about eight miles long from east to west, and "not above two miles and a-half, even where it is broadest," from north to south. The dwelling-houses are reckoned at about 124,000. The progress of improvement is described as "matter of amazement;" sash windows instead of little windows, "with near as much lead as glass;" light staircases superseding "blind" ones; ceilings reported as now "universally used in England," whereby the dust from overhead is prevented; and "painted wainscot," introduced as an improvement upon damp walls. London is commended as enjoying the advantage of being "sweetened on one side by the fresh air of the river [somewhat contrary to present experience], and on the other by that of the fields." For country walks the following places are particularly noticed:—"Moorfields, Islington, and Red Lyon Fields, Marybone, and Tuttle Fields;" while, "for persons of a genteel appearance, there are the noble gardens of the Inns of Court, some of the Companies Halls, and the Charter-house Garden." Much is made of the Penny Post, for London and its neighbourhood, under a "Comptroller with £200 a-year." It carried small parcels as well as letters. The late Twopenny Post must have been a retrograde measure.

There is a chapter on "the English way of Living," &c. The English are described as "great flesh-eaters, and that without kitchen sophistry." "Pastry work and puddings" are described as popular; and bread, of which till of late but little had been eaten, was now taking its place at meals. The common wear of men was "plain cloth and drugget;" as for ladies, "the best able" wore "the richest silks, of £8 or £10 a-yard, with all the set-offs that art can possibly invent." The cost of the silk, as here stated, must surely be a misprint, £ for *s*.

The trade of England has its chapter.

The home productions are enumerated as follows:—"Wool, of which vast quantities of cloth and stuffs are made, computed

at the sum of two millions sterling per annum; tin, lead, copper, pit-coal, great guns, bombs, carcasses, &c., one million. Moreover she exports abundance of corn, red herrings, smoak'd pilchards, and salmon, besides abundance of leather and saffron. Many of her manufactures are also in great request, particularly her sattin, damask, velvet, plush, locks, pendulums, and watches; barometers, thermometers, spectacles, prospective glasses, telescopes, microscopes, and all sorts of mathematical instruments, &c., great quantities of which are exported to foreign countries, upon account of their superior accuracy and curiosity."

Besides these native products, raw or manufactured, England spared, from "her vast countries in the New World," to other parts of Europe, "sugar, indigo, cocoa-nuts, tobacco, &c., to the sum of half a million a year."

On travelling and the General Post Office there is a chapter as entertaining to us as it must have been gratifying, and an evidence of progress, to those who lived in the former half of the last century. Travelling was commonly on horseback, often by post-horses, "shifted at every post-stage, for 3d. a-mile, besides the same allowance to the post-boy for conducting the person, and carrying back the horses." But there were also stage coaches, some of which "will measure sixty miles in a summer day." The roads are reported as being less infested with highwaymen than they had been, in consequence of the high rewards offered for their apprehension; besides, "they never take away one's life, but in case of resistance, when their own lies at stake."

The Post-Office arrangements are evidently the pride and delight of the patriotic editor. A single postage, the distance being less than eighty miles, was threepence, over that distance it was fourpence to all parts of England. In five or six days an answer might be expected from a place 300 miles away. The post left London on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, and returned on the intervening week days, "except in the winter time, when the roads are often flooded." To Wales and Ireland letters were sent twice a week; and twice a week they were transmitted by "packet boats" to certain continental ports for most parts of Europe.

There is much more information which might fill several pages, such as many would like to read; but I hasten to that part of the contents of the volume which has induced me to offer these few pages for admission into the Christian Observer. Appended to the "Accurate and impartial Account of these famous islands," are "Lists of the present officers in Church and State." Much that is curious, and much also that is now devoid of interest, is recorded concerning the army and navy, and various other departments of the state. The courts of law

also supply many details, the first germs of a Law List. But what held my attention and set me musing were the lists of the archbishops and bishops, of the deans of the cathedrals, and of the various prebends in the gift of His Majesty, with the names of the present holders of those dignities. There were other lists, partly repeating those which I first lighted on. Such were those of the deans and chapters of St. Paul's and Westminster, of the clergy of the Chapel Royal, and of the king's chaplains in ordinary. As my eye ran down these strings of names, and surveyed them again and again, I fell into a reverie. Things strike us very differently at different times. That which we can read with complacency and perhaps indifference at one time, may be deeply affecting to us at another. So it was, however, that this dry uninteresting list of names set me thinking, and chiefly because it was so dry and so uninteresting. I was only confirmed in the same train of thought by turning to some subsequent pages devoted to Ireland, and containing similar lists of the names of the principal clergy in that island, the archbishops, bishops, and deans, and the chief authorities in the distinguished university of Dublin.

The thing that struck me, and impressed me so forcibly, was that only here and there did I discover the name of a person of whom I had ever read anything good or bad, or even whose name was known to me.

The total number of the names may have been about 250. Surely these were, or included amongst them, the eminent men of their day, men talked of, and followed, and admired. Yet, with a few exceptions, they are wholly forgotten,—not merely obscured, but unknown. There are, indeed, the names of archbishop Potter and bishop Gibson, still regarded as authorities in ecclesiastical law; Waterland, eminent in controversy; Sherlock, distinguished in his day as an able defender of the faith; bishop Berkeley, a man of science and literature; Secker, the plain, sensible, forcible preacher; and the devout bishop Wilson of Sodor and Man. There is also Hoadley, who earned an unenviable reputation by his heterodoxy; and dean Swift, for whom and for the church it would have been better if he had never taken holy orders. Two or three others might possibly be added as known to have been men of note in their day, such as Herring and Benson. The rest are to us as if they had never existed. Of these it is probable that Secker and Wilson alone are known to have been faithful and devoted ministers of the Word. But in these lists of the choice men of their day (even though it was not a day eminent for faith and love amongst clergy or people), there may have been many bright examples, lights shining in a dark place; there may have been preachers who spoke to men's hearts, and whose glowing words kindled many a flame of devotion and zeal

amongst their parishioners, and to whom belongs the bright reward which the Lord has promised to those who turn many to righteousness. Others of them may have been eminently successful in private counsel, and in intercourse with individual minds, being blessed in their efforts to comfort the feeble-minded and to support the weak, and effecting much good by being patient towards all men.

But of these and other services no remembrance has come down to us, no public record survives. Of some there may be private memorials and family pictures, and there are the lists in this old book, and in other forgotten works of the day. There is their handwriting in the parish registers, and the entry of their burial. There may be a gravestone, but perhaps even that has sunk out of sight into the grave which received them, or is overgrown with moss, or is crumbling away. Their memory is faded; they are forgotten as well as dead. We cannot discern between the faithful and the unfaithful stewards amongst them, between those who will render up their account with joy, and those who trampled on their vows with ungodly feet.

I say nothing of their influence, for that may be felt to this day. Influence is one of the marvellous things in human life, the operations of which we cannot realise in any just degree without much reflection. You and I may be feeling the influence exercised by these unknown men to this day. Was your mother one who feared God, and who loved the Lord Jesus Christ? The human channel which the Spirit selected for winning her heart to the Lord may have owed more than she ever suspected to one of these men of the past.

But whether their influence were for good or evil, and whether it be still felt or have died away, nearly all of these men, once holding high office in the Church, are forgotten—utterly forgotten. No one would even care to hear of them. And we shall be forgotten too. In a little more than a century our names, like theirs, will be but as so many letters of the alphabet, with no history attached to them. There lies before me our thick *Clergy List*, with perhaps 20,000 names in it. Will they not be as obscure, after the like lapse of time, as these in my old volume,—if, indeed, the Lord's coming be delayed so long? Authorship may preserve a few—a very few—from oblivion. To have taken part in any important public measures may secure some kind of remembrance for others. But those whose only distinction is the most important of all, that of being faithful ministers of the New Testament, will have passed out of recollection. The seed will still be fructifying, but the hands which sowed it will be no longer recognised. The now popular preacher and speaker, on whose lips crowds hang with eager interest, will have lost his fame; not even the echo of it

will be heard. Not only is many a flower born to blush unseen, but many which have been seen in the brightest bloom, which have been admired and prized, and which have diffused their sweet fragrance far and wide around them, wither away, vanish, and moulder into dust, and soon no one knows how sweet they were,—no, not even that they grew, and budded, and blossomed. Other flowers will bloom when those of this year have departed; other stars shine when these have faded from sight.

All this would be melancholy and depressing if there were not a record on high. There would be sadness in the thought that after being known and loved, after knowing and loving others, for a short season, the common lot were to be that of being utterly forgotten in two or three generations, and so that our life on earth would become, to those who come after us, as though we had not lived it.

But for the Christian heart, whether dedicated to the service of Christ in the ministry of His word, or occupying any other walk in life, there is a most blessed consciousness that there is one mighty Mind to which it will always be known. There is a record kept, of which no page will ever be lost. God's book of remembrance contains the names of all who, from the creation downwards, have feared the Lord and thought upon His name; and they will, every one of them, be acknowledged as His, in the day when He makes up His jewels. Here they are strangers and pilgrims. The wayside inn takes little heed of the passers by. But there is a home beyond,—a city whose foundations cannot decay; and there will be found an assembly of friends from whom there will be no future separation, and amongst whom there will be no passing on of generations into forgetfulness. There, the men now unknown to us, and whose names are strange to us when we meet with them in a book of the last century (so many of them as were men with whom Christ made his abode on earth), will find that a holy fame, though soon lost on earth, is never lost in His presence. They that are in Christ, joined to Him by a living faith, will receive from His hands a crown of glory that fadeth not away. Their names are not written on the sand, nor their track vainly noted in the air, nor their waymarks entrusted to the ever-changing ocean; but their names are written in heaven, in records that will endure for ever.

A STRANGER IN THE LAND.

THE BIBLE AND MODERN THOUGHT.

The Bible and Modern Thought. By the Rev. T. R. Birks, M.A., Rector of Kelshall, Herts. London: The Religious Tract Society. 1861.

MANY of our readers must have devoutly thanked God, out of full hearts, for the way in which the noxious *Essays and Reviews* have been met and refuted. Soon after their publication, when protests and censures were issuing from various and influential quarters, some of that large class, which is not much alive to any such subjects, observed, coldly and contemptuously, that it was one thing to repudiate the Essays, and another to answer them. We had to wait patiently. To answer a work which entered into so many branches of a wide and difficult subject, and which purported to set forth the deliberate views of several men of mark in the intellectual world, was not likely to be accomplished in a moment. But very soon it became evident that the Essayists would meet with their equals in ability, and their superiors in the argument. Our own pages, and various treatises, longer and shorter, in the pamphlet form, established the fact that learning and acuteness were not only to be found on the side of the assailants of the integrity of the Holy Scriptures. And now we have reached a stage at which it may be confidently believed that works have been elicited, of which some will take a permanent place in the theological literature of our country; not merely exposing the fallacies of those particular productions, and their indebtedness to German scepticism for the stock of their objections and arguments, but rendering still greater service to the cause of truth by entering deliberately into the subjects, in respect of which the Essays are heretical, and showing the strength of the foundation of the faith of Christians on those very points. Enough has already been done to satisfy any who may have been trembling for the ark of God, that even if peradventure any difficult point have not been completely settled (we know not, however, what is yet wanting), it is only requisite to indicate what assailable point still remains exposed, and the armoury already proved to be so well furnished can at once meet the demand.

The result must be relief and hopefulness to those who were alarmed or made anxious by the startling demonstration which scepticism and unbelief ventured to make by the hands (alas!) of clergymen of the church of England. They may well be satisfied that the Essayists are not unanswerable, and that the positions of the Church which these writers have assailed are stronger than they appeared to be before. A vague feeling

that our defences were weak at this point and at that, has given place to thankful confidence. The timid and the dismayed are beginning to see that Christianity has nothing to fear, and that if old heresies are coming forth to battle, arrayed in armour of modern device, the arrows are all well prepared, which will enter between the joints of the harness.

Others, really thoughtful, including ingenuous young men, to whom doubts and difficulties have been cruelly and wickedly suggested, and who have found unquietness and sorrow in the perplexities which have been forced upon them prematurely, will seek the recovery of their peace of mind, and of comfort in the Gospel, in the defensive works which have been written; and with God's help they will not seek in vain.

The mischief which is not so likely to be easily repaired is that which the Essayists and other sceptical writers have done to two classes,—the thoughtless children of the world, and sceptics who have learned to take pleasure in the assaults made on scriptural religion. The former, glancing at the Essays, rejoiced that the bonds which they had not respected in practice, but which they knew not how to set aside, were relaxed by such respectable writers as the Essayists. A man left to the guidance of his own conscience was set at liberty, they thought, to do pretty much what he liked. A doctrine welcome to the worldling; just what he desired. These will be indisposed to read any real refutations of scepticism.

The other class will equally turn aside from the answers, and will only be ready to rejoice in the more advanced steps in the same direction, which such writers and their disciples must almost inevitably take if they do not turn back. In such cases the sceptic, the deist, the atheist, will have favourable hearers; but the defenders of the faith will plead in vain, for the ears they address are stopped against them.

Where, however, uneasiness has been produced without the faith being shaken, or where a candid mind has been overborne by the accumulated force of sceptical suggestions, but unwillingly and sorrowfully, we are satisfied that a great and blessed work will have been effected by those men of learning and of powerful intellect, who, in this day of trouble, rebuke, and blasphemy, have stood forth to exhibit the solid foundations of the faith to which they deliberately and resolutely adhere.

It is by no means beyond the reach of hope (we can hardly say of expectation), that some of the Essayists, and of their cordial supporters, may by God's blessing be themselves convinced of the danger and the untenableness of the position they have taken, and be brought back to the footstool of God's mercy seat, seeking reconciliation with Him, ready to retract the things which they have written contrary to the name of Jesus

of Nazareth, and resolved to preach the faith which, but a little while since, they seemed anxious and earnest to destroy.

Mr. Birks's volume, *The Bible and Modern Thought*, is a valuable contribution to this momentous controversy. It has a place to fill, a work of its own to do.

We honour him for the way in which he has chosen that his defence should see the light. Had it appeared as a handsome octavo, ushered into the world by one of those eminent publishers who pride themselves on producing works of a standard character, its intrinsic merits would have justified the selection, and would have secured for it an extensive circulation, and a large measure of respectful attention. But the author knew that there are classes of society whose hands courtly octavos rarely reach on their first publication. He knew that the Essayists had been hailed as allies by infidel writers and lecturers, who sought audiences in a lower circle; and that these contributions to a bad cause had been eagerly seized upon, and brought to bear upon the minds of many to whom such persons commonly find easy access. And therefore, regardless of the literary distinction to which he was entitled, and of the pecuniary profit which a different type and paper might have secured, he took the most certain means of obtaining the widest circulation, at the cheapest cost, for his contribution towards the maintenance of the truth. All honour to his motives, as well as much success to his work!

Happily Mr. Birks has provided against his volume dropping out of sight a few months hence, as it might have done had it been only an ephemeral production connected with a particular stage of the controversy. He does not set himself to examine and refute the Essays in succession; but taking in hand the whole subject of the Christian evidences, he gives special prominence to the points of attack which are selected by modern sceptics, noticing distinctly the contributions of the Essayists when, in his progress, he comes in contact with their arguments. Then he grapples with them boldly, and does not leave them until he has discomfited them. We need never be ashamed of our champion, nor fear his quitting the charge until he has gained the victory. As they assail the supernatural in Christianity, revelation, inspiration, prophecy, miracles,—as they discredit the historical truth of Holy Scripture—parade its real and unreal difficulties—declare it to be at issue with science—and impose upon it principles of interpretation which rob it of much of its meaning—he addresses himself to all of these points, and does not lay down his pen until he has satisfactorily disposed of them.

The work is, in one sense, what may be called popular. Its language is so easy and simple, its arguments are so clearly stated and worked out, and it exhibits so little of philosophical

language (full as it is of true philosophy, as well as of scientific knowledge), that any intelligent reader, whether educated or not, may follow it and understand it from the first page to the last. But if popular be taken to mean specious rather than sound—superficial, plausible, illusory, and unlikely to satisfy and convince the learned, the scientific, and the thoughtful—then we are glad to say that it is not deteriorated by any of these faulty distinctions.

We can attempt no more than to give our readers a partial insight into this work, chiefly with the view of inducing them to procure a copy of it for themselves, if they do not possess one already.

After an appropriate introduction, he treats of the nature of divine revelation, and man's need of it, the supernatural claims of Christianity, and the reasonableness of miracles. He then proceeds to the historical truth of the Old and New Testaments, the miracles of the Bible, and the prophecies of the Old Testament. Christianity and written Revelation supply the contents of his ninth chapter, which is followed by chapters on the inspiration of the Old and of the New Testament, on the interpretation of Scripture, on the alleged discrepancies of the Bible, on the Bible and modern science, the Bible and natural conscience, the historical and doctrinal unity of the Bible, and Christianity as a progressive scheme.

The reader who is acquainted with the Essays will have perceived the several heads under which nearly all of them come in as appropriate matter of discussion.

The supernatural element of our holy religion is necessarily a chief subject of this volume. Mr. Birks shows that the scriptural miracles and prophecies cannot be repudiated without involving a renunciation of Christianity, as a system "tainted with a hopeless leprosy of fraud and delusion." He shows, in detail, though with necessary brevity, how full the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles are of the records of miracles, and of references to them, and of assertions of the fulfilment of prophecy.

Proceeding to treat of miracles, he shows that prophets, apostles, and the Lord Jesus himself, appealed to them as witnesses of their being teachers and messengers sent from God. We select for notice his argument for their credibility. Modern sceptical philosophy (happily all our philosophy is not sceptical!) maintains that alleged miracles are incredible, because nothing can be effected except by natural causes. Mr. Birks shows that this objection is grounded on an unphilosophical and untrue view of induction, whose province it is to discover actual laws by means of generalizations of facts; while it cannot affect other facts, which might be equally credible on due evidence. "It is thus a wholly false view of the nature of inductive science, that it is occupied with the investigation

and discovery of laws which are necessary and unalterable. The exact reverse is the truth." (p. 63.) He next ascribes the same objection to "a total misconception of the order of nature, and the constancy of natural laws," showing that the discovery of previously hidden laws and properties of matter, rightly estimated, only brings us nearer to a recognition of the scheme of universal providence.

Finally, he charges it with involving "a false definition of miracles themselves." He says that by the objectors "they are defined to be 'something at variance with nature and law,' suspensions of a known law, arbitrary interpositions, and 'events isolated and uncaused.'" (pp. 65, 66.)

To this he answers that none of these descriptions are correct; and that miracles, far from being mere arbitrary interferences, are "acts of Divine power, exerted for a special purpose, in harmony with a scheme of moral government to which all physical laws whatsoever are subordinate;" and that they are suspensions of known law only as the law of gravitation is suspended when wood floats in water, or a balloon ascends towards the sky.

He also reproves the obliquity of judgment which denies that there are any special features in the Christian records, to make miracles more credible in connexion with them than they would be if professed to be wrought at the present day. From this he proceeds to notice the inconsistency of the sceptical school, which professes to aim at the discovery of natural laws by the mere generalization of phenomena, holding that the causes lie completely beyond our reach; and then, when in antagonism with miracles, transforming those laws into causes with which not even God Himself can interfere. (p. 67.)

The weight of miracles, as proofs and tests of a Divine revelation, necessarily comes on for discussion, as a question of the greatest moment. He examines various accepted definitions of miracles, and then introduces his own. When regarded in the particular light of evidences for revelation, he defines them to be "unusual events, not within the ordinary power of man, nor capable of being foreseen by man's actual knowledge of second causes, and wrought or announced by professed messengers of God, to confirm the reality of their message."

We are loath to appear in any respect to demur to the judgment of so accurate a mind; but we believe that all the miracles were beyond the power of man, and not merely beyond his "ordinary" power; and we prefer a shorter and simpler definition, if such will suffice. In Professor Mansel's Essay, in *Aids to Faith*, it is remarkable, and not to be regretted, that there is no express definition of miracles, but that they are incidentally defined as works performed by Divine power—works of a supernatural character—special interposi-

tions of Divine power—superhuman; while, as regards their purpose, he speaks in entire harmony with Mr. Birks, describing them as avowed credentials. Christ wrought miracles, "expressly declaring that He did them by the power of God, and in proof that God had sent Him." While referring to that Essay, we are glad to add another corroboration of Mr. Birks's views. Mr. Mansel denies that there is any violation of the laws of nature in the Scriptural miracles, and says that a special interposition of Divine power constitutes in itself a cause to which the unexpected effect may be truly ascribed.

Returning to the definition of miracles, we think that that which may be gathered from Mr. Mansel's expressions, being sufficient, is better, because more simple, than Mr. Birks's. A special interposition of Divine power,—a work wrought by a supernatural interposition of Divine power,—as an attestation of Divine authority, will, we imagine, include all the Scriptural miracles, whether those which would be classed by Mr. Birks as immediate, those in which men were employed as the agents of a higher power, or those in which the laws of nature were made to minister to the accomplishment of the purposes of Him whom they must needs obey.

We are not sure that we agree with Mr. Birks in his view of the miracles of the locusts, the plagues, and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. We do not consider that "in these, foresight, and not power, is the really supernatural element." But neither does Mr. Birks, who says this, appear to mean precisely what the words express, for he speaks of a "pre-arrangement of special conditions;" which certainly would be necessary, in order to bring the event to pass at the precise time appointed, and must have been supernatural.

In a later chapter (the seventh) Mr. Birks undertakes to prove that the Scriptural miracles, and the prophecies also, agree in character with their alleged design, as the credentials of a series of Divine revelations. These he discusses as capable of being established under the four heads of "a wise parsimony, general publicity, a consistent plan, and a moral purpose."

The whole treatment of the important subject of miracles may be of great benefit to many, proving to them the untenableness of the position that miracles are impossible, and showing their importance as credentials of God's messengers, and the impracticability of severing them from Christianity without destroying it utterly. The veracity of Christ is shown to have been pledged to the reality of His own miracles. This latter is a point to which Mr. Mansel also attaches grave importance.

The chapters on the historical truth of the New and Old Testaments are of great value in days when Essayists are representing these portions of God's holy Word to be myths—*cunningly*, or it may be clumsily, devised fables.

Prophecy forms the second tributary to the supernatural credentials of revelation. Mr. Birks's chapter on this subject is conclusive. He designedly takes in hand certain prophecies which have been individually attacked by sceptical writers; shows how entirely the critical discernment of the adversaries has been warped by prejudice, and how certainly prophetical were the passages they have attempted to set aside; and he expresses his wonder that those who maintain that the prophecies attributed to Daniel were a forgery of later days, "can still dare to call themselves disciples of Christ," seeing that the Lord Himself ascribed their authorship to Daniel the prophet. (p. 181.) Here the valuable Essay of Dr. McCaul, in *Aids to Faith*, corroborates all that Mr. Birks has written.

On this important branch of the evidences, the supernatural, including miracles and prophecy, it may be useful to remind the reader that one indisputable miracle and one indisputable prophecy are enough to upset the whole argument of the sceptics. If, for example, Christ rose from the dead,—and if there be prophecies which the Jews are now fulfilling, then the whole fabric of these objections falls down to the ground, for they pretend that a miracle and a prophecy are alike impossible things.

The inspiration of holy Scripture could not fail to have an important place assigned to it in *The Bible and Modern Thought*. Mr. Birks maintains that "the only true and safe definition of Bible inspiration must be of a positive kind. These books," he says, "are written by accredited messengers of God, for a special purpose, in order to be a standing record of Divine truth, for the use of mankind. They are thus stamped throughout with a Divine authority." (p. 198.) After important preliminary considerations, which may be a source of peace, quietness, and confidence to many a disturbed mind, the author discusses, in the tenth and eleventh chapters, the inspiration of the Old and of the New Testaments. Much as we should like the exercise, we must abstain from following him. Mr. Birks (and we have observed the same thing in more than one of the writers of the *Aids to Faith*) does not encumber the inquirer with a theory of inspiration, divided into so many degrees and classes, but is content to leave it where the Scripture itself has placed it. The whole Scripture, though it had various human writers, is due to one higher Author, the revealing Spirit of God. "This," he says truly, "is the great question really at issue between the Christian Church in all ages, and a limited number of modern critics, who aspire to represent the progress, and really herald the predicted unbelief, of these last days." (p. 251.) The chapter in which these words occur (the twelfth), on the Interpretation of Scripture, is directed against the errors propagated by such works as the seventh of the

Essays, Mr. Jowett's, and may be of great service to those whose minds have been unsettled by that mischievous production.

The alleged discrepancies of the Bible, and the difficulties raised by some men's views of modern science, occupy full sixty pages, in which no question is shirked, and no grave objection left without a satisfactory refutation. The relation, also, between the authority of the Bible and the claims of conscience is treated with a vigorous and masterly hand. The proper functions of conscience are maintained, while the word of God is established as a law before which it must bow, and by which it is to be regulated. This is an able refutation of that chief position in Dr. Temple's Essay.

We regard this volume as a valuable contribution to our controversial theological literature. Its usefulness will not be confined to the period of the present struggle. Its very tone is seasonable and helpful, for it is pervaded by a thoroughly fearless confidence in the certainty of God's truth, and the distinctness of the evidences of its revelation to man. Surely we may render thanks to Almighty God that in a day of peril, as well as alarm, He should have brought out this and so many other able champions to maintain His own cause! The enemy was coming on like a flood, but the Spirit of the Lord has raised up a standard against him.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DR. VAUGHAN AND THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—Twenty-three years since, I communicated to one of your predecessors the following extract from a work of Dr. Vaughan's (see the Christian Observer for 1838, page 432), where, speaking of Dissenters, he says:—

"The great charge against us, so far as I am able to ascertain, is, that we are aiming at nothing less than the destruction of the Established Church. Now, it is not denied that the principles of Congregationalism are opposed to the existence of any civil establishment of Christianity. But it is one thing to be persuaded that a nation might have chosen a wiser course than it has done, and another to fall into a justly censurable mode of proceeding in order to correct a prevalent error. It may be strictly lawful that there should be no Established Church, but in the state of society existing in England it may be far from expedient. The whole question, though truly one of principle, is also one to be determined, in a great degree, by circumstances. While the social system of England shall be what it is, and while the prevalent feeling in favour of an Established Church shall be what it is, there

ought, as I conceive, to be such a church. The Dissenter may say that the State, in this respect, is exercising a power which it ought not to have assumed; but so long as the State is not so persuaded, it should not be expected to relinquish the policy which has naturally resulted from a different consciousness of duty. Principle, on this great question, may be of as much moment to the Churchman as to the Dissenter. And if there are Dissenters who, having looked to the monarchy and to the court of England, and to the prepossessions, on this subject, of the persons who constitute the upper and even the lower House of Parliament, and have expected to see these parties concur in anything approaching towards an extinction of the State Church, such expectation must surely have been indulged in some of those delusive moments when the passions do not allow the understanding to perform its proper office."

When I forwarded the above passage from the learned doctor's work to the Christian Observer, I thought it did him great honour as an eminent Dissenting minister, and spoke well for his Christian candour and forbearance; but on reading Mr. Bull's letter in your January number (page 72), I was surprised to find the same Dr. Vaughan leading the assaults of the Congregational Union upon our church Establishment amidst the gibes and cheers of its unrelenting enemies. The opinions formerly entertained by this gentleman are more in accordance with the spirit of the gospel and with Christian charity than the oration so much admired and applauded at Birmingham. Advancing years generally teach moderation; and Christian men, as they draw nearer to that bar where they must answer for every idle word spoken, do commonly gracefully retire from the strife and contentions of the world. Dr. Vaughan, however, in his maturer years, does not appear, in his hostile dealings with the Established Church of his country, to regard the Apostolic injunction, "Let your moderation be known to all men."

When we reflect on the past history of our country, and on the conduct of the enemies of the Church of England in the seventeenth century, we anxiously ask, What are the Congregational Union driving at? What manner of spirit are they of? The destruction of the church in those days was followed by the downfall of the monarchy; and it is the fixed opinion of the members of the church in the present day that a like result would probably, if not necessarily, take place on the abolition of our ecclesiastical Establishment. "Laud led the way to the scaffold, and king Charles soon followed him," says Mr. Hine in his bi-centenary tract, "Our Ejected Ministers." Surely, whatever may have been the faults of these unhappy men,—and I am not prepared to justify their conduct,—their cruel fate must necessarily excite the commiseration of all who profess and call themselves Christians, unless party spirit has blinded their judgment and deadened their feelings. The friends of established churches and of the parochial system certainly have more right to claim the Nonconformist divines of 1662 as agreeing with them in principle, than have the Independent Dissenters. Right-minded churchmen of the present day can appreciate and acknowledge the conscientiousness of the ejected ministers, as being for the most part Presbyterians, in withdrawing themselves from an episcopal Establishment, and can compassionate the hardships many of them underwent. It cannot be forgotten that Mr. Hine's highly eulogised "real king" had "to

wade through slaughter to a throne;" and if he did not "shut the gates of mercy on (all) mankind," there was neither mercy nor justice shown to the adherents of the fallen monarchy, or liberty and toleration allowed to the members of the Episcopal church under his rule. Witness the "hard measure" dealt to good bishop Hall and the other bishops, and to the suffering clergy generally, who at this time were silenced on pain of imprisonment or banishment, to whose sorrows you drew attention in your last number. Mr. Evelyn, in his memoirs, says, "I went to London to receive the B. sacrament, the first time the Church of Engd. was reduced to a chamber and conventicle, so sharpe was the persecution." . . . "25. Dec. I went to London with my wife to celebrate Christmas day, Mr. Gunning preaching in Exeter Chappell. Sermon ended; as he was giving us the holy sacrament, the chappell was surrounded with souldiers, and all the communicants and assembly were surprized and kept prisoners by them, some in the house, others carried away. In the afternoon," Mr. Evelyn says, "came Col. Whaley, Cofle, and others, from Whitehall, to examine us one by one; some they committed to the marshall, some to prison. When I came before them they tooke my name and abode, examined me why, contrarie to an ordinance made that none should anie longer observe the superstitious time of the Nativity, I durst offend, and particularly be at common prayers; but after many frivolus and ensnaring questions and much threatening, and finding no colour to detaine me," he says, "they dismissed me with much pity of my ignorance." Bearing all this in mind, we may well ask, how it is that "that great Englishman, Oliver Cromwell," that "real king," and that "thorough man all over," should have become the great idol of modern Dissenters, who boast themselves the principal champions of "civil and religious liberty." I fear that the spirit of late displayed by the Congregational Dissenters argues but ill for religious peace amongst us, or for the furtherance of "unity and godly love." Let us imagine that the persevering enemies of our Establishment have accomplished their purpose, and, to use the language of Mr. Miall, have "scattered it to the four winds of heaven," how are our small country parishes to be provided with a resident ministry? When "the village preacher" is removed, his "modest mansion" sold, and his income applied to secular uses, will the poor cottagers be regularly summoned on each returning Sabbath by the "church-going bell" to meet in their ancient parish church for the purposes of praise and prayer, as their forefathers have done through many past generations, or will they be dependent for religious service on the casual and occasional visits of some itinerant, perhaps illiterate, preacher from a neighbouring town? I have often regretted that greater numbers of the clergy did not associate with their dissenting brethren in evangelical alliance, and meet them on the platforms of the Bible Society; but it is not in human nature that they should do so, except as a matter of painful duty, while open war is waging against their church, and their own motives and conduct are impugned. Mr. Bright, another determined adversary of the Church of England, in his speech at Rochdale on the American difficulty, stated that Mr. Lincoln, as the elected president of the United States by universal suffrage, occupied a post of higher honour than any hereditary monarch whatever,

our gracious Queen, of course, included. Well may Mr. Bull say that the clergy had need of patience, and so surely has every sincere friend of the British constitution in Church and State.

I am, Sir, for a long series of years,

YOUR CONSTANT READER.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DEAR SIR.—The Reviewer of "Dean Trench's Commentary on the Epistle to the Seven Churches," in our last number, says, "Dr. Trench's explanation of *the white stone* (Rev. ii. 17) is the best that we have ever seen." The explanation is not new. It was, I believe, first suggested by Quellig in a commentary which was published in 1834; and it has been referred to, though not generally adopted, by succeeding expositors. I do not know how to account for the very little notice which Quellig's Commentary has attracted, even in Germany. His explanations of the Apocalyptic Symbols are peculiarly striking and ingenious. I communicated to the Christian Observer some years ago (Jan., 1846; May, 1847) a series of notes on the first sixteen chapters of the Revelation, extracted from Quellig's work. The following is his note (I think a very excellent one) on Rev. ii. 17:—

"To him that overcometh—I will give to him to eat," &c. After the words 'To him that overcometh,' we are to imagine that a pause is made; either that the hearer's attention may be thus excited, or that the speaker may consider what reward he shall in this case give. 'I will give to him to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone;' *i.e.*, I will give to him two main distinctions of the high priesthood, viz., 1, the Thummim stone, which is here represented as a bright diamond, and is therefore called 'white': and, 2, the manna, which was kept 'hidden' in the inner sanctuary of the Jewish temple, and to which, therefore, the high priest alone had access. St. John's allusion is to Psalm xxi. 5, of which the meaning, according to the old Rabbinical reading, is, 'The Lord is the manna of my portion: thy Thummim is mine inheritance.' And it is here to be observed that there is a peculiar propriety in the choice which was thus made of a recompense for such as were faithful in the church of Pergamos. What they had to contend against were the temptations to *idolatry* and *fornication* (see v. 14) which were laid in their way by the Mislaitanes, or Balaamites, of Pergamos: as a reward for overcoming in this contest they are made *high priests*. Similarly it appears, from Num. xxv. (compared with Num. xxxi. 16). that these same sins of *fornication* and *idolatry* were the sins into which the children of Israel had been led by the Old Testament Balaam; and the reward there given to the faithful Phinehas was the same which in the Apocalypse is promised to those who should be faithful at Pergamos, namely, the *high-priestly office*. God said, 'Behold, I give unto him my covenant of peace: and he shall have it, and his seed after him, even the covenant of an everlasting *priesthood*: because he was zealous for his God."

J. M.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

The Church Builder, a Quarterly Journal of Church Extension in England and Wales. No. I., price Threepence. Rivingtons. January 1862.—The Incorporated Society for promoting the building and enlarging and repairing of churches and chapels in England and Wales

have resolved upon a quarterly periodical, of which this is the first number; and it is published under the sanction of their committee. The design is good; the management is capable of considerable improvement. After an account of the Society and its doings, a preface, a paper on the recent census, another on free and open seats, an account of the restoration of Keynsham church, and so forth, we come to what was meant to be a clever paper on church restoration at Llanfaenor. The old church did not please the gentleman who writes the paper.

"'Where is your church?' said I to a hoary-headed man, who in a white smock was leaning on his stick at the entrance to his little domain; 'I suppose it is further on.'

"'Church?' said he, 'why that be our church,' pointing with his stick to the barn I had observed on the green.

"'That your church! nonsense! I can never believe that.'

"'Yes, it be sure;' he said, 'Here, Rachel, get the key and show the gentleman the chapel.'

"Thinks I to myself, 'no need to lock that up, I should say.' On a nearer inspection I perceived, that it might by courtesy be termed a church, inasmuch as one end possessed a little wooden place of shelter wherein hung a bell."

"Three years after," he pays a second visit to Llanfaenor and finds the church rebuilt.

"The little barn chapel had disappeared. In its stead, I saw a pretty church, with porch, nave, chancel, and bell-gable, built of warm coloured stone with white stone dressings. I entered. There was nothing more to be desired, ALTAR, *lectern*, handsome font, low open seats, all had been provided by the pious care of one whose taste and zeal will long be remembered in that neighbourhood; and, better still, the church was crowded with a reverent congregation. When the little bell ceased its ringing, the prayers were said in a devout and solemn tone, the Psalms for the day were chanted, and in these, as in other portions of the service, the whole assembly joined as with one heart and one voice.

"And this may be fairly taken as an example of what is being done throughout the length and breadth of the parishes of Gwent: the church of Cadoc, of Teilo, of Dubricius and Oudoceus, is raising her head, and returning to her former glory. From the Cathedral to the little mountain chapel, a new spirit, or rather the old catholic spirit, is spreading, and in many places we have now *only to pray that the worshippers may be worthy of the temple.*"

We do not quite understand—but then we have left college some years, and our mathematics, we confess, are rusty,—how a common measure is obtained between the worth of a worshipper, and the worth of any conceivable amount of bricks and mortar; and before we join in this new litany we must ask for a little further information. Of the worth of an immortal spirit we can form some idea, sufficient to act upon even in so solemn an affair; but the worth of a church, how is it to be measured in relation to the worth of the worshippers? In particular, are the lectern, the handsome font, and above all, the ALTAR, to be taken into account? Do these add to the worth of the temple? because, if so, in a poor country like Wales, the congregation will be apt to desert the church, and prefer the barn or even the conventicle. The richer the church, the less worthy the congregation, in comparison: and as we all like to stand as well as possible in our own eyes, there is some danger lest even wealthy worshippers should catch something of this mean contagion, and forsake the costly church in favour of some plainer edifice of which they will be more worthy.

Then follows a long list of new churches consecrated, and old ones restored. We should have read these accounts with more pleasure had we not been informed that, in one place, 'the reredos, sedilia, and credence *are introduced.*' Another has "a foot-pace of altar";—what that

means we confess we do not know. "A mission chapel, in a very poor district," is of a "thoroughly ecclesiastical character, having a *sacrarium*," &c. Of the churches restored, one has "the rood screen; at the cost of the late Chancellor Martin." Were that lamented officer of the church amongst us, we should have presumed to tell him, that his official duty was not to restore, but remove the rood screen. There is a poet's corner too, in which we have the following morsel of choice theology. It is the church that speaks, and she says:—

> "Purge the shrine of your own souls within you
> From all stain of pride and sloth and sin,
> Grace it with all saintly decoration:—
> *Then your God shall come and dwell within.*"

The license granted to poets may justify a considerable shade of mistiness of doctrine, but scarcely a flat contradiction of the truth. Our good old mother church nowhere teaches us to preach this doctrine. "*Turn thou us*," she says, "and so shall we be turned," and in her collect she tells us not to "purge the shrine of our own souls," but humbly to pray that God will "cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of his Holy Spirit." But, then, the good old soul is but a homely body it is true, and perhaps after all no great theologian. She has been known to maintain in public, that it is all nonsense talking about "an altar," as no such thing is to be seen in any of her churches. Nor has the old lady much taste. She does not care a fig for "an altar cloth," and in fact prefers a "fair white linen cloth" when she uses her "table," as she persists in calling it; and though many of her children have made her handsome presents of stained glass windows with pictures of all the saints in the calendar upon them, they have hardly got a civil "thank ye" in return. She says, her eyes are not by any means bad, her years considered; and she is very thankful for it; but of the two she would rather have more light than less. She is of a cheerful temper, and does not wish to say her prayers in the dark.

The Duke of Buckingham's Diary. The Private Diary of Richard Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, K. G. London: Hurst and Blackett. 3 *vols.* 1862.—Such volumes as these are to the historian what cotton is to the mill-owner of Manchester—the raw material from which his fabric must be woven. There may, in such volumes, be pages of idle gossiping; but if there be no betrayal of confidence, no wilful slanders or misrepresentations, this will not destroy the value of the work. The late Duke had no doubt many faults, but he was greatly to be pitied. Born to a noble title, and apparently a vast estate, he found himself indeed the lineal descendant of the Plantagenets, but, at the same time, the inheritor of a load of debt, amounting to a quarter of a million sterling. His own prodigality exceeded his father's, and he lived to see the noble palace and estate of Stowe rifled of its treasures, and in the hands of mortgagees and creditors. His last few years were spent in retirement, upon a very narrow annuity, for which he was indebted to their liberality. We cannot steel our hearts against compassion, nor speak with severity of one who, placed amidst such difficulties and such temptations, exhibited but too painfully the weakness of our fallen nature. The volumes will be referred to hereafter as essential to the studies of

those who wish to gain an insight into the least creditable portion of our modern history, the reign of George the Fourth. Yet George the Fourth had his good points, one of which was that he respected his coronation oath, and would never have conceded the Catholic claims, had not his ministry forsaken him when it was impossible for him to construct another on what he considered sound Protestant principles. This was well known at the time. The Duke relates an interview with the King, which, we must confess, has entertained us:—

"The King expressed much indignation against Lord Mansfield, who had accused him in the House of Lords of having changed his opinion on the Catholic question. 'He lied. Had I been an individual, I would have told him so, and fought him. As it was, I put the Archbishop of Canterbury in a fright, by sending him as my second to Mansfield to tell him he lied. The Archbishop came down bustling here to know what he was to do; so said I, go and do my bidding; tell him he lies, and kick his behind in my name!'"

We have been more than once requested to make a "poet's corner" in our Magazine. We are afraid of the experiment for several reasons. In the first place we are afraid that we should seldom give satisfaction in the choice we make, unless indeed we could call in a jury of young ladies to assist us; and, in the second, our corner must be a very small one, and frequently a number must appear without any corner. Perhaps we shall better discharge our duty to the lovers of poetry by mentioning a new sixpenny periodical which bears the title, *Modern Metre; a Medium for the Poets of the Day. London: Tallant and Co.* It is full of poetry and nothing else; or, at least of rhyme, blank verse, and other metre compounded of the two. However, a great deal seems, in our judgment, to be very fair poetry. There is a piece on "The Departure of the Guards," by the editor, which shows that the management is in one, whoever he may be, who possesses the true spirit of poetry. The poetry is not all religious, but, as far as we have read there is nothing to object to.

Our last number contained a sketch of the life of De Tocqueville, with some remarks on his great work. Messrs. Longman and Co. have just republished it. Thirty years ago, on its first appearance, its calm and thoughtful pages made a great impression both here and in America, and its republication is most opportune. The title is, *Democracy in America. By Alexis De Tocqueville. Translated by Henry Reeve, Esq. New edition, with an Introductory Notice by the Translator.*

We must give a few good words to *Memorable Women of the Puritan Times. By the Rev. James Anderson. Blackie and Son, Edinburgh, and Paternoster Row, London.* 1862. Let the reader know that all these ladies were not Puritans, except in the complimentary sense, in which all serious Christians were Methodists fifty years ago, and "Saints" in later times. One of the most renowned amongst them, Mrs. Hutchinson, complains that if any family went twice to church on the Lord's-day, had family prayers, and led a good life, they were straightway dubbed with the obnoxious title, whereupon the drunkards in the street jeered at them, and the ballad-singers were loud, if not melodious, in setting forth their delinquencies. The volumes are very well got up; the editor has gone to original sources, and much of his information is new, even to those who have given attention to this period of our history. Some

of these ladies were admirable specimens of what a Christian English gentlewoman may be; wise without pedantry, cheerful and light-hearted without frivolity, deeply serious without a particle of affectation. A generation of such mothers as we might expect to find when we read in after years the story of a generation of great men.

The mournful death of the Prince Consort has produced, as was to be expected, a large number of excellent sermons. It would be invidious to mention some and to pass in silence over others, with, perhaps, no better grounds for our preference than that we know the authors in some instances, but in many more are unacquainted with them. We have seen none which are not highly creditable to the preachers; not one in which praise is fulsome, not one which does not contain important counsels to the living, which we hope may bear fruit. Of scores published on the death of the Princess Charlotte, only one—that of Robert Hall—survives. So it will be with those which the late mournful occasion has called forth; but it is enough if they do good at the present hour, and are forgotten. Sermons, like the preachers, can but "fulfil their course," and "fall on sleep," and be forgotten. *Dr. Goulburn* has published, in two small volumes, (*Rivingtons*), *Thoughts on Personal Religion*, many of which are highly valuable, and the spirit in which Dr. Goulburn writes—always kind and gentle—disarms criticism. The work does not profess to be doctrinal, being *a Treatise on the Christian Life in its two chief elements, Devotion and Practice.* But the foundation of both must be laid in doctrine, and we should have been glad of more fulness and accuracy in the statement of doctrinal truth—the great doctrines, we mean, of salvation by grace, through faith in the blood which cleanses from all sin. This is doubly necessary now, when what was a few years ago considered an exclusively evangelical phraseology is used by so many writers with a vague conception of its meaning; and by some, we fear, with the intention to mislead. No fear of giving offence, nor the greater dread of being called a party-man, should prevent Dr. Goulburn, and others such as he, who have the ear of the wealthy, the refined, and those of high station, from boldly proclaiming the always offensive message of the cross. It would fall, we are afraid, with strange novelty upon not a few of those in the rank of life of which we speak, who need plain dealing and a plain out-spoken gospel as much, or on the whole, we believe, far more, than their own household servants. We notice with pleasure an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, preached in a college chapel at Oxford, by Mr. Karslake. *An Exposition on the Lord's Prayer Devotional, Doctrinal, and Practical. By the Rev. W. H. Karslake, Fellow and some time Tutor of Merton College. J. H. and Jas. Parker, Oxford and London.* 1861. If this be a specimen, we must certainly admit that the undergraduates at Oxford are much better instructed on the Lord's-day than those at Cambridge. Here again we might express our wish for more precision in doctrinal teaching; but there is so much to commend both in the tone and execution of these lectures that we forbear—with this one remark, that nowhere is it more necessary to lay down clearly the broad distinction between nominal and real membership with Christ than in our universities; a mistake here may be fatal to many souls. Would that all college preachers insisted upon this, that as he

was not a Jew who was one outwardly, but that the true circumcision was that of the heart; so neither is he a Christian who has merely received the sign of baptism, if he has not likewise been baptised with the Holy Ghost.

Valuable reprints, at very moderate prices, are now becoming so frequent that the theological student may furnish his library at the cost of a few pounds, in the course of a few years, with works such as his less fortunate forefathers could only obtain at high prices, and after a rare search amongst the treasures of the Baynes' and others of Paternoster Row. *Mr. Nichol, of Edinburgh*, and *Nisbet and Co., London*, continue their *Series of Standard Divines*, and have now issued five volumes of the *Puritan period*. *Messrs. Clark, of Edinburgh*, and *Hamilton and Co., of London*, have issued two volumes of *Lange's Commentary on Saint Matthew*, and the first volume of *Dorner on the Doctrine of the Person of Christ*. These are translations from the German, to be used—as indeed all exegetical theology, as well as that which professes to be only critical, should be—with wise caution. The best expositor, or the best critic, is out of place if we make him our dictator, though we may be thankful for his suggestions as a guide.

Our readers are often perplexed with the question, what Sunday reading to provide for their children, their servants, and the more intelligent of their poor neighbours to whom they could scarcely offer a tract, and who are still below the standard of cultivation for a volume of Divinity. We have recently met with nothing better than "*The Family Treasury of Sabbath Reading*," (*Nelson and Sons*,) edited by Mr. Cameron. True, Mr. Cameron followeth not with us, being a Scotchman, and therefore a presbyterian; but he and his contributors write in a catholic spirit; and though, of course, we miss many things which, as churchmen, we should like to see, there is nothing, on the other hand, to offend us. It is not creditable to us of the church of England, that we allow Scotchmen to do these things so much better than ourselves. When we write for the lower classes, high-churchmen write with wondrous condescension; broad-churchmen, necessarily, without life, power, or unction; Evangelical churchmen *preach* too much, want elbow-room, taste, vigorous writing, and more thought; still they do it far better than either of the other two, as is shown at once by the fact, that the Sunday reading of the classes we have mentioned is entirely confined to them. They have it in their own hands; we mean, of course, so far as such literature and its readers are confined to the church of England.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

PARLIAMENT assembled on the 7th of February, but the Queen was absent. In the speeches on the address, politics had only the second place. They were rather orations over the grave of the departed Prince Consort; and that of the Earl of Derby was one of the

most eloquent of the kind ever pronounced. Thus the sorrow of the nation found expression, while at the same time it was deepened and renewed. But the tide of public affairs still rolls on, and death itself has no power to arrest it; no single individual, however exalted he may have been, is long wanted when his work is done. In this respect "verily every man living is altogether vanity."

A provision for the Princess Alice, in anticipation of her marriage, followed immediately; thus joy and sorrow are strangely interwoven. Other business of importance has since occupied the legislature; and notices of motions on a host of questions, foreign and domestic, are already made. All our readers will be glad that a motion for the reform of parliament, or the extension of the franchise, is *not* amongst the number. The Premier has announced that the ministry have no such project in hand. They may, and we hope they will, purify the Thames: a corrupt and rotten constituency defies their power; wherever it may exist, it will not be cleansed by any political flushing; if the waters are foul, the mere turning on of more foul water will not purify the stream. What is wanted is more truth between man and man; a higher standard of commercial honesty; more of the fruits of religion in the higher and middle classes. This would reform the most mercenary town in England. But constituencies will not be improved either by the ballot, which would enable any man to be a knave with impunity, or by the introduction of a class of voters of whom we are not speaking too harshly when we say that a large proportion of them want even the self-denial to pass by the public-house, though the wife starves at home, and the children are untaught, or taught only by public charity. Lord Ebury has given notice of a Bill for altering and amending the rubrics of the prayer-book, and effecting other changes, some of them of great importance, in the church of England. Such subjects require a wise hand and the most cautious treatment. It seems evident to us that things cannot long remain altogether as they now stand. A blind resistance to every change will merely be a repetition of the mistake which precipitated the sweeping reform bill of 1831. And yet when we look round we confess that the difficulties are very great. Who shall lead the movement? what changes shall it embrace? Above all, who shall stop it when once begun? The Convocation have already dabbled in these deep waters; and are already carried off their feet. They have repealed a canon which they cannot repeal; and replaced it by another which does not replace it. They have again opened the wide and perilous question of a large increase in the episcopate, and decided in favour of a measure which, in all probability, will not pass the house of commons; and which, if it should pass, will revolutionize the character of the church of England. All these, however, are questions which have now come up for a hearing; and it is unwise to affect either silence or indifference. Men of piety are moderate men; for they know that great imperfection will exist in all human institutions. They ought to be wise men, for they seek habitually the teaching of the Giver of all wisdom. They ought to be able to meet in council with less of violence, or faction, or selfishness than other men; because they are renewed in the spirit of their minds. Such men abound in the church of England, both

among its clergy and laity; and it is for them to lay these suggestions seriously to heart. What is the special business God now requires at their hands? A convocation, lay and clerical, on this subject is indeed required.

The revised code of the Privy Council on Education has been laid before parliament. Though not free from objections, it shows on the part of government a conciliatory spirit, and ought, we think, to be met in a similar temper by the clergy in general and the managers of schools. It does not quite reach the seat of the hardship of which we have all along complained. The wealthiest parishes will still have the lion's share; the distressed and absolutely needy schools which are always to be found in the poorest parishes, will still be left to shift for themselves. The work on which the social and moral regeneration of the outcasts of our towns and villages depends must be accomplished before government aid begins; and when it does begin, it is hampered with so many conditions as to make it almost useless. Those who have tried the experiment and found, after a wearisome correspondence, how little real help they may expect to gain, are often reminded of Dr. Johnson's compliment to his courtly patron, Lord Chesterfield. "I have sailed round the world alone, and now that I want none of his assistance, he sends out two cock-boats to tow me into harbour." But the minute requires a closer scrutiny than we can now give to it. Other parliamentary proceedings we must also postpone for the present.

We left the St. Nicholas schools of Sussex in an unsatisfactory state, and so they remain. The bishop of Rochester and the vice-chancellor of Oxford have, as we felt satisfied they would, when a proper occasion offered, publicly, and not without a becoming tone of indignation, withdrawn their patronage from these institutions, and expressed their regret for the countenance they were led to give them in the Oxford theatre. Their letters have been made public for nearly a month, and have not been answered. We now feel justified in saying that the approbation given, and zealous support promised to these schools at the Oxford meeting, were obtained under a false pretence; for the persistent silence of Mr. Woodard, when the falsehood of the charges was insinuated with so much indignation by some of his supporters, can be looked upon in no other light. If we are not misinformed, a committee of inquiry has been proposed to the vice-chancellor. It was to consist of five, of whom the bishop of Chichester and the bishop of Oxford were to be two. This was very properly rejected, as liable to the imputation of a packed and partial committee. It appears to us that the bishop of Chichester is himself on trial. He had forbidden these Romanizing practices. How is it then that he permitted them? for Mr. Woodard says that every case of confession was reported to his lordship. How then does he explain his conduct? In the theatre he certainly allowed the audience to suppose that the charges were false—all that Mr. Golightly advanced was "a myth." Now if the cases were not reported to him, how is it that, after such gross deception on the part of the college authorities, he still continues to be "the visitor"? The bishop of Chichester has well said all that we ourselves could wish to say on the evils of confession. *He has* declared that it is amongst the greatest practical corruptions

of the church of Rome, leading to security in sin, from the impression that after confession the priest has always the power to forgive it;—"corrupting and weakening the conscience by leading the individual to depend upon some other weak and frail human being, instead of learning to see and scan himself in the pure mirror of God's word, and to regulate himself by an informed and sensitive conscience of his own." There must be, as the vice-chancellor suggests, a free and searching inquiry into the practices complained of. The public is deeply interested in a project which has received the sanction of one of our universities, and which professes to give, on a scale never hitherto attempted, a cheap and good education to the lower middle classes. No attempt to stifle or conceal abuses will now be permitted. The inquiry must be a public and open one, or, after what has taken place, it will serve only to increase suspicion; and we trust that the Sussex clergy will come forward, at the head of their laity, and respectfully demand, as they are fully entitled to do, either that the St. Nicholas schools shall be placed under other management, and all popish practices both discontinued and denounced, or that they shall no longer claim connexion with the church of England in that diocese.

The American civil war drags on wretchedly; relieved neither by brilliant feats of arms, nor stirring eloquence, nor by those outbursts of patriotism and self-sacrifice which make even civil war the attractive field on which history lingers. It is a wretched, vulgar, monotonous affair, in which England feels no interest, and, indeed, professes none, except that of pity not unmixed with indignation; her only anxiety being to avoid a quarrel, which she cannot adopt on either side without disgrace and degradation. Every day makes it more evident that on the part of the Federalists the war is hopeless. It is probable that they will ravage the southern coast, destroy the maritime cities, and inflict a vast amount of suffering on the Southern States. It is not improbable that General M'Clellan, with his army of four hundred thousand men, may defeat General Beauregard, who commands, it is supposed, nearly an equal number; and Europe may be appalled with the spectacle of the most bloody family quarrel ever yet fought out. But when all this has been done, not one step has been taken towards the restoration of the Union. This, from the first, has been hopeless, and is now impossible. For the interests of humanity we could almost wish that the great powers of Europe would step in and terminate the strife; but we believe the wiser policy is that which our own Government adopts—the observance of a strict neutrality. Symptoms are not wanting that this unnatural war is drawing to a close. If it should continue till Midsummer, it will have cost the Northern States two hundred and fifty millions sterling. This, as we said a month ago, is not a crushing debt for so vast a country, but the Federal States show no disposition to tax themselves. A great English statesman once lost his character by uttering a single sentence; the people, he said, "displayed an ignorant impatience of taxation." No American minister of finance has ventured on such a phrase; no member of Congress has risked his popularity on such a sentiment. But it appears too clearly that America, unused to taxation, will not submit to it. America will borrow, but

she will not be taxed. Spending at the rate of at least two hundred millions per annum, her minister of finance proposes a scheme of taxation which is to produce only eighteen millions; and already some of the interior states protest against being taxed for a war in which they feel little interest, and from which, if successful, the maritime states alone are to reap the advantage. It is already sufficiently obvious that the question is no longer whether the South shall be independent, but whether the Northern Confederacy will not be shattered in pieces when the war concludes. There is one view of the subject deeply affecting our relations with America, both North and South, which should steadily be kept in sight. We in England naturally consider our Government as the representative of the people in its social, quite as much as in its political, character. In America this is not the case; not even in New York. There the higher classes, the real gentry of America, are not the Government; they stand in the same relation to it that the gentry and the higher classes in some of our own ill-conditioned boroughs stand to their noisy common-council orators. In England there is an almost total exclusion of this higher class from borough politics; in America there is similar exclusion of such men from national politics. There are a thousand homes across the Atlantic in which, we have not a doubt, the English view of the civil war is thoroughly accepted, but they dare not give expression to their feelings. So much the more are they entitled to our respect and sympathy. Nearly thirty years ago De Tocqueville told us there was no country in the world in which the minority was so utterly borne down and silenced as in the United States.

The Emperor of France, whatever have been his ambitious projects, seems now at length really desirous to conciliate the friendship of England, and to reduce his enormous expenditure. He would probably withdraw his troops from Rome, and leave the Pope to make what terms he might with King Victor Emmanuel, if Jesuit intrigue would permit him. But the mysterious influence of the Church holds him fast bound; and the Pope himself, by another mysterious and far higher influence, firmly retains his seat amidst a contempt and hatred under which the mightiest potentate in Europe would sink. His time is not yet come. But some great changes seem to be near at hand.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

X. Y. Z.—We found the second volume less interesting than the first.

We must request our correspondents to keep copies of short papers; we cannot undertake to return those which we do not make use of. Longer papers we endeavour carefully to preserve, and return them to their owners.

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CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

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OBSERVATIONS ON SOME EXPRESSIONS IN CURRENT USE WITH REFERENCE TO THE ATONEMENT.

THE following remarks upon the subject of the Atonement are offered to the consideration of the Evangelical clergy, with no idea but to call their attention to one or two modes of expression on this subject, which the writer thinks may be possibly open to some objection, and may perhaps give occasion to others to misrepresent their teaching.

It is at all times an invidious task to suggest that there may possibly be a defect in the teaching of any body of men; and in this very matter my experience furnishes me with proofs that it is so. I remember, on one occasion, being present at a clerical gathering, when the subject of the Atonement was brought under discussion, with especial reference to what all present believed to be the erroneous views just then emanating from Oxford on that question. Some one present suggested that it was most important at such a time, for those who were fully persuaded that they held and preached the truth on this doctrine, to look well to their own views, lest perchance, by any looseness or inaccuracy of statement, they might give occasion to others to misrepresent the teaching of the so-called Evangelical portion of the church with regard to this subject. The suggestion was received coldly, it being evidently the opinion of the majority that there was no danger of their being in any error on this ground. A similar suggestion I have heard also repudiated by individual clergymen to whom it has been made. But I cannot help thinking that every attack, covertly or openly made, against any doctrine of the faith should have the effect of making all look well to the foundation of their own hopes and their own teaching. The Head of the Church surely does not allow these attacks to be made without intending us to gather good from them; and what good so important to be gathered from them

as an assurance that the ground under our own feet is sound and secure?

Men are sometimes so busily engaged in defending the faith, that they have not time to find out whether it is "the faith" or a human fancy that they are standing up for. Or, worse still, the pastors of Christ's flock, which He purchased with His own blood, are so busy looking out for the wolves outside, that they have no time, and perhaps no inclination, to inquire whether they are feeding that flock with sound and wholesome food. This is a day of ceaseless activity—restlessness, we might call it—but not a day of much profound thought or quiet meditation; and, as a necessary consequence, theological teaching will be shallow. There can be no profound knowledge of the bible where there is not earnest and frequent communion with God; and there cannot be time for this where there is unceasing restlessness and never-ending bodily activity.

God forbid that one man should sit as censor and judge over others; but I would put it to young men full of zeal, earnestness, and love to Christ, if they do not think that, if they could exchange some of the bustle and excitement of out-door work for seasons of quiet meditation and communion with God in their studies, they would derive great advantage from the exchange? Would they not derive much spiritual benefit to themselves? Would they not gain clearer views of God's teaching in His word; and would not their sermons quickly evince both their own growth in holiness, and also profounder knowledge in the things of God? And if this were so, should we not hear fewer complaints about our services being attended chiefly by females? What can be expected from a sermon composed late in the week, when body and mind are both equally overdone? We cannot wonder if such sermons prove vapid and uninteresting; nor can we marvel if men are not attracted to the house of God by such preaching.

Moreover, would not those very men, who often get worn out before they have reached the meridian of life, be able to set to their work, at that period when they can be most useful, with a freshness and a vigour which would secure to them, on the whole, a far more profitable life?

But, after all, is it not the case that, as ministers of the Gospel, we are sometimes apt to take too exaggerated a view of the importance of human labour, forgetful that our own personal sanctification is the first object of our lives? The remembrance of this would perhaps drive men more into their closets for the purpose of enjoying closer communion with God.

With these things in view, I cannot help thinking that the Great Head of the Church does now loudly call upon those who love and value the truth, to look well to the ground of their con-

fidence and teaching. Is it possible that men, in preaching Christ crucified, with the sincerest love to Him whom they preach, and with a simple zeal for His glory, have yet so preached Him as in some degree to obscure the Father's work in our redemption? If this be so, such teaching must result, not in adding to, but rather in diminishing from, the glory of Christ Himself. This is a necessary result, arising from the intimate union between all the doctrines of religion. What obscures one must impair the lustre of another.

If this be so, may not occasion have been given to say that Christ is represented as a third person, coming in of Himself to reconcile, by His mediation, those who were previously at variance? Thus a colour is given to the assertion, that God is spoken of as a being all harsh and vengeful, Christ as a being all love and compassion.

I do not for a moment think that any one would *intentionally* use language calculated to produce this impression, but possibly such language may be unintentionally employed. For instance, it is not an uncommon mode of expression to say, Christ has purchased salvation for us.

Salvation will be accepted as a synonyme for eternal life. Is it scriptural to say that eternal life is *purchased* for us by Christ? True, it never could be ours unless Christ *had* died for us, but is that the same as saying that Christ has *purchased* it for us?

In St. John's Gospel, as we might naturally expect from the writer being characterized as the disciple whom Jesus loved, we seem to obtain an especially clear insight into the personal feelings and views of Christ with regard to His own office. In that gospel we find continual reference made by Christ himself to His Father's work. There we are told, that as the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given the Son to have life in Himself. And for what end but that the Son might quicken whom He will?

And again He says, "Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory which thou hast given me." But it is needless to multiply quotations. In no one passage do we find anything of Christ purchasing heaven, or salvation, or any other blessing for us. St. Paul tells us, as plainly as can be, the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Where we find the terms redemption, purchase, bought, price, they refer to the people redeemed, not the inheritance; and, in fact, if heaven be an inheritance, it cannot be a purchase. The two terms are inconsistent one with another. If heaven or eternal life be our inheritance, we must receive it from our Father without purchase. But it may be argued that men are said to be given to Christ, and yet they are

spoken of as a purchased people. Why may not, in like manner, heaven, which you say is a gift, be spoken of also as a purchase?

The answer is plain, that the Bible does not so speak of heaven, while it does so speak of God's church. Moreover, also, it may easily be shown that the term "purchased," as applied to the former, must lead to erroneous views, which is not the case when applied to the latter.

If heaven be purchased, a price must be laid down for it; and can we find any scriptural authority for such a notion? On the contrary, does not the idea underlying it prove completely contradictory of the constant tenor of Scripture, where it is said that God hath sent Christ, hath given Christ, hath sent forth His Son? Are not the two ideas of Christ being the gift of God, and yet purchasing life for us, so utterly contradictory, that he who holds one cannot with consistency maintain the other? Indeed, does not the mind instinctively shrink from giving clear utterance to all that the word "purchase" must mean when applied to the way in which eternal life is made ours? But it may be said that all that is meant by the use of the term is, that our possession of it is due to the merits of Christ alone; and hence it may be said, rather by way of adaptation than of strict truth, that He has bought these blessings for us.

The answer to this is obvious, viz., that the only safe way of speaking about the great mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh, is using the language of the Bible, and adopting no phraseology not strictly authorized there, lest perchance ideas foreign to, and subversive of, the doctrine of the Atonement creep in unawares.

With reference to the term "purchased," as applied to the church of Christ, it is plain, that besides the word being beyond all doubt a scriptural one when so applied, the ideas brought out by investigating the meaning of the word are themselves true and scriptural. The word brings before us the idea of persons sold into captivity or slavery, a true picture of men living in their natural state. To rescue them from that state, a redemption price must be laid down for them; that is, the precious blood of Christ. Thirdly, being thus redeemed, the former slaves of sin are bound, by every tie of love and honour, to serve their new Master who has thus bought them for Himself.

Here, then, we have a scriptural expression, and by analysis we find the ideas underlying it, and fairly deducible from it, to be rational and scriptural too. In the other case, we have a term not authorized by Scripture; and when we look at the ideas fairly deducible from it, we find them to be such as our minds revolt from and Scripture forbids. Is it possible, too,

that confused ideas about the justice of the Father, in accepting men through Christ, prevail?

We all admit that the justice of God is bound to the acceptance of all that come unto Him through Christ. But is it always clearly seen or taught why the justice of God is thus bound to the acceptance of the sinner in Christ? Is it not argued that *because* Christ, as our substitute, has fulfilled the law and died upon the cross in our stead, God therefore is bound to receive us if we come to Him through His Son?

This argument is no doubt measurably true; but is there not something underlying it without which it would not be true? Is it not, in one word, only a partial statement of the case, as between God and the sinner? Can we suppose that a vicarious work can be accepted of itself, apart from the promise of Him for whom, or to whom, that work is done, to receive and acknowledge it? In plain words, would the merits of Christ be a ground of hope to us, apart from God's promise that He would receive those that do trust in them? So to speak, might not the sinner who had fled for refuge to the altar be slain there, if it were not for the promise of Him, to whose honour the altar is raised, that the rebel taking hold of that altar should be spared?

Is not this the scriptural doctrine—the idea contained in all those almost innumerable passages where Christ is said to be given to men—set forth by God, appointed by God, having received commandment of God to lay down His life?

Is it the case, that the promises of God, by which Christ and all the blessings wrapped up in Him are secured to us, are not sufficiently brought out in the teaching and preaching of the present day?

If this be so, will not the Father's work be in a measure obscured, and the real glory that gathers around the cross of Christ be dimmed?

Furthermore, will not those who thus lose sight of the promises of God fail to see what is the length and breadth and height and depth of the love of Christ? Will they not fail to see that, in preaching faithfully Christ crucified, they must exhibit in turn the whole cycle of divine truth? Will not their preaching be narrowed down to a point? and will not they be accepting the dicta of this man and that man,—holy and learned it may be, but not inspired,—instead of searching into the Bible for themselves?

It is a painful and trying task for a man to search into the Bible for himself with no teacher but the Holy Spirit, and with a determination to accept all he finds there as truth, and reject every thought previously conceived and all phraseology previously employed (however dear to him from old associations) not confirmed there.

There is a wide difference between reading the Bible for the confirmation of our own system of truth, and reading the Bible to discover truth as there enunciated. To pass from one mode of reading to the other, is like awakening from sleep; and to do it, involves the sacrifice of many a cherished prejudice. But if men would do so, they would experience very soon the great benefit of making such a sacrifice, in their own advance in knowledge, and in the increased interest which their preaching and teaching would excite.

Unless the mind of the teacher is progressive and active, he cannot expect, in reason, to stir up the minds of his pupils to progress and activity. And by the same rule, if the preacher does not think himself, but is contented with giving the dry-bones of other men's thoughts, he cannot expect to set the minds of his congregation to work. God forbid that anything should be said that seems for a moment to ignore the Spirit's work in blessing the word spoken, and making it effectual for the end to which it is spoken. But as every power of mind is a talent from God, so are we bound to consider how we may lay out the talent in the best way for the glory of Him who gave it. Were men thus to study the Bible for themselves, we should not see the advertising columns of newspapers disgraced by such announcements as these: "Views of advertiser in accordance with those of Scott or Simeon," &c. Men these are whose names are to be had in all honour; but it is painful to see them held up in this light, as though their minds were a measure of the mind of the Spirit as exhibited in the word of God.

But yet, again, is it possible that the term "reconciliation" may be loosely used, and so again give occasion to misrepresentations about the teaching of the evangelical portion of the Church? Reconciliation is the great object of Christ's work—reconciliation between God and man. But while the expression "reconciling man to God" may be fearlessly used, the expression "reconciling God to man" cannot be used in the same free manner. The former expression occurs frequently in the New Testament; the latter only once, and there evidently not in the same broad sense that the other is employed.

The term "reconciliation" implies previous feelings of hostility on the part at least of one of the parties to be made at one, but not necessarily on the part of both. Now, on the part of man, there is no question that there is hostility naturally towards God; and quite apart from the question of an atonement for sin, this hostility needs to be removed, his hatred needs to be supplanted by love; and besides this, he needs to have the cause that divided him from God removed. Hence it is in a double sense that man needs to be reconciled to God. The sin which separated him from his Maker needs

wiping out; and the hatred which he felt towards Him needs to be removed. So far, therefore, as man is concerned, it may be stated broadly, and without fear of the expression being misunderstood, that he does need to be "reconciled to God." But when the term "God reconciled to man" is employed, it manifestly cannot be used in the same broad sense. There is no hostility on His part towards a rebellious world, to be overcome in order to make perfect the reconciliation; else that word would not be true which is written, "God so loved the world that He gave his only-begotten Son." Hence it is evident that if the two terms, "reconciliation of man to God" and "reconciliation of God to man," are to be employed, there is need to show that they are not used in the same sense absolutely; or if they are to be used in the same sense absolutely, then it must be shown that all ideas of previous hostility, which appears so closely wrapped up in the word, must be especially excluded from it when employed theologically. But is not the word used in such a manner in the New Testament as necessarily to imply the existence of previous enmity?

Hence the term "reconciliation" as applied to God does not mean all it does when applied to man. Is it possible that this distinction is not pointed out as clearly as it ought to be; and if so, will not the glory of the Father's love be partially obscured? But the term, when applied to God, must mean the doing away of that sin which, so to speak, stands in the way of His acceptance of men.

The idea of an atonement for sin is one which we cannot comprehend in all its depth and height, and in vain the finite mind strives to take it in. But there are certain truths which we do know, and with the statement of them we must be content. We know that God loved the world; we know that He cannot accept men in their sins as His children; we know that He cannot let sin go unpunished. We see an example of that in the case of the angels that sinned, and were in consequence cast out. We know that to let man bear the punishment of his own sin would be to shut him out for ever from God's presence. We know that God did not desire this. Having these premises before us, we see further that God and Christ entered into a covenant; of that covenant we can only speak as regards its results. They are these. Christ is given to men as their representative. As their representative He offers up Himself to death on account of their sins. God, in that He gave Christ, consented thereby to receive Him as our representative, to acknowledge His death as though by it we had suffered for our sins, and were thereby set free from the penalty of sin, and to regard Christ's righteousness as our righteousness. Hence as the love of God has provided for us this representative, it is utterly impossible for us to be received

unless we come to God in Him; and equally is it utterly impossible for us to be rejected if we do come to God in Him. God is faithful and just to receive us in and through Christ. He is faithful to His promises in having in the fulness of time set forth His Son to accomplish the sacrifice of Himself, and He is just (Christ having perfected the work required to be done) to accept us in Him. But we are compelled to confess that the justice follows the faithfulness. If there had been no promise to accept, with no show of justice could the acceptance have been looked for. But now He who has pledged His word for our acceptance in Christ is just to receive us because of that word. It is this very point which seems so closely guarded in the Jewish ceremonial law. God would accept the people, but only in His own way, and after His own appointed ordinance. The sacrifice to be offered was His choice; the place where and the man by whom the victim was to be slain, were both strictly defined by His ordinance. Hedged about on all sides, as the Jews were, by the set bounds of time and place and manner in all their sacrifices, they must have learned that, while there was acceptance for them with God, it was only to be gained in God's appointed way.

All this affords a striking commentary on the words of Peter, "Neither is there salvation in any other, for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved."

If these things are so, then the object of our faith is, primarily, the promises of God; secondarily, Jesus Christ, in whom all those promises are wrapped up;—and thus the faith of the Christian believer and of the pious Jew is identical. The latter would look for acceptance in God's way *because* God had promised it, having at the same time, it may be, only imperfect and indistinct views of the realities which the ceremonies of his religion shadowed forth. The Christian believer, in like manner, looks for acceptance in God's way *because* God has promised it; only living, as he does, in a day of gospel light, he has, what the Jew had not, a clear view of what that way really is. Hence we are justified in saying that the primary *object* of our faith is the promises of God, and that Christ is so subordinately to this; but now, Christ being come, and it being seen that He is the appointed Saviour through whom all things are ours, the gaze of faith becomes absorbed in the contemplation of His perfections. Nevertheless it becomes us to see that the hope of our salvation in Him rests upon the love of the Father, through which Christ is made ours.

A CLERGYMAN.

THE REV. SANDERSON ROBINS ON FORMS OF UNBELIEF.

A Defence of the Faith. Part First: Forms of Unbelief. By Sanderson Robins, M.A., Vicar of St. Peter's, in the Isle of Thanet, and Rural Dean. London: Longmans. 1862.

THE Rev. Sanderson Robins contemplates a *magnum opus.* The volume before us is the first of three; the subject of the second is *Christian Evidences;* the subject of the third, *Holy Scripture.* The whole is entitled, and is to be considered, a *Defence of the Faith.* The work has been manifestly suggested by the Essays and Reviews; and in one point of view is simply a contribution to the voluminous literature that has gathered around that unhappy volume. The author, however, has wisely given to his work an independent value; and it is susceptible of being read and studied without any direct reference to the Essays and Reviews. The present volume, entitled Forms of Unbelief, is so distinct from those that are to follow, that it is quite deserving of separate consideration. We shall best describe it by saying that it is concerned with six chapters in the History of Philosophy, entitled respectively Alexandria, Scholasticism, English Deism, Pantheism, German Philosophy, Rationalism. The plan of Mr. Robins is to give some account or definition of what is imported by each of these terms, with an account of the chief names included under each, partly critical and partly biographical. The work of which we are chiefly reminded is Mr. G. H. Lewes's Biographical History of Philosophy. We need scarcely say that we have a great deal more sympathy for such a writer as Mr. Robins than such a writer as Mr. Lewes. It, however, unfortunately happens that Mr. Robins' narrow space has compelled him to do in a limited and imperfect manner much that Mr. Lewes has done with conspicuous ability and success. As we glance down the table of contents, we perceive that there is not a single chapter which might not very advantageously be expanded to the utmost limits of the book itself. The pages are so crowded with proper names, that it at first leaves upon the mind pretty much the same impression as if we had been perusing a table of contents. This confusion is worse confounded by the want of an index. Bayle said the index was the soul of a book; and an index is especially required by this kind of book. We are glad to say that upon further examination much of this confusion clears away, and an orderly method is perceived. The inherent deficiencies of such a work cannot but remain, and render it, for most readers, a specimen of the *chiaro-obscuro.* Opinions are not discussed, but are stated with the brevity of propositions; and instead of narrative we have a few facts arbitrarily selected.

The result is, that we have a critical and biographical work, of which the criticism is uncritical, and the biography no biography at all.

The kind of criticism is indicated by the amount of criticism he devotes to the subjects of Nominalism and Realism. "The realists hold that abstract ideas have an existence independent of concrete and phenomenal forms; and the nominalists, that general terms are but names, and do not designate anything separately existing." This is bald, incomplete, and unsatisfactory. Mr. Robins is familiar enough with the great questions identified with these terms; he elsewhere points out how they show the divergence between the imaginative and the practical, between the sensational philosophy and the idealistic philosophy. How many philosophers have devoted how many pages to the endeavour to frame intelligible statements on the subject! The Platonic Ideas are on the very threshold of this controversy, the most difficult portion of all ancient philosophy; and for a good account of which the reader can only be referred to the writings of bishop Hampden and the lamented William Archer Butler. We observe with surprise that neither of these writers are cited in the list of authorities. The life of Lord Bolingbroke is summed up in the following words: "Lord Bolingbroke is said to have learned reading in his childhood from the 119th Psalm. In 1715 he fled to France in order to avert the consequences of his participation in the rebellion; he returned after a few years, and died at the age of eighty. He left his manuscripts to be published after his death." Now these lines are meant to be biographical, or they are not so meant. In the former case, there is not a word about the second retirement to France; not a word about the wit and poet; not a word about the most renowned parliamentary orator of the day; not a word about the statesman who negotiated the treaty of Utrecht, and the politician who directed the opposition against Walpole. If a biographical notice is intended, why should one set of facts be admitted, and the other set of facts be excluded? If no such biographical notice is intended, the mention of these facts becomes irrelevant.

That amiable metaphysician, Abraham Tucker, somewhere says: "The science of abstruse learning, when completely attained, is like Achilles' spear, that healed the wounds it had made before. It casts no additional light upon the paths of life, but disperses the clouds with which it had overspread them; it advances not the traveller one step on his journey, but conducts him back to the spot from whence he had wandered." Some such language as this would probably describe with tolerable accuracy the point of view from which Mr. Robins has written his work. He proposes to deal historically with the *errors that* surround him in philosophy and religion, and to

show that these have only assumed a modern guise, and are nothing more than old difficulties and controversies which have received ample debate in their day. As Proteus sank or soared, became beast or vapour, flying bird, flame, or running water, so the substantial error remains, found in divers philosophies, linked with strange terminologies, with identity undisturbed. Thus Pantheism lurks in the system of the Brahminists; it becomes distinct in the writings of the Neo-Platonists of Alexandria; its traces are not indistinctly discoverable in the repellant volumes of the Schoolmen; it appears in the grossest form among the Materialist philosophers of the last century in France, and is sublimated among the Idealistic philosophers of modern Germany. Thus Mr. Robins proposes to disentangle those elements of modern unbelief which existed in ancient forms; and these being eliminated, we are reconducted to the spot from which a false gnosis has caused men to wander. Two considerations, however, arise. The first of these is, that when Mr. Robins has referred errors later than the time of Hegel to a date anterior to the time of Plotinus, he has certainly given us a genesis of unbelief not only displaying some ingenuity, and a great deal of learning, but also much that is consolatory and supporting to Christian faith, but which nevertheless is exposed to the retort of an opponent that it has not adequately dealt with the substantial difficulties that underlie these varying phases of thought. Another consideration is, that these forms of unbelief are not exhaustive. There remain some essentially modern in their character. Such are those advanced by some writers in reference to physical science, ethnology, archæology, and history. The most that is attempted this way is some criticism on the writings of Mr. Buckle and Dr. Darwin. So far as the popular necessities of the day are concerned, it would be more useful to deal with these forms of unbelief than with those which are mainly referable to mental science. It is not sufficient to assert, and moreover it is hardly safe to do so, that objections on these grounds "do little more than unconsciously repeat what has been said a thousand times before." We are fully persuaded that the sources from which modern unbelief borrows its own peculiar weapons of assault are an armoury from which, in a tenfold degree, facts and arguments may be borrowed by a defender of the Christian faith. We therefore suspect that we have here indications of some confusion of thought, and that the author has not defined to himself with sufficient accuracy the limits of his design. It would seem that he is more familiar with the world of literature than the world of science, and has greater sympathy with difficulties familiar to literature than those with which practical and active men of the present day are chiefly concerned.

The author calls his book *an Argument;* but, in reality, it is

more concerned with facts than with abstruse thought. The literary element prevails over the philosophical. Facts are not cited, as necessity serves, to support the argument; but the argument comes in as a string to connect the long array of facts. The author has undertaken a synthetical design where an analytic method would seem rather to be desirable. We should have rather imagined that a close argument, that cautiously avails itself of fact and citation, only when such are imperatively required, would have suited the nature of the subject. Hume said of Beattie, that he dressed up philosophy for the ladies. This chiefly proves that Beattie must have been a very clever man. Much the same may be said of Mr. Sanderson Robins. He has given a tolerable idea of a great many questions in philosophy for the general reader, but scarcely leaves the impression that he is much of a philosopher himself. His work will probably attain a higher and more independent value when it comes to deal with the topics that remain in reserve.

Of the great industry, great cleverness, and great learning of the work, we would desire to speak with kindliness and respect. The difficulties of his subject, according to the method here adopted, are very great. It is also impossible to gather together, within the compass of a few sentences, a long series of years or the full history of a dogma. Even Guizot, whose steps our author has partly followed, in some measure fails. Mr. Robins' labours, in reality of a more humble kind than he perhaps conceives them to be, will nevertheless be useful and practical. They will probably be more useful and more practical than the writings of a really great philosopher; just as scholars are found to gather a better notion of the composition of Latin verse from Vida or Vincent Bourne than from Virgil and Horace. They will explain in terse and luminous language to people who, like the poet Gray, cannot see their way through the darkness of metaphysics, what metaphysics mean when used in reference to religious topics. To those whose leisure or education has not permitted them to gain any knowledge respecting the Alexandrian or Scholastic philosophies, respecting Pantheism or Rationalism, these pages will be useful as giving, in a limited space and accessible form, a brief popular account of what is denoted by those terms.

For our own part, we do not propose to desert the platform which, as we conceive, our author has occupied. In our remaining space we shall propose to deal with some of the topics on which he has touched; partly such as will illustrate the remarks we have made on the book, and partly we shall endeavour to elucidate some subjects likely to interest the general reader.

Immediately after the Introduction we have a chapter on "Alexandria." It would, perhaps, have been more philosophical

if, instead of dealing with a succession of names, he had discussed Alexandrian intellect in its recognized historic phases—metaphysical, political, logical. The founder of the Alexandrian school may be best held to be Plotinus. Longinus, himself an Alexandrian, says of Plotinus that, with all his anxiety to study the treatises on the Soul and on Being, he was quite unable to get through them. We shall not say more respecting him than is said in the summary which our author gives in his margin, that he was a great Eclectic, that he bears a likeness to Schelling, and that he anticipated Spinoza. Mr. Robins says that all Alexandrian philosophy owed its origin to Plato or Aristotle. It would be more correct to assign an overwhelming preponderance to the teaching of Plato. It has been well said that Plato's was a religious philosophy, and the Alexandrian a philosophical religion.

At this point we meet with a sentence in Mr. Robins' book which we hope is to be removed from a par with many other sentences. It shows a considerable vagueness of thought respecting a most important phase of Greek philosophy:—

"Socrates, with his common sense and his homely maxims for ordinary life, was hardly named at Alexandria. And yet he might have saved them from many an empty strife of words, and from the final peril of unbelief. But they would have despised his prudence and caution, and the care with which he secured every step in the study of Providence and human conduct. They were occupied with lofty speculations about being and the essence of things."

Now it certainly appears to us that Mr. Robins is talking a kind of popular language, instead of giving us the result of a careful and scholarlike examination of ancient philosophy. He appears not to have read—he certainly does not cite the work in his list—the last part of Mr. Grote's eighth volume. Disagreeing almost *in toto* with Mr. Grote's view of the Sophists, we think that the chapter on Socrates is a model of historico-philosophical writing. The fact, that Socrates was no author, —that, in all probability, not a dozen written lines of his could have come down to the Alexandrians,—will probably excuse them for not talking about him. When people talked about Plato, they generally meant to talk also about Socrates, whom Plato invariably makes the chief speaker in his dialogues. This was the mode even in the generation that succeeded Socrates. Socrates and Plato became almost convertible names; and Aristotle even includes under the name of Socrates opinions that we should imagine identified with Plato's own personality. There can be no doubt that Socrates influenced Platonic thought to an enormous extent. There can be no doubt but that Socrates was as intensely occupied with lofty speculations as with the homely maxims of ordinary life. The Socratic method—that is to say, the Elengthic or cross-examining method—together with

the famous Εἰρωνεία, would be equally suitable for a discussion in morals or a discussion in metaphysics. Two portraits of Socrates have come down to us, and from these alone can our knowledge be derived. These portraits are very different, according to the differences of the men who painted them. Xenophon is a frank, blunt, out-spoken soldier. He admired the clear, practical, trenchant good sense that characterized Socrates. He had admiration and appreciation enough for the wonderful dialectic skill, and had an honest, earnest nature that made him comprehend and study the ethical opinions, of his great and beloved teacher. Such is the impression which must pretty invariably be left upon the mind of the student of the Memorabilia. What Mr. Robins says about Socrates faithfully enough reproduces this impression. But there remains another portraiture of Socrates, equally valuable, equally authentic, delineated with consummate art; and this must be gathered up from the dialogues of Plato. The Socrates of Plato exhibits an infinite amount of what we should term the poetical character, the religious character, and the philosophical character. There is a wealth of poetical imagery, a depth of metaphysical thought, of which the Socrates described by Xenophon would give us no conception. Of course it is impossible to say how far Xenophon has told us too little, or Plato has told us too much; how far Socrates is identified with the prosaic nature of Xenophon, or how far with the imaginative nature of Plato; in what degree the colouring of the one is too sober, and of the other too vivid. It will probably be safest if we endeavour, by a process of combination, to construct our idea of Socrates from the whole of the materials. Mr. Robins' view would seem to be one-sided and inaccurate.

Julian became the illustrious professor of philosophy. He clothed her with scarlet, he adorned her with jewels, he placed her on the imperial throne. But the opposing Christianity grew too powerful. The temples were deserted by the worshippers, and the smoke rose thinner from the altars. On the death of Julian a storm broke upon the Platonists, whose politics were confused in their philosophy. Alexandria, in its final fall and degradation, transmitted a measure of its lore to the Arabians, to be re-produced by Averröes and Avicenna. The moral our author derives from Alexandrian history is, that it stands not only in a relation of likeness, but also of sequence and coherence, to later histories. "It contains lessons of the deepest significance, which tell us of the unwavering recurrence of the same causes and the same results." These words furnish the key-note to the entire argument of the book. The thought is by no means modern, but probably one of the oldest on record. We need scarcely remind Mr. Robins of a remarkable *passage at* the commencement of Thucydides, where the great

Greek, inaugurating philosophical history, speaks of cycles of events to be developed by similar means in similar manners throughout history.

We now come to the era of Scholasticism. We approach the consideration of the philosophy of the dark ages. With every respect for the erudition of Dr. Maitland and writers of his school,—granting the old life that once animated this wilderness of verbiage,—the vigorous intellect and marvellous industry that were accomplished by the Scholastic writers,—the real importance and permanence of the truths involved in the disputations,—the pure lives and humble seeking after God of many who were bewildered by the thickening mists of religious error,—we still think that the dark ages were the dark ages indeed;—dark in the fearful waste of intellectual power; dark in the growing abominations of Latin priestcraft; dark in the violence and barbarism of contemporary history; dark in the barrenness of great works, the paucity of great names, the lack of morality, of sympathy, and of honesty. We think that a vivid historical sketch would have given a more complete idea of the era than is furnished by the plan here adopted. The reign of Charlemagne, contemporary with the reign of Haroun Alraschid, would thus have furnished us with a point of departure, and we should not have had to regret the omission of the renowned name of Alcuin. The students began to study the so-called liberal arts; but their influence was scarcely such as not to suffer their manners to become brutal. The Trivium was first studied: grammar, rhetoric, logic. Next followed the Quadrivium: arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. Properly taught, such studies would imply a very considerable amount of cultivation; but the literature connected with them was of a most miserable description, and the intellect was generally directed in the least profitable direction. The poor monks in their cells, who in rude language related the annals of their times, performed a meritorious though humble service, and avoided much positive error. From the application of logic to theology by those who were neither great logicians nor great theologians, was derived the dogma of Transubstantiation. The schoolmen endeavoured to enslave Christianity to the Categories. One of their earliest as well as greatest names is John Scotus, called Erigena, as being a native of Erin or Irin, the old name of Ireland. To support his theory, that Spinosa and Hegel were anticipated in the scholastic era, Mr. Robins attributes to him a pantheism which is inconsistent with the belief in the incarnation of our Lord which Johannes Scotus possessed. Though metaphysically he may be wrong and confused, yet practically he is striving to be right. Some of the poor schoolman's expressions are truly touching. For his pantheism Mr. Robins refers us generally to the *De Divisione*

Naturæ. We will accordingly avail ourselves of some quotations from that treatise :—

"Take from me Christ, no good will remain in me and no torment affrights me. The loss and absence of Christ is the torment of the whole rational creation. If in this work any one shall discover that I have written what was ignorant and superfluous, let him impute it to my hastiness and carelessness; and let him, as a humble beholder of man's poverty, weighed down by his fleshly tabernacle, look upon it with a pious and pitiful heart. For I deem there is nothing perfect yet in human studies, nothing without error in this dark life. . . . . I commit my work first to God, who says, 'Ask and it shall be given you, seek and ye shall find,' and next to you, dearest brother in Christ, my fellow-worker in the pursuit of wisdom, to be examined and corrected. . . . If my work fall among those who are quicker in blaming than in sympathising, I would not much contend with them."

Our author is deaf to this touching appeal, which comes to us across the waste of nine centuries. Mr. Robins does not give himself the chance of being sufficiently discriminating. We have a subject crowded into one page which, to do it justice, would require forty.

In the tenth century the dark ages were at their darkest, although Leibnitz and Semler refer this unenviable distinction to the twelfth or thirteenth. This period Mr. Robins treats as a perfect blank, although many noted episcopal schools might be enumerated, and some writers whose learning and judgment are not contemptible. It has not come within the scope of his design to discuss the renowned Frenchman Gerbert, afterwards Sylvester II., who in many points reminds us of our own Roger Bacon. The liberal arts we have enumerated were studied by him to some real purpose, and the ignorant monks took his mathematical diagrams for magical figures. It is rather as a politician and scientific man that he is worth attention; and though Ritter gives him a place in the history of philosophy, Mr. Robins is probably right in excluding him. In any view, however, of the history of the period he deserves a prominent place; more especially since he serves as a link of connexion with the Arabian science of Cordova.

Many of these scholastic doctors might not inappropriately be considered in pairs. Thus we should have William of Champeaux and Abelard, Peter of Clugni and Bernard, Anselm and Lanfranc, Albertus Magnus and Aquinas. To many of these names there is attached a large amount of personal interest, a considerable amount of literary and historical importance. Around Abelard, for instance, a large amount of poetical interest clusters. Most persons are familiar with the noble poem with which Pope has told the story of his unhappy love; and many have visited his tomb, the most remarkable of the

multitudinous monuments that crowd the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise. The contrast between the personal history of Abelard and his system of philosophy is very remarkable. It would be hopeless to attempt to gain an audience for his views from the general reader. Mr. Robins' brief account is written with clearness and ability; neither does he omit to refer us to the writings of M. Cousin and M. de Rémusat. Again, with reference to Bernard, what associations does the name arouse respecting the Cistercians and respecting the Crusades! Anselm and Lanfranc both carry us away to the monastery of Bec, when Bec was the luminary of Normandy, when in Normandy was the most stirring life in Europe. The lives of Anselm and Lanfranc are part and parcel of the history of England. The *Cur Deus Homo* of Anselm continues to hold an important place in the library of theology. On Aquinas we have the dispute, Thomists and Scotists, revived in the great intellectual schism which first shook the power of the Jesuits. We confess we are in a strait. If we discuss verbal and metaphysical subtleties, we shall hazard the attention of our readers. If we desert the ground of philosophy, we shall justly incur the disapprobation of our author. Mr. Robins is, however, rather departing from the line of strictness in giving a notice of Roger Bacon. We observe that in his attention to those works of Bacon which have been recently edited, he neglects such a work as the *Majus Opus*, a version of which has been before the public for more than a century. Roger Bacon says, of his time, "Never was there so great an appearance of wisdom and so great ardour in study, and yet never was there so great ignorance and so great misapprehension. Appearances are all that engross their attention; they care not what it is they know." We shall not occupy our readers in discussions relating to the subtle doctor, the irrefragable doctor, the seraphic doctor, the angelic doctor. Our recollections are scarcely pleasing of the fables which distorted the lives in the Acta Sanctorum, and the endless summaries that bewildered us in the Summa Theologiæ. Roger Bacon's namesake, "large-browed Verulam," somewhere says that Mind hath its deserts no less than Region; and certainly it occurs to us, in reflecting on these times, that there are indeed vast Saharas of the intellect which, save for sparse and scanty oases, are unrelieved by the touch of verdure or the music of living rills.

The fate of Aristotle has indeed been remarkable. In the commencement of the thirteenth century he was condemned both by pope and council. Yet his authority was regarded as supreme by the Schoolmen, and he narrowly escaped canonization. It was only gradually that his authority became so enormous. In the East the study of Peripatetic philosophy had

been dominant for centuries after Platonism had been discredited by the condemnation of Origen. It was not till the twelfth century that some knowledge was acquired in Europe of Aristotelian literature. This was chiefly through the medium of bad translations and worse commentaries. In fact, these versions were translations of translations. A Christian student was glad to avail himself of the seats of learning in Spain. He attached himself to a Jew or Saracen, and translated into Latin a version that had been translated from the Greek into Syriac or Arabic. Aristotle's logical treatises, now collected together, and known as the Organon, do undoubtedly possess a high educational value, and are found to be well deserving of careful study. The mental culture thus furnished, even in their marred and mangled shape, must have been considerable, although the uses to which it was applied exhausted the capabilities of human perversity. The disputes between Nominalists and Realists were carried to the shedding of blood. The cruel deaths of Huss and Jerome were only less attributable to the philosophical than to the religious difference. The exclusive devotion to Aristotle sometimes culminated in results not far removed from positive atheism. Some went so far as to deny a divine providence and the immortality of the soul, sheltering themselves behind the distinction of things being philosophically true and yet theologically false. Some of the tendencies are skilfully summed up :—

"If there is always some danger when we try to give formal expression to spiritual truth, it must have been very great when the method of Aristotle was in the ascendant; and men who had learned his exactness of arrangement shut up doctrine in definitions, and limited ideas to their logical forms. The reasoning faculty came to be chiefly exercised and honoured. The very essence of religion was made to consist in knowing; theology, in its scientific form, was addressed to the intellect alone, and left the affections untouched; the grace and living beauty of Scripture disappeared."

Mr. Robins appears to refer the limit of the age of Scholasticism to the Reformation, "with its practical questions demanding immediate solution, its heavy accusations against Rome, its passionate appeals to men's awakened consciences." It would probably be more correct to refer it to the revival of letters, commencing with the fall of the Greek empire of Byzantium. Then began to pass away the race of the purely verbal dialecticians, comparable only to the Sicilian sophists, or the Athenian rhetoricians of the Lower Empire. With the arts and sciences came a vigorous indigenous literature, the unsealing of long-closed classic stores, the study of original manuscripts, and the dawn of biblical criticism. The glory departed from the East to rekindle with fresher colours the skies of the West. The worn-out civilization of Byzantium

was to give force and renovation to Europe, when the Turkish colours waved from the Seven Towers, and the conqueror repeated, in the deserted halls of the last of the Constantines,—

> "The spider hath wove her web in the imperial palace,
> And the owl hath chanted her night-song amid the towers of Afrasiab."

From the difficulties and darkness of this perplexing and distant era, we are recalled to nearer and more familiar ground. We proceed, in order, to the unhappy subject of English deism. With the mode of treatment adopted we cannot profess ourselves quite satisfied. We do not see any sufficiently good reason why Roger Bacon, Locke, and bishop Berkeley should be placed in the van of the chapter. In English deism, and generally among deistical writers, two different classes may be discovered. The first of these classes may be considered as those to whom revelation really presents some intellectual and moral difficulties. They are feeling and thinking men. Their learning and mental powers are of a very high character. They are frequently proof against merely sensual temptations. Thus Clarendon bears his testimony to the character of Hobbes; and in these pages Mr. Robins speaks in much the same language respecting Spinoza. The bishop of Oxford recently excited just animadversion when he referred difficulty and doubt to sensual sin. Sin unquestionably is involved in unbelief; were it not so, we should not have been so told by the highest authority. Intellectual pride and arrogance frequently lie at the root of unbelief; more frequently still there is the guilt which is involved in the want of candour, the want of humility, the absence of real thoughtfulness and earnest inquiry. This is one kind of unbelief, of a more subtle and refined kind than what we elsewhere meet. Another kind is to be found in the case of bad men of bad lives, and the ignorant, unreasoning presumption impiously declaring that the Bible is a lie, because they cannot stand the test of its living truth, denying their immortality because they are sensual and brutalized in mind. When men of this description have committed their blasphemous opinions to writing, such publications are best treated with silent contempt, and scarcely deserve a record in a philosophical work. Even Swift sneered at Tindal and Toland, in that remarkable specimen of his forcible prose, "An Argument to prove the abolishing of Christianity in England may, as things now stand, be attended with some inconveniences, and perhaps not produce the many good things proposed thereby." We are rather surprised that an equal amount of attention should be given to Toland, Chubb, and Blount, as to Hume, Hobbes, and Shaftesbury. Perhaps the author thinks that the amount of mischief they wrought should be taken into con-

sideration. Such a book, for instance, as Lord Hervey's Memoirs indicates the extreme of infidelity in the time of George the Second. But, by parity of reasoning, we should expect some account of Tom Paine. At the same time, we find that the philosophical deist frequently approximates to his coarser and less learned brethren, in want of sense and want of candour. For instance, Hume writes as follows: "What we call a mind is nothing but a heap or collection of different perceptions of objects, blended together by certain relations, and supposed, though falsely, to be endowed with perfect simplicity and identity. If any one, upon serious and candid reflection, thinks that he has a different notion of himself, I must confess that I can reason with him no longer." When Hume writes such absurdity as this, he is simply *ipso facto* removing himself from the pale of argument. Mr. Robins thus sums up the character of the deistical writers: "Their unbelief had no scientific form, and hardly any pretence to a philosophical basis; there were no signs of earnestness or truth-seeking; few of their number were learned men or deep thinkers, or worthy in any way. In their blind hatred to religion, they seem to have caught up such weapons as came most readily to hand; and yet it will be found that they anticipated every point, whether the authority of Scripture may be now in question, or the truth of prophecy, or the reality of miracles, or the ethical character of the Gospel, or the relation in which it stands to history and philosophy." In this last sentence the reader will again perceive the enunciation of the leading principle of the book. In no good sense,—

> "Alter erit tum Typhis et altera quæ vehat Argo
> Delectos heroas; erunt etiam altera bella
> Atque iterum ad Trojam magnus mittetur Achilles."

Following the precedents of Mr. Hallam, in the *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, our author has devoted considerable attention to the writings of Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Lord Herbert introduced in England some of the principles advanced in France by Charron and Vanini. Our own notion is, that too much stress has been laid upon these philosophical writers. The reader of the Autobiography of Lord Herbert will approach the consideration of his philosophy with very slight feelings of respect. Moreover, a considerable suspicion relating to literary integrity attaches to some of the writings attributed to Herbert; and it is not impossible that a theory of the mixed authorship of his work might be maintained. The reader of the Autobiography will perceive abundant traces of a singularly inexact and unbalanced mind. One of the most curious instances of this is, that he speaks of his brother, the saintly George Herbert, as having resided for *many* years at Bemerton, whereas George Herbert died about the time he had completed three years; and

in the Life, although he makes repeated references to time, he does not think fit to give a single date. In fact, Lord Herbert is not so much a philosopher or statesman as a hair-brained soldier, whom his brother probably had in his eye when he wrote the Shakesperian line,

> "Chase brave employments with a naked sword
> Throughout the world."

It is very observable, as noticing that entire instability of character which attends unfixedness or perversity of religious principles, that in after-life the knightly character on which he so much prided himself deserted Lord Herbert, and for a selfish object he dishonourably changed sides in the civil war. In his Life he manifests an amount of credulity which is nothing new in the history of infidels. Mr. Robins mentions, what Mr. Hallam also points out, that Herbert has anticipated Paley's teleological argument in the famous watch illustration. Bishop Butler also anticipated him; and M. Borghers points out that it is as old as Cicero, contained, however, in a passage which probably escaped the notice of the later writers. Mr. Hallam also points out that Lord Herbert partially anticipated a profound remark of Wesley's, that, considering the sagacity which many animals display, we cannot fix upon reason as the distinction between them and men; the true difference is, that we are formed to know God, and they are not.

We approach the chapter on Pantheism. It is thus defined by Mr. Robins: "Pantheism, the philosophy of identity, which destroys the distinction between thought and its object, between creation and the Creator." We continue the quotation: "It takes all foundation from morals, and all meaning from doctrine; it would leave us without the possibility of revelation or providence, without the belief in a personal God, or even of our own separate individuality." The fundamental error that underlies Pantheism appears to be this, that the moral aspect of religion is lost in the metaphysical aspect. Pantheism has been distinguished as materialistic and idealistic. This latter Pantheism may be again regarded in a twofold way; (1) unity of substance, as taught by Spinoza; (2) identity of existence, as taught, with important variations, by Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. In this fifth chapter the author chiefly speaks of materialism, the other forms being noticed in the ensuing chapter on German philosophy. Mr. Robins, of course, shows a complete mastery of the literature of the history of philosophy, although, as we have hinted, he is more at home in his library, discussing well-known books, than dealing with prevalent error. We say this notwithstanding the criticism to which he has subjected Dr. Darwin and Mr. Buckle, and his discussion on the principle of Mr. Mansel's Bampton Lectures. Thus

Mr. Robins takes no cognisance of modern pantheistic writings in the English language, the mischievous effects of which, among our thoughtful mechanics and artizans, are very strongly to be deplored. We should have liked to have had some account of the Absolute religion, or religion of Humanity, as it is called in America; some criticism on the writings of such men as George Combe and Robert Owen; some estimates of the teaching of Theodore Parker, Emerson, Newman, and Mackay. We subjoin an extract from Emerson, as setting forth in language obvious, and designed to be popular, the main tenet of Anglo-American Pantheism. "Standing on the bare ground," says Emerson, "my head bathed by the blithe air and uplifted into infinite space, all mean egotism vanishes. The currents of the Universal Being circulate through me; I am part or particle of God."

Disregarding Cousin, who will not admit a Hindoo among the philosophers, our author discusses the Pantheism both of Buddhist and Brahminist. He finds Pantheism in the Eleatic philosophers, in Gnosticism, in the Arabic philosophy, in the Realists, in the Mystics. To such a rapid enumeration a caution ought to be subjoined. We sometimes meet with men who, without being pantheists, speak the language of Pantheism. We certainly find many pantheistic expressions which, in our days of accurate terminology, will only bear one sense. But these writers at times used language to which they hardly attached a strict definition, and were unable, as we now are from our vantage point of view, to discern the full drift of their own line of thought. Even Eckhart is held to be Scriptural in his views. "This mysticism," says Mr. Vaughan, "clothes the thoughts from the old philosopher's cloak, but the heart and body belong to the school of Christ." In Giordano Bruno, burnt alive, and therefore claimed by some as a martyr to philosophy, Pantheism found full and definite expression. In Spinoza, the strange Jew of Amsterdam, Pantheism became a system which claimed for itself a mathematical certainty. Sheridan might have been thinking of Spinoza when he compared a Jew who had thrown off Judaism to the blank page between the Old and New Testament. Without being a Cartesian, Spinoza was nevertheless the disciple of Des Cartes. The great Frenchman, as is common enough with men of genius, maintained some absurd theories, and some daring paradoxes: it was his whimsical notion that the seat of the soul is to be placed in the pineal gland; but he worked himself free from scepticism, and there is probably no real resemblance between the two philosophies. Spinoza rigidly applied to metaphysics and theology the mathematical method of deduction. He is best described as a reasoning machine. Grant *him* his postulates, and the superstructure he raises for a

moment appears to possess geometrical exactness. He elaborates his work from eight definitions and seven axioms; but these are hastily and inconclusively adopted, and involve the sacrifice of religion, morality, and common sense. He reminds us of the architects of Laputa, who commenced the edifice in the air and worked downwards. Mr. Hallam, than whom no one could be more competent to render an obscure subject lucid, has given the world a view of Spinozaism, but he despairs of making his attempt "intelligible to those who have not habituated themselves to metaphysical inquiry." Our readers had therefore better refer to Mr. Hallam, or to Mr. Robins' own pages, who characterizes the system of Spinoza as "the goal at which method after method arrives, the gulf of darkness and despair into which they successively fall." After a reference to Des Cartes, and to Malebranche's endeavour to reconcile the Cartesian philosophy with the Christian faith, we are introduced to the French school of sensational philosophy of the last century. A prominent place is assigned to Diderot, to whom is ascribed the origination of the Encyclopædia. It would perhaps be more correct to say, that Diderot was editor of the Encyclopædia in conjunction with D'Alembert, and that he joined the encyclopædists at the instance of D'Alembert. D'Alembert himself is best known as a literary man and a mathematician; and while classing him with infidel writers it ought to be remembered that during his lifetime he would not be classified as such, but owes this unenviable distinction to the posthumous publication of his correspondence with Frederick William. Of Baron d'Holbach, the supposed author of the Système de la Nature, Diderot states that the mass was regularly celebrated at his chateau, a fact that would seem to militate against the prevalent supposition. The sensational philosophy is set forth in the writings of Condillac and Cabanis: they teach the grossest materialism, which is fitly accompanied by the vilest ethics; all distinction between the soul and body is denied; organisation is the principle of life; all mental phenomena, with the affections and emotions, are referred to external causes. It is said that Cabanis died repentant, and in the Christian faith. In defiance of Positivism there is now a better day for France; and if she has been won from the noisome theories that paved the way to the French revolution, to the higher studies of mathematics and metaphysics, the thanks are probably mainly due to the genius and glory of Des Cartes.

Our limits warn us to be brief; and for brevity we need only follow the example of our author. In a single page he disposes of Leibnitz, and in about half a dozen of Kant. But while discussing German philosophy in a rapid and crowded manner, he finds space to notice facts which, we submit, are irrelevant

to his purpose; for instance, that Jacobi was born at Dusseldorf, and that Fichte married the niece of Klopstock. Fichte attached himself to Kant, but soon diverged from the school of his master. His example produced a remarkable effect in the German world; but the practical effect was, to a great extent, disastrous. It had a great influence on the mind of Niebuhr; "but it ceased," says the great historian, "since I have found that Fichte has begun to vindicate the justice of revolutions brought about by violence, which Kant and Reöhold abhor, and to deny the obligations of compacts." Niebuhr also nobly writes:—"I have often said I will not begin with a metaphysical God. I will have no other than that of the bible, who is heart to heart." Schelling is familiar, perhaps unconsciously, to the English mind, in consequence of having found an interpreter in Coleridge. Hegel is the third great disciple of Kant. The ultimate tendency of the system of Kant is to deny all objective reality to the Christian religion. This is especially seen in the extreme development afforded to the Kantian system by Hegel. "He proceeds, through infinite refinements of reasoning," says Mr. Robins, "to a conclusion which it is extremely difficult to apprehend with any distinctness." On his death-bed Hegel said, "There is only one person who understands my philosophy, and he does not." Sir William Hamilton, from whom we derive the story, asks, "But did Hegel understand himself?" It is no reflection on the mental power of any individual to confess an inability to comprehend Hegelianism. He advanced to a region more shadowy and gloomy than Plato's cave or Locke's closet, in which Fichte and Schelling and Kant are left far behind. Through mist and darkness we are conducted to utter scepticism.

The last of these biographical philosophical chapters is concerned with Rationalism. We cite from a foot-note Mr. Morrell's definition of Rationalism: "The effort to reduce the whole essence of Christianity to a logical or scientific product, and the denial of there being anything contained in it beyond the facts which actually are, or which can be, contained in a connected series of propositions." We think Mr. Robins might have distinguished between theological and scientific Rationalists; for some of these last would not properly find place in a chapter on Pantheists, nor yet on Atheists. The chapter is mainly concerned with the forms of unbelief developed in Germany during the last century and a half in the province of the criticism and interpretation of Scripture. Baumgarten, Ernesti, Michaelis, Semler, Eichhorn are respectively discussed. Two names, however, especially arrest attention—Paulus and Strauss. Paulus, assuming the historical truth of the Gospels, assumes also a power to sift the narrative, to determine which is fact and which opinion, and to detect, *under circumstances* seemingly miraculous, occurrences purely

natural. Strauss carried this still further. He applied the speculative philosophy of Hegel to theological uses. In the *Leben Jesu*, he applies the theory of the myth, in a methodical manner, to a criticism of the Gospels. Having thus endeavoured to destroy the credibility of New Testament revelation, he approximates to Hegel—which, however, Hegelians deny—by the pantheistic doctrine of Identity; maintaining that we have no real history of an incarnate God, but a meeting of the divine and human in the Absolute.

We must permit ourselves a few words respecting Schleiermacher. Modern Germany has produced no divine of greater name and influence. He was born of pious parents, and brought up among Moravians; but afterwards, when at the university, he wrote home to his father telling him that he no longer believed in the real divinity of Christ. "God bless your residence in Halle!" replied his father; "may His Spirit preserve you from all evil, and His fatherly love draw you again to His Son, whom you have denied!" Nor was the prayer unavailing. Schleiermacher endeavoured to arbitrate between the old faith and the new philosophy, to reconcile Christian truth with liberty of thought, to hold his ground between the rationalists and the orthodox. From the Old Testament he excluded prophecy, and from the New Testament he eliminated miracles. Yet, in the religiousness of his life, the tenderness of his sympathy, the spirituality of his feelings, he infused something higher and healthier into the dry, heathen criticism of the day, and led back his contemporaries to some measure of belief. In all his eclecticism he never ceases to be reverential. Scholars have reason to be grateful to him for his elucidations of Plato. And if the freer school of German theology,—such men as De Wette and Bleek, and, infinitely lower, Strauss himself,—have in a degree derived their teaching from him, in another direction his influence has been fraught with good, to such writers as Neander and Olshausen.

The rest of the chapter is chiefly occupied with a criticism of the latest theological writers of Germany, with the tendencies of Berlin, Tübingen, and Halle. Mr. Robins' judicial sentences are too summarily bestowed to have much *è cathedra* weight. His view of Bunsen is probably correct enough, that from extraneous causes he has commanded an undue amount of influence. He is an incautious critic, and his materials are generally presented in a state of the utmost confusion. The days of German rationalism may now be looked upon as numbered. Even the events of 1848 failed to inaugurate an era of increased unbelief. "There is strange evidence of the recoil from the hard, unbelieving system which had been in possession so long. . . . We shall never, as a people, adopt the present form of German infidelity. . . . An *à priori* investigation, which

begins with an inquiry into the nature of God, and ends with a philosophy of the unconditioned, will never lay hold on so practical a people as ourselves."

Our limits do not permit us to enter on the consideration of Mr. Robins' concluding chapter. In addition to uniform learning and good sense, it is characterized by a force of language which rises into a vein of natural eloquence.

Yet, as we turn away from our hasty survey of these fallen systems of philosophy—these perished intellectual dynasties—one or two considerations will not fail to occur. Philosophy seems to have exhausted all the possibilities of human vagaries. Molière, in his philosophical family, might well say that reasoning had turned reason out of doors. Truly runs the saying, "Nihil est tam absurdum quod non dixerit aliquis philosophorum." "Nothing is so absurd as not to have been defended by some of the philosophers." Like the procession of Banquo's ghosts, they pass by and disappear. They perish in internecine strife. They slay the slayer, and themselves are not slain. And if we feel tempted at times to think slightingly of the confusion of language and thought, and the national passion for metaphysics in Germany, assuredly German earnestness has its rebuke for the narrow-minded and careless among ourselves. The German union of philosophy and theology arises from the earnest and deeply-seated conviction that all principles of philosophy are immeasurably outweighed by the transcendent importance of the principles of religious belief. If we have our regrets for those who think amiss upon the Continent, these feelings must be more intense for those among ourselves who never pause at all for severe and serious thought. Even those writers who are most adverse to the Scripture scheme have not failed to establish separate propositions of the highest value, and to suggest at times reasonings fraught with hope and consolation to the religious mind. But if in their wild guesses these men have shot forth fiery arrows into the dark, the surrounding gloom is rendered all the drearier for the transitory brilliancy. Who in philosophy alone has found a resting-place for poor humanity in its common needs? Who, in the circumnavigation of those bitter waters, has ever found a calm haven of peace, the fountain and the palm, or aught beyond the unsatisfying and delusive mirage? Is it any satisfaction for childhood's questioning, or woman's weakness, or manhood's storm-tossed mind, to be referred to the Absolute and the Unconditioned, or some system which is only a philosophy for philosophers? What concern have the great masses of humanity with mental science, to whom its literature is inaccessible, the terminology barbarous, the principles unmasterable? Amid the changes and chances *of life,* in sickness, in gloom, in restlessness, in doubt, in the

presence of overwhelming calamity, in the slow advance of age, in the approach of death, the instinctive cry of the sons and daughters of earth is that of the Galilean fisherman,—"Lord, to whom can we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life." There alone we find forgiveness for our sins, and illumination for our darkness, the grave robbed of its sting, and the ages of eternity crowded with life and light. Exhaust reason and exhaust philosophy,—go through all the books and all the systems,—and our differences shrink to a little measure. For peace of conscience and quietude of spirit we must all revert to simple words of primal truth and beauty, such as befit the man of most profound and cultured intellect, and him too of refined and ordered life, and, in their wide comprehensiveness, extend also to the labourer standing at the plough, yes, and to the criminal shuddering on the scaffold, some such simple words as these: "Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief."

SYSTEMATIC GIVING.

A Charge. By the Lord Bishop of Ripon. Nisbet and Co. 1861.

A Charge. By the Lord Bishop of Carlisle. Wertheim. 1861.

Gold and the Gospel. The Ulster Prize Essays on the Scriptural Duty of Giving in Proportion to Means and Income. Third edition of ten thousand. Nisbet and Co. 1861.

The Duty of Giving away a stated Proportion of our Income. A Lecture by the Rev. W. Arthur, A.M. Nisbet and Co. 1861.

The Weekly Offering Record. A quarterly journal of facts, intended to illustrate the primitive duty of storing for religious uses the first-fruits of all our increase; the public duty of presenting offerings to God at the sanctuary from that store; and as a permanent record of the goodness of God to those who in these things obey Him. By the Rev. John Ross, Hackney. Nos. 1—10. *Judd and Glass, New Bridge Street.* 1862.

The Apostles and the Offertory. A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford. By the Rev. H. E. Tweed, M.A. Parker. 1860.

We have placed the above Episcopal Charges at the head of our list, not only because we are glad of the opportunity to call attention to such admirable addresses, but also because they combine to furnish us with a starting point for the consideration of a very important practical question. Amongst the varied, though perfectly harmonious, utterances of the two

right reverend prelates, there is one plaintive note which both of them strike, and which would probably be echoed by every bishop on the bench who has looked as closely as their lordships appear to have done into the financial statistics of his diocese.

It was a saying of the late Dr. Bunting, that consecrated money was like the ass on which Jesus rode into Jerusalem; it might be an ignoble animal, but "the Lord had need of it." But we have still higher authority for withstanding the common prejudice against introducing the subject of money on sacred occasions, and in connexion with sacred things; for it is immediately at the close of his glorious discourse on the resurrection, that St. Paul adds, without a word of preface or apology, "Now concerning the collection." We therefore hold that the bishops of Ripon and Carlisle are only proving their apostolical succession, in combining with their able treatment of doctrinal and other important matters an earnest plea for more money. Dr. Waldegrave, indeed, aims right at it from the first. His opening words are those of a man who has not been drawn forth from a cloister to govern a diocese: "It has pleased God, my brethren, to cast your lot and mine upon an age of universal activity." And then, after referring to the "various organizations for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom," he adds, with an admirable mixture of honesty and common sense,—or, if such words are too homely to be applied to a chief pastor, of firmness and judgment,—"I have my own very decided preferences. But I do not desire that my convictions should restrain your liberty. Let each, as before God, select for himself the channels through which his bounty shall flow. There is, however, a liberty—let me rather call it a licence, which, as an overseer of the church of God, I am bound, as far as in me lies, to abridge—the licence which vindicates to itself the sorry right of not giving at all." It is on p. 15, however, that his lordship touches the kernel of the matter: "Only let the experiment of *Systematic Giving* be tried; only let each man who professes and calls himself a Christian set apart a fixed portion of his gains before his heart gets cold. Never will a fund be wanting, never will lending to the Lord be found a burden." The bishop of Ripon grapples still more closely with the subject. "It has for some time past appeared to me that, for want of a more careful and *systematic* attempt to secure free-will contributions, the amount given in this diocese for religious objects, whether home or foreign, is far below the proper standard. We all admit that almsgiving is an important part of the duty of every Christian. No disciple of Christ acts up to the engagements of his profession, who does not, upon principle, consecrate a portion of *his worldly* substance to the glory of God." And then, after

examining the returns from his own diocese, the bishop remarks, "I cannot dwell upon these statistics, and avoid the conclusion that we have yet to learn how to evoke the free-will offerings of the members of our church in any degree, which shall worthily correspond to the resources, in point of numbers or wealth, which we might influence. It is my belief that we want a well-organized system for the collection of small *weekly offerings* from the less wealthy members of our church. . . . . The experiment has been tried with great success in other communions; why should it not succeed in our own church?"

We have omitted the specific complaints made by the two bishops as to the sums contributed by their respective dioceses, because, however suitable such statistics might be to the occasions on which these charges were delivered, it would scarcely be fair to give prominence, in a public journal, to deficiencies which are shared in, more or less, by every diocese, and almost every parish, in the kingdom. The complaint of insufficient giving, as well as of the trouble and expense required to obtain even that little, is all but universal. In the richest country in the world, the population of which, for instance, can afford to spend more than fifty millions a year in alcoholic beverages, and the annual taxation of which produces about half as much again, benevolent enterprises without end are languishing for want of a few additional hundreds, or thousands, a year, while the entire energies of countless secretaries, with an immense outlay in printing and travelling, seem absolutely necessary, on the existing system, to keep things even up to their present mark.

What is wanted to meet this evil? Something more "systematic," appears to be the reply of both our episcopal friends; and the same conviction has taken hold so strongly of the minds of many earnest men, that a society entitled "The Systematic Beneficence Society" has lately been formed, for the purpose of putting forward what its promoters believe to be scriptural principles in connexion with the subject. The movement originated some years ago with a Wesleyan minister in Ireland, the Rev. G. Cather, who, being strongly impressed with the necessity of arousing the Christian church to a sense of its responsibility in the matter of giving, induced some friends to offer a prize for the best essay on the subject. As each of the five adjudicators selected a different essay out of the many that were sent in, it was agreed that the sum which had been offered should be divided among them, and that the five essays should be published in one volume, which was called "Gold and the Gospel." Shortly afterwards the very striking and eloquent lecture was delivered by the Rev. W. Arthur, which has since been published under the title of "The Duty of Giving away a stated proportion of our Income." A few

wealthy gentlemen, whose own hearts were thoroughly in the movement,—among whom should be mentioned John Henderson of Glasgow, Robert M'Fie of Liverpool, and Robert Barbour of Manchester, all most appropriately Scotchmen,—circulated these publications in large numbers, far and wide. The seed thus liberally sown has at length grown up into a veritable tree, which seems already to have struck its roots pretty firmly into the soil of almost every orthodox church in our land. The prospectus of this new society contains a somewhat imposing array of influential names, headed by the Earl of Carlisle as president. We hear of large meetings being held in Manchester and elsewhere. The general assembly of the Free Church of Scotland invited two gentlemen to attend its last meeting as a deputation from the society; and instances have come to our knowledge of considerable results having followed, both in the case of individuals and communities.

To the objection that is urged against adding another society to the list which is already thought to be long enough, it is replied, that this society occupies a position quite exceptional; that it comes, in the pointed language of Sir Hugh Cairns, who presided at its public breakfast last year, "as an auxiliary to all, a rival to none;" it neither collects nor distributes money: its very nature shows it to be only a temporary organisation; and the more rapid its success, the sooner will it cease to exist. At the first blush of the thing, one is no doubt inclined to ask, why put in motion a separate piece of machinery for the encouragement of one Christian virtue rather than another? Why set up a society to preach systematic giving, rather than to preach forgiveness of injuries? But it is impossible to deny that there is considerable force in the answer given, namely, that forgiveness of injuries *is* preached already from every pulpit in the land, and that the *duty* of forgiving is universally understood and recognised, however imperfectly it may be fulfilled; while the church at large is alleged to be very inadequately acquainted with, or alive to the importance of, the principles of "systematic beneficence." Whether those principles are right or wrong, is another question: but that they are not even professed by Christians generally, nay by Christian ministers generally, is an undoubted fact; and we do not see what complaint can justly be made against those who, regarding such views as of extreme importance, endeavour to propagate them by means of a "systematic" organization.

On the *fundamental* principle of the society, namely, the duty of setting apart a stated proportion of our income for religious and charitable purposes, there can scarcely be a difference of opinion; and we have no hesitation in expressing our conviction, that if the society can succeed in persuading

the clergy to urge this duty unceasingly upon their congregations, it will accomplish a great work. It is perfectly certain that the great bulk of professing Christians give on no settled principle whatever; it is left far too much to accident and impulse. Whether a person contributes to any particular object, depends upon a strong appeal on its behalf happening to be made to him; and the amount which he contributes depends upon what at the moment he thinks he can "afford." A great step would be gained if he could be made to see the necessity of taking care that he *is* able to afford something, when required, by putting aside a certain fixed proportion of his income for that purpose, and regulating his personal expenditure accordingly. How many men are there now quite satisfied with their scale of giving, who, if they sat down at the beginning of the year to apportion out their expected receipts, would be ashamed deliberately to fix on the amount of their present actual contributions, as a suitable return to the great Giver of all! On this branch of the subject we cannot do better than quote a few passages from Mr. Arthur's admirable lecture, which ought to be, literally, in every one's hand.

"If every one, before assigning any portion as a thank-offering to the Giver of all, is to spend what meets his views of providing for his own and his children's wants, present and prospective, in ninety-nine out of every hundred cases it will prove that the surplus for giving away is next to nothing. In many cases, giving liberally will be postponed till family provision is made, till resources are fairly in advance of demands; and by that time *all heart for giving will be gone.*" . . . .

"One strong reason for some definite rule lies in this: That we have far better memories for our virtues, than for our obligations,—for the pounds we give away, than for those we receive, or spend upon ourselves. Even truly excellent persons, who have not *tested* their givings, monstrously exaggerate the amount of them to their own mind. The relish of one act of liberality remains long upon the lips; and some who believe that 'their hand is never out of their pocket,' would be confounded if the great account, where all items are entered, were placed before them, and they saw how miserably little their endless deeds of generosity amount to." . . . .

"Another advantage of deciding that a consecrated proportion shall take the precedence of all other outlay, instead of counting on giving what we have to spare, is this: It materially affects our scale of personal expenditure. Our ideas of what is necessary are ruled by our knowledge of what we have to spend. A gentleman with five hundred a-year, who means to give away what he can spare, unless he be a man of extraordinary generosity and decision united (which cases are never the rule), forms his whole scheme of expenditure on the basis of five hundred a-year, and finds it hard, now and then, to spare a pound or or two; not that he is unwilling, but all his resources are pre-engaged. Another with the same income has his regular benevolent fund, into which the first fifth of his income goes. The effect is, that all

his plans of expenditure proceed on the basis of four hundred a-year; and thus, while the Benevolent Fund is strong for all legitimate claims, it pays itself—perhaps more than pays itself—by acting as a check upon the Vanity Fund, the Hobby Fund, the Folly Fund, and several other exigent funds on which millions of our domestic revenues are wasted. We, then, hesitate not for a moment to prefer the rule of giving regular first-fruits, even in the low proportion of a tenth, over the rule of giving *all* we have to spare. This last, while for a strong and holy man the highest of laws, is for the great majority a law which amounts to no more than is now prevalent." (pp. 37—39.)

Up to this point our "systematic beneficence" friends have it all their own way; no one will venture to dispute their position, and they have only to strike home with all the power of eloquence they can command. But the next step lands us on debateable ground; and, as we are not writing a treatise, but reviewing the treatises of others, we may at once state the question at issue, which is this—Does Scripture supply us with any general *standard* of giving, to guide the conscience of those who honestly desire to know and do the will of God? It is admitted that the argument in favour of an affirmative answer rests on an inference; but we confess that the inference seems to our mind almost irresistible. The case stands thus. Abraham gave a *tenth* of the spoils to Melchisedek; Jacob vowed to give God a *tenth* of all he should receive; and *tenths* recur again and again in the Levitical law. We have not time to examine the indications which are supposed to be found in the narratives of Abraham and Jacob, that in giving tenths they were not acting on their own unaided judgment. Our readers will find these very ably pointed out in "Gold and the Gospel." But the cumulative force of the argument may be stated concisely. What rational explanation, it is asked, can be given of those three facts taken together, except that, as the consecration of a seventh of time, so also the consecration of a tenth of substance, was originally a Divine appointment; that it was acted upon by Abraham and Jacob, and was subsequently embodied in the Mosaic law?* There really seems no escape from this conclusion, unless we can believe that the coincidence between Abraham's proportion and Jacob's was accidental, or that Jacob thought the mere fact of his grandfather having

* It is argued by some, that Judaism raised the standard of giving to a fifth; inasmuch as one tenth had to be given to the Levites and another for the Festivals. But it must be remembered that the Levites' tenth was given them in lieu of their share of the land which was divided amongst the other tribes. And there are other considerations which so complicate the question of *Jewish* giving, that it is almost impossible to estimate the exact strain upon their resources, which was imposed by their national law. This, however, does not in the least degree weaken the force of the above argument, drawn from the fact of the same arithmetical proportion that was fixed upon by Abraham and Jacob being made a prominent feature, in various forms, of the subsequently promulgated Divine law.

once given that proportion on a special occasion a reason sufficient for vowing to give it under all circumstances for the rest of his life; and that, in either case, the Divine Author of the Jewish constitution incorporated *their* idea in His own law. In addition to which, it must not be forgotten that these three coincidences have been selected by the Spirit of God to form part of those things which "are written *for our admonition;*" and that, therefore, any lesson which may be learnt from them, whether by way of legitimate inference or otherwise, must be "profitable," and calculated to make the man of God "throughly furnished unto all good works."

If the original Divine appointment be conceded, the question will stand now precisely as it does with the Sabbath. In both cases, the Jewish circumstantials are abolished, but the great principle remains just where it was from the first. It is objected indeed, with some plausibility, that the constraining motives of the Gospel, viewed in connexion with the claims of the Church and the world, are too powerful to leave the Christian in need of any arithmetical standard by which to regulate his giving. But this would prove too much; at least, too much for any except those who feel it their bounden duty to obey literally the command, "Go and sell all that thou hast, and give unto the poor." If our obligations to the Lord who bought us, or the wants of suffering humanity, are to be the *measure* of our giving, how can we possibly withhold a shilling? A moment's thought must convince any one, that, while grateful love to Christ will make us throw ourselves unreservedly at His feet, asking, "Lord, what wouldest Thou have me to do?" it cannot possibly inform us what He *would* have us to do in the practical question before us, as to the proportion of our worldly goods that shall be consecrated directly to His service. In a word, the Gospel furnishes the *motive*, but not the *standard*, of giving; and the more powerfully any Christian feels that motive, the greater will be his anxiety and perplexity, if he be unable to find any intimation whatever of the Divine will, as to the practical effect which it should have upon his conduct in this particular matter. This consideration also meets the objection of those who maintain that, even admitting a tenth to have been the standard "aforetime," Christianity must surely have raised it. So we might have thought *à priori*. But it is quite certain, as a matter of fact, that no new standard has been given us; and therefore, if our view be correct as to the necessity for some standard, the inference is that the old one remains—just as we believe the old sabbatical standard to remain unchanged from the Creation.

To those who plead their Christian liberty as an excuse for giving *less* than satisfied patriarchs of old, we commend the remarks on pp. 30, 31, of Mr. Arthur's lecture. If the claims of

charity be regarded as a tax, it is easy to make oneself feel ten per cent. a heavy burden; but if giving be once realised as an act of brotherly love, no less than an acknowledgment of the Creator's right to all we have, such an average proportion will scarcely be thought an unreasonable one. To hear the tone in which people often speak of having to give, one would suppose that all the money given was cast into the sea. What! Expect a man, who has to support six children on £400 a-year, to give away a tenth! Well, no doubt £40 appears a large slice out of it; but the question is, what becomes of that £40? Suppose, for simplicity's sake, that it goes to help a neighbour, who has not a quarter of that income on which to support twice as many children! How will the doctrine of tithe look to the receiver? Will he think it a very cruel arrangement, an intolerable burden, wholly inconsistent with the free genial spirit of Christianity? We trow not. And if the giver view it thus, it only shows that he has yet to go and learn what that meaneth, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." If it be objected, that such a principle would force us on step by step till we reached the level of universal equality, which every one knows would be universal beggary, we reply, that herein is seen the necessity for a higher wisdom than our own to interpose, and teach us where we ought to stop; that is, what average proportion of giving will produce the greatest aggregate amount of good to the community at large. We believe that the consecration of every seventh day is better for man, on the whole, than the consecration of every third or fourth day; why may not the consecration of a tenth of his substance be, on the whole, more productive of benefit to him than the consecration of a larger proportion?

We are glad to see that the most resolute maintainers of this Divine standard leave the individual application of it to every man's own conscience. They admit that, in some cases, less than a tenth would be genuine liberality,* while in other cases a full tenth would be most inadequate giving. But they justly urge that there is all the difference in the world between being left to apply a given standard, and being left without any standard to apply; between having chart and compass whereby to steer, and being turned adrift on the wide ocean without either one or the other, and being only told, at the peril of our lives, to steer somewhere.

We have hardly space left to do justice to the question of

* Mr. Arthur, however, eloquently and satisfactorily disposes of the attempt to exclude "the poor" from any concern in this matter. And surely the case of Jacob should make any one very cautious in regarding himself as an exception to the general rule. When he vowed his tenth, he possessed only the "staff" in his hand; and he vowed it, not in the event of his growing rich, but if he only had "food to eat, and raiment to put on."

"Weekly Offerings," the promotion of which is another object of the "Systematic Beneficence Society," and which we are glad to see advocated by the bishop of Ripon. The great apostle of this system in the present day is the Rev. John Ross, an Independent minister residing at Hackney, if indeed he can be said to reside anywhere, while he devotes nearly his whole time to travelling over the country, for the sole purpose of preaching "weekly storing" and "weekly giving." His arguments will be found stated at length in "Gold and the Gospel;" but if any of our readers wish to be certified as to the actual results of adopting such a plan in a multitude of instances, they will do well to invest a few pence in procuring the extant numbers of the "Weekly Offering Record." The facts stated there are, for the most part, as might be expected, in connexion with dissenting bodies; but, as Dr. Bickersteth very properly asks, "Why should it not succeed in our own church?" In fact, it does succeed in our own church; only the misfortune is, that the plan having been hitherto adopted chiefly by High Churchmen, an absurd prejudice has been excited against it, as if something dangerous must lie concealed under its very simple and practical exterior. There is a church in London where, as appears from their printed report, the offerings last year produced £1300, of which £800 was expended upon the organ and choir. But surely the same producing power might be applied elsewhere, without adopting the same mode of consumption. We greatly question the wisdom of adhering to the old form of collecting from pew to pew. It may have suited our ancestors; but the temper of the present day, and, we frankly own, more substantial reasons still, seem against it. All it can do is to shame people into giving; and what blessing is likely to attend *such* gifts? Our Master wants no unwilling offerings,—why should we? And even as a question of amount, we doubt whether the loss of the money thus extorted would not generally be fully compensated for by the additional satisfaction and cheerfulness with which the "liberal soul" would present his offerings, if it could be done in a manner wholly free from all appearance of ostentation or compulsion. This would also meet the one objection which possesses any real weight, namely, that persons would be deterred from coming to church by hearing that they would be asked for money every Sunday. It might be so for a time with any one particular church in which the plan of weekly offerings was adopted; but if it became general, and if the offerings were received, not at the pew doors, but in boxes fixed in the porch, and in other convenient places about the church, the effect would probably be the very reverse of lessening our congregations. The givers would be thankful for the privilege of giving every Sunday; the non-givers would be thankful for the privilege of not *giving at all.*

It is not exclusively, however, amongst Dissenters and High Churchmen that this system has been adopted. Several letters have appeared at different times in the Record newspaper, from the Rev. S. Minton, urging its advantages, and giving statistics of its results in congregations of his own, both in Liverpool and in London. We have before us a published statement of the various sums that were contributed in Percy Chapel during Mr. Minton's ministry there. From this it appears that in 1858, with weekly offerings, the receipts from all sources were £625; in 1859, with monthly collections, they fell to £486; while in 1860, on returning to weekly offerings, they rose to £742; there being no material difference all this time, as we are informed, in the number or wealth of the congregation. Another rather striking fact we observe in the same paper; namely, that, upon the congregation being requested to state in writing their own feelings upon the subject, out of sixty-three answers received, six were indifferent, fifty-six were in favour of weekly offerings, and only one dissented. We doubt whether anything like such unanimity could be obtained in any church where a collection was made every Sunday from pew to pew, or where the congregation did not know to what object they were contributing on each occasion. This last is a most important point; and perhaps no better plan could be followed than "to announce each Sunday to what purpose the offerings of that *and the following* Sunday will be applied."

The advantages of the system in its entirety are thus summed up in the Report to which we refer:—

"1. While, on the one hand, the minister can bring a much larger number of objects before his people, he can give each its due prominence by devoting the offerings to it more or less frequently; instead of being compelled, in the case of a minor object, either to exclude it altogether, or to place it on a level with all the rest—at least for that year.

"2. The minister is not compelled to preach a 'charity sermon' on certain Sundays; but can say much, or little, or nothing, upon the 'object' of the day, as he thinks best.

"3. Societies and charities are not so dependent upon the accident of a fine day, a popular deputation, and so forth.

"4. All have more frequent opportunities of giving: which to the poor, and those dependent upon weekly receipts, is tantamount to increased ability to give; as the small sum which a working man can ever give, he can give weekly almost as easily as monthly.*

* Mr. Ross tells us of a labouring man who, out of 15s. a-week, used to give 1s. 6d. quarterly to some religious object; but, upon hearing the principle of weekly offerings explained, altered his contribution to 6d. a week. This he finds very much easier to give than the *other, although* amounting in the aggregate *to four times* what he gave before; because, as he stated to Mr. Ross, he formerly regulated his weekly expenditure at the rate of 15s., and when the week came round, that he could only spend 13s. 6d., the difference was severely felt; whereas now he makes up his mind to a regular expenditure of 14s. 6d., and, coming every week, the difference of 6d. is comparatively little felt.

"5. All appearance of ostentation, or compulsion, is avoided, and, the eye of man being so entirely withdrawn from the individual giver, he is practically reminded, that it is a matter between himself and God. On this account also, the word 'Offering' possesses a moral advantage over 'Collection,' as bringing to mind Him to whom our money is given, rather than the agents by whom it is received.

"6. By 'not appearing before the Lord empty,' but accompanying our public worship with the dedication of some part of our substance to God, we both help to rescue almsgiving from the secular ideas with which it is too often associated, and also remind the worshippers, that other 'sacrifices' are required from them besides 'the fruit of their lips;' the giving is likely to become more sacred, the worship more real.

"7. The weekly announcement is a perpetual sermon to the covetous man on his life-long sin; while the variety of the objects brought forward supplies a useful stimulant to the Christian, by reminding him of the daily increasing claims upon his self-denying liberality.

"8. There is a peculiar cheerfulness in giving as 'God has prospered us,' under an immediate consciousness that all we have, whether more or less, comes from God; and it is well to give the sense of gratitude an opportunity of strengthening itself by active exercise before it begins to cool."

Mr. Tweed's Sermon takes higher ground, and claims distinct apostolic authority for the practice. We regret that it is quite out of our power to give even a summary of his argument; but our readers will find it well worth a careful study. It will probably remain for ever a disputed question, whether the apostolic direction to the Corinthian and other churches (1 Cor. xvi. 1) refers to private storing or public giving (though we confess our utter inability to comprehend how, on the former supposition, it could ensure the end, "that there be no gatherings when I come"); but it undoubtedly lends the highest sanction to the habit of connecting our alms, in some way or other, with the Lord's-day; and, as so many moral advantages can be pleaded in favour of each of these practices, we are reluctant to rob either side of the strength to be derived from its own interpretation of St. Paul's language; though we hold that the mode of carrying them out must after all be a question of expediency, dependent upon the circumstances of the case.

And now we must draw these remarks to a close. Whatever may be thought of the specific principles advocated in the several publications which we have been reviewing, no one can doubt the pressing importance of the general question. No Christian duty is insisted on in the New Testament at all so frequently as that of almsgiving; and at no period of the church's history has there been such an urgent demand for the fulfilment of that duty as there is at the present moment. The machinery of modern times, both material and moral, affords facilities for benevolent enterprise such as never before existed. Not only are there special organizations, intended to meet

every possible phase of suffering and want at home, but the whole world is brought within our reach, and agencies are at work which only need adequate support to enable them to make known the way of salvation to every portion of the human race. We earnestly and respectfully submit to the consideration of the clergy the paramount importance of unceasingly urging these claims upon the congregations committed to their care, and of endeavouring to train them in such a systematic habit of consecrating their substance to the glory of God, as will produce a full, steady, continuous flow of Christian bounty, without the need of artificial stimulant, or the costly, cumbrous appliances on which at present almost everything seems to depend. Much encouragement, and many useful hints, may be derived from the books and pamphlets of the Systematic Beneficence Society; and believing its aim to be a most practical one, we heartily bid it God speed, and only wish that we could suggest a happier name for it.

THE LIGHT LITERATURE OF OUR DAY

A QUESTION has been raised by one of our correspondents, on what is usually termed "light reading," and as to the tendency of the popular literature of our day. Is the first lawful, useful, and safe for Christian minds? and as to the latter, is its tendency on the whole good, or is it evil? A more important question than this, considered in its moral bearings, could hardly have been started. Our popular literature is a thing that touches, not only the intellectual strength, but the social and religious life of the community, in its most vital elements, rendering it either robustly healthy, or morbidly excited, sick, and puling. Though our views upon it may be of little worth, yet we have no hesitation in giving the results at which we have arrived, after much observation, with the reasons for our convictions on the subject.

The world of Thought is the most mysterious in its influence of all the worlds with which we have to do. It comes the nearest to that world of Spirits which is hidden from every eye, except of Him who is all eye. A dark, cloud-wrapt region, its existence is known only by the lightning flashes it sends forth, or the thunders it mutters. Possibly there may be some electrical connexion of mind with mind; but whether it be so or not, no mind is, or can be, wholly independent of other minds; for by the thoughts of others, either written or spoken, it must be more or less influenced. Hence, as it has been truly said, "A thought imported into a mind, may exert *a most powerful* influence over the present and the eternal

condition; and when the tongue which gave it utterance, or the hand that penned it, shall be mingled with the dust of the earth, the thought shall still be thrilling on, till it shall outlive the burning sun and glittering stars. Thoughts begin, but never end. A thought originated may be the beginning of an angelic band to bless in time and delight in eternity; or the first of a demon brood to worry in all the scenes of earth, and to haunt for ever through the regions of an unseen world." These observations, extracted from a little work entitled "Thoughts on Thought," are as striking as they are true. A drop of ink shall either body forth a thought as black as itself, or give wing to ideas as white and as pure as the paper on which they are written.

It cannot be indifferent, then, what is the nature of the thoughts that are made to be constantly passing, by reading, through men's minds. The influence exerted by them gives a tremendous importance, indeed, to the popular literature of our day; for by that literature the *mind* of the nation is, so to speak, moulded and stereotyped for at least one generation. Current thought is a stream, either for good or evil, of the widest extent. Even if the literature which embodies it be only negative in its character, by the absence of that which is positively good it must tend to a moral desolation, a dark vacuity, or a limbo of vanity, in which none but fantastic unsubstantial forms, and intangible inanities, flit to and fro to mock and deceive.

The literature of a former generation shocks us by its grossness and indecency. We read it with a feeling of shame. We wonder how our forefathers could have endured the use of such language—the open expression of such filthy ideas as are to be found often in Pope, continually in Swift; and because we have now our fig-leaf proprieties, and throw over what is gross the gossamer veil of a factitious refinement, we flatter ourselves that our moral sense must be greatly improved, and that we are much better than our fathers. The maxim, however, that "vice loses half its harm when it loses all its grossness," requires to be received with a very considerable degree of reserve. It is its antithesis, rather than its truth, that has gained it acceptance. A prurient curiosity may be excited by the very means that are affected to be used to check it. Words are nothing; it is the thought they convey that contains the danger: and if the thought be bad, yet artfully veiled, and only insinuated, it may be like latent fire. There is such a thing as dressing out our thoughts in crinoline, and exhibiting our shame-facedness, as is the fashion, by a veil that reaches only just below the eyes. We forget that our covering is the sign of our sin and our shame: to avoid fresh sin, the less attention is drawn to it the better. Our primitive nakedness is not *half so dangerous* to our moral sense as a tricked

out and enticing pudicity. The filthiness of nineteenth century decency may pollute more, because it offends less, than the plain-spoken honesty of our forefathers in calling things by their right names; just as there may be far more rudeness in the cutting civilities of modern politeness, than in all the strong direct terms used by a less refined generation, when they wished to describe and denounce rogues and knaves. The gentleman scoundrel, none can deny, is the worst of all scoundrels. So the polished literary seducer is the worst of all seducers.

One characteristic of the light literature of our day is thus indicated. But it is not so much this feature of it to which we wish to draw attention, as another of much more serious moment. Ours is a religious age, at least in profession. It has a taste for a seasoning of religious sentiment in everything that is written. No book or periodical will become popular that has not in it some touches of Christianity,—some respect, affected or real, for the Divine Founder of our religion. But what is the character of the religious feeling which thus provenders for the known public taste? Has it any principle in it? Is it a religious feeling of any distinct and definite character at all? Far from it! It is rather negative than positive. It spends itself in vague general sentiment, thin as air; and has no fixed principle whatever, but that of eschewing all that is dogmatic, or, as the phrase goes, "controversial." While it professes to respect, it practically repudiates. It is not the kind of religion that is to be found in the church or in the bible it gratuitously patronizes with its uncalled-for favour; but only the floating sentiment of religion that froths up and settles on the surface of superficial society. This it extols as better than all the religion of sermons and creeds. It skims off, in fact, just that part of Christianity which suits its end, and it skims it only when the cream is gone; so that, like skimmed-milk cream, it is necessarily very thin. Such religious sentiment as this just serves the purpose of deceiving people, and nothing more.

A positively irreligious literature, for the reason we have given, would not be endured in the present day. But there is very much that, without being *ir*-religious, in the sense of profane or sceptical, is *un*-religious by the absence of all religious influence or recognition from its pages. Many of our popular writers discard it upon principle. This is the next stage in the downward progress, and this is the growing sentiment of the age. These writers look upon Religion as the most mischievous of all Powers, because of the many disputes and the frequent ill-will it occasions. It is chiefly men who have addicted themselves to science, and to inquiries into material things, that lean in this direction; though many of our writers on light literature have the *same* tendency. Hence there is an increasing number of books *published from* which religion is altogether eliminated, name

and thing. Even its antiseptic influence fails to pervade them. This spirit aims to create a world of its own, in which there shall be literally no God. If it alludes to religion at all, it is only under the form of a sly sneer, an insinuated doubt, or a contemptuous depreciation of its professors, as if they alone were the men that are wanting in common sense. The reading of works in which this is the spirit, we need hardly observe, is highly dangerous, especially to the young. If a person is first tarred, and then feathers are shaken over him, some of the feathers will inevitably stick.

It is an invidious undertaking to point out faults so self-condemnatory to the writers in whom they are found. But it is all the more necessary that we should do so in reference to the class of moral dangers to which we refer, because this is a reading age. There is a prodigious number of light works now issued from the press. The periodical literature of our day, in particular, is pouring out a perfect torrent of continuous publication. It is in this class of works especially the evils lurk to which we allude. Let any one recal to his mind, if he can, the periodicals, not one of which has any religious character. Such works, with the newspapers, are threatening to supersede all other kinds of reading. Their least evil is, that they must create a superficial, *unthinking* generation. It is true these do not wholly repudiate religion; on the contrary, they profess a certain kind of respect for it. But it is not the respect that springs from affection, or that produces reverence. There is a flippancy about them, when religion is spoken of, that little consists with true love. People in general are not aware of the dangers they expose their minds to by the constant perusal of such publications. Or if they know it, they have not principle enough to forego the mental gratification of their exciting, medley pages. They persuade themselves that there can be no harm in them, because they find Christian feelings now and then spoken of and commended. It never strikes them that it is religion with the bloom of life off, and the chill of infidelity on.

The growing secularity of the age is indicated, most unmistakeably, in the notice which such periodicals as we have referred to receive from the newspaper press, to the exclusion of all such as have any religious character. Each month there is to be seen in the daily and weekly papers a brief account of the contents of the "Serials," as they are termed, with comments on, usually commendations of, their several articles. But religious periodicals, like our own, are seldom even named. It is the light secular literature only that finds favour here; for the obvious reason, that this only finds favour with the public. It is not our object to advocate, be it understood,

the thrusting in of religion, ostensibly and by name, in all sorts of publications. Far from it. But what we assume is, that all works coming from professedly Christian men should be pervaded by a religious *spirit*. This may be, and indeed ought to be, in works not professedly treating of religion, latent, as oxygen is in the atmosphere. But yet it should rise up and pervade all, giving to it its own tinge and taste. We have the highest authority for saying that "salt is good," but not salt if it has "lost its savour."

We have often wondered at the little conscientiousness exhibited by many professedly religious people in regard to what they read and the publications they encourage. It never seems to occur to them, that if the tendency of some popular publication be, on the whole, bad, by purchasing they are promoting it, and thereby making themselves participators in the propagation of the evil. They hear some new periodical highly spoken of; they see respectable, though, it may be, worldly Christian people reading it; they want something amusing or interesting for themselves or the younger members of their families; and so they do as others do, "take it in," forgetting all the while that, though there may be no positive harm in it, there may be breathed by it an atmosphere that will lay the foundation of disease, and spread among those they love both moral and mental decline.

The love of romance, so signally characteristic of the present century, shows itself in all the light literature of the day. Nothing will go down, as the expression is, without a story,—without some incredible adventures and unnatural scenes mixed up with it. This is a taste which it is highly dangerous to indulge; for it fosters feelings as fruitless as they are fond, and as foolish as they are extravagant. No sensible person will read books that do not either refine his taste or strengthen his intellect. If he must have his sensibilities excited,—and it is quite right they should be excited in order to keep them in healthy activity,—it will be towards good objects, and through the medium of the higher order of literature, such as the best poetry and the most truthful narratives, not through the low pandering of ephemeral periodicals. It is his imagination he will seek to cultivate rather than his fancy; and imagination sees too far, too deeply, too solemnly, ever to trifle. This faculty dives into the heart of things—for there is a heart in every thing—and stays not at externals, however beautiful. The *ἀνηρίθμον γελασμα* of the sea is on the surface, not in the deep, where the diamonds lie and shine. We think far too much, in the present day, of the intellect alone. This idolized intellectualism is something so entirely apart from mental power and mental dignity, that it seems rather an attempt to impose intel-

lects than to develop them; and produces, at the best, only souls withered and shrivelled, dry, empty, inane. It is the literature that will invigorate the mind, not that which will debilitate it, that every person of sense will prefer.

A man's knowledge is often in inverse proportion to the number of books he has read. To have read a few good works thoroughly, and digested them, makes a man master of his subjects, skilful in the use of his tools. But to read many books hastily and imperfectly, confuses thought, and only turns the mind into a region of intellectual disorder; a room so crowded, like a broker's shop, with all sorts of things, that nothing is in place, and you can never freely move about. Hence the maxim, "Multum legere potius quam multa," is a good one to act upon in regard to books of any kind; and in regard to books of a light kind, of the nature we have indicated, it is better to read neither *multum* nor *multa*. He who feeds only on such food is like a schoolboy who has dined upon tarts,—he spoils his digestion without satisfying his hunger.

Periodicals are necessarily made up of shreds and scraps of knowledge. To read nothing but these, however pure and good they may be, must inevitably fill the mind with disjointed fragments of things, instead of with perfect furniture. And when these shreds and scraps are not of the best kind, or are largely intermixed with compositions of a thin and diluted nature, to read only them must produce a weak and sickly habit of mind, little suited either for the holy occupations of religion or the stern duties of life.

Not many of the periodicals of our day have the inherent recommendations, as the Spectator and the Rambler of former days had, of elegance of style or manliness of sense. They are, for the most part, composed of a weak and vapid prose, slovenly in structure, and wanting in nerve. A too great familiarity with these must necessarily induce a corresponding weakness of intellectual conception; for vigour of expression is the natural form assumed by vigour of thought. The nature of a work must, in a great measure, determine its style. No one, therefore, who consults for his own mental good, will indulge largely in light literature, even of the best kind, much less in that which is absolutely frivolous or merely sentimental.

There is a great difficulty, we are aware, in meeting the needs of the grown-up young in this respect. They must have literature suited to their age, literature that is lively and interesting. Even older minds need this occasionally by way of recreation. The common resort for this is to novels; but a novel must be of a very special kind not to do the mind more harm than good. To read nothing but such books, and the

light periodicals of the day, is to live upon slops. Unfortunately there is an almost universal craving for mental stimulants as there is for physical; and, as we have many smokers and drinkers, so we have many light literature readers.

It should be the study of all who have to cater for the mind of the age, and who feel the responsibility of not penning a word to corrupt it, to provide such literature, or a portion of such literature, as shall excite and interest without debasing, or innocently amuse without producing a distaste for more sober pursuits. The common complaint of the young is, that religious reading is so dull—or rather, that books produced by religious people are dull; and the complaint is, in some measure, just. There is seldom anything sparkling, or deeply affecting, or brilliant, in these productions. Serious Christians do not embrace a sufficiently wide scope in their reading. The consequence is, their own writings, when they become authors, are marked by poverty of expression and want of spirit. They forget that it is the privilege of the Israel of God to "spoil the Egyptians," taking from them their jewels of gold and jewels of silver, and their rich raiment. Sense must be very good indeed to be as interesting as good nonsense. There is no reason why even the most religious compositions should be made dull; for, as it has been well said, "Truth, when witty, is the wittiest of all things."

Much of the success of the light literature of the day over the more grave and solid is owing, we believe, to the want in the latter of more liveliness and point. The mind is made to relish wit and the sallies of fancy; it feels a peculiar pleasure in felicities of expression, in being startled by the ghosts of unexpected thought; in intellectual surprises; in the beautiful interchange of reason and raillery, of wit and truth. It is a remarkable fact, that the wisest of men have been the wittiest. St. Paul is a proof that there is no real kinship between dulness and religion, though they are often found united. But a light and lively book, especially, ought to have the purity as well as the freshness of childhood in it to make it safe. Lively thoughts, like phosphoric matches, easily catch fire. Animation in a writer quickly communicates itself to the reader, and whirls him along in his own course.

Our conclusion is, reasoning from a knowledge of human nature, that light literature neither can nor ought to be altogether avoided, either by the young or the old; but that it requires special care in the selection. The young need it to satisfy the craving of their intellectual sensibilities; the old, to stimulate and keep alive those sensibilities and the more tender sentiments of the soul. Aged Christian people often grow to be too rigid in these matters with the younger members of

society. It must be remembered that the young have strong vigorous affections, and appetences of the intellect as well as of the heart. These affections and appetences of our nature are like parasitical plants; they will always seek something to lay hold on, and will turn towards the place where light and air come in, even though they be confined in a cellar. It is useless to think to suppress them altogether, and to keep them, at a certain age, from their natural objects. The wisest as the safest plan is, to give them free play, under such conditions as will ensure their healthy exercise.

We have felt it right, in pointing out the danger that now lies around us on all sides, in the attractions of our light literature, to indicate the best antidote and counteractive. Though we use not the same weapons, it is quite lawful for us to go down to the forges of the Philistines to sharpen our own mattocks and our own coulters. The great characteristic of our age is, a singular activity of thought, and yet no deep-thinking. It is from without, not from within, the stimulating power now operates. In this external influence, religious writers have a weapon put into their own hands of a special kind. Intellect is the great object of worship—the Diana of our day. There are not only light, but grave and reverend idolaters among us, who worship Truth only in the image of their own wits. It is their own image and superscription upon it that gives it currency; and our object must be to make it bear the impress, not only of Cæsar, but also of Christ.

LIFE OF THE REV. MARCH PHILLIPPS: THE "EVANGELICAL PARTY" FIFTY YEARS AGO.

Records of the Ministry of the Rev. E. T. March Phillipps, M.A., fifty years Rector of Hathern, in the County of Leicester, and for some time Minister of Dishley with Thorpe Acre, and Chancellor of the Diocese of Gloucester. By the Author of "My Life, and what shall I do with it?" London: Longman and Co. 1862.

We must begin by saying that we had no personal acquaintance with the peculiar, though we have no doubt excellent, person whose life is here presented to us. We know him only through his biographer. It is possible that we may have mis-

understood his character; but if so, we must be allowed to lay the blame upon her, and upon those by whom she was commissioned to undertake a work for which she seems to us incompetent. We enter this caveat before we begin our task. Its necessity will be more apparent as we proceed.

The author appears to have had two objects in view; the one, which is avowed, to give a faithful record of the life and labours of a good man; the other, which, though not avowed, is apparent on almost every page, is to disparage the Evangelical party in the Church of England. The former is pursued with laudable industry; the latter, with a hearty zest, which shows that it was a congenial employment. But whether the author has coloured the biography with the hue of her own prejudices, or whether the subject of the memoir was himself, as she would represent it, deeply tainted with the prevalent disease of *Evangelico-phobia*, it is not always easy to determine; though upon the whole Mr. March Phillipps was, no doubt, in his later years strongly prejudiced against the principles of his early friends. Neither would it be of much importance if it were not that she herself seems to have been put forward to represent that large and popular party who assail the Evangelical religion of the present day under covert of a pretended reverence for the Evangelical religion of fifty years ago. There is nothing new in the device; it was understood and practised at Jerusalem in the days of the ancient Pharisees. They, too, had their cry, and for a time it was successful. They built the tombs of the prophets and garnished the sepulchres of the righteous, and protested that, had they lived in their days, those ancient worthies should have met with a very different reception in the world; but all this ostentation of respect was from no love of prophets and righteous men, but rather that they might persecute both with the impunity which hypocrisy secures. We see nothing in this school which leads us to believe that it has anything in common with the Evangelical religion of 1810 more than with that of 1860, with which its tactics are to contrast it; in order, of course, to prove that the present generation are an apostate race. We propose to enter a little into this question, for it is time that it should be set at rest. We are sorry that we have a lady to deal with in the discussion, and one too who evidently knows nothing of the subject beyond what she has been taught by rote; but this again is not our fault. If the Evangelical party must be kicked, the contributors to "Macmillan's magazine," the authors of "The Tracts for Priests and People," and other dwellers *in partibus infidelium*, should, in all proper gallantry, do their own work; they should discourage their friends of the gentler sex from joining in the athletic exercise. When a woman "lifts up her heel against us," the attitude is not

becoming; and we are apt to smile at the absurdity of the posture rather than to be stunned with the sharpness of the blow.

We turn, in the first instance, to the biography itself. The facts of Mr. March Phillipps's life are but scantily supplied, the book being chiefly a record of his opinions, and of the various shades of doctrine through which he passed. Of this, however, we are not disposed to complain. We learn, incidentally, that he was ordained a deacon in 1808; he was admitted to priests' orders at the age of twenty-four, and immediately presented to the family living of Hathern, near Leicester, where he continued till his death in 1859. The pastoral charge was small, but he gave himself to it with zeal and singleness of heart. There were about 1500 inhabitants in two manufacturing villages, but without a single resident, in either, of the educated classes, so that he had no mind of equal intelligence to cope with. Thus he naturally became his own and his people's standard of ministerial efficiency; a great misfortune to a young clergyman under all circumstances, still more so to one predisposed to crotchets and conceits. The inhabitants were sunk in ignorance; few of them went to church, and of course there were no schools, for in those days a parish school was almost unknown. Almost from the beginning of his ministry, we are told,—certainly from 1811,—he was an Evangelical clergyman, "that is, he received as truths the facts of man's natural corruption; of justification by faith alone; of the one complete atonement made by Christ as the substitute for sinners; of the absolute necessity of an entire change of nature before men can live to God through Christ, and of the origin of their salvation in their election by God's grace." "And he continued," it is added, "to preach these truths more and more fully to the end of his work in 1859." The former of these assertions, however, does not well agree with his confession of spiritual blindness, which we shall have occasion to produce; nor the second either with our author's subsequent and often-repeated admissions, or with some statements of his own. Yet his ministry, and indeed his whole life, was, we are assured, a failure. Unblessed with spiritual successes even in this narrow field, misunderstood beyond it, he spent a laborious and a holy life in vain. If this be true, the phenomenon is strange, almost incredible; and yet it is the burden of all the author's reflections, the great moral of her tale. It assails us in the preface, it is the melancholy dirge with which her volume closes. "To do God's work," she says,

"He had renounced all chance of fame; he had given up all hope of extensive usefulness; he had daily, for fifty years, sacrificed his

personal peace and comfort,—had broken down his health, spent his fortune, and died at last worn out with his life's labour. And the result was failure—he knew it to be so. His labour produced little visible fruit; his teaching was scarcely heard; his example was not followed. So it has often been before; but if we look through the things which appear here to their enduring and eternal substance, we may learn, with the Jewish king of old, to form another judgment: we may learn that for such labours there is no close; that such failure on earth is success in heaven; and that such defeats are God's victories." (pp. 497, 498.)

On the tone of this sentence, which is that of the whole volume, the reader will make his own reflections; on the facts alleged, we will make but one. The chances of fame to Mr. March Phillipps must, under any circumstances, have been slight. Our author tells us that "when he wrote, his style was unpopular, his name unknown;" that "many excelled him in talent;" that "when he spoke he was inferior to most in command of words." After this abatement, he may have been a pattern of holiness, and a model to parochial ministers, but it is childish to speak of his having renounced all chance of fame. Nor can we understand how for fifty years he had made a daily sacrifice of his personal peace or comfort; or how, indeed, any true servant of God could make such a sacrifice in his Master's service. The younger member of a good county family, holding the family living, in the constant society of admiring friends and of a loving wife and children, he does not present to our mind any other picture than that of a country clergyman leading a most enviable life. If there were indeed all this unhappiness, there must have been a worm somewhere at the root. It is rather the picture of a rebellious prophet under Jonah's gourd than that of a faithful minister of Christ, suffering, however keenly, for his Master's sake. But we must say, at once, that the description of Mr. March Phillipps's self denial and consequent suffering appears to be overcharged. He seems to have been a cheerful and, on the whole, light-hearted man; perhaps a little too well satisfied with himself, and therefore less concerned about the good opinion of others.

The truth, as far as we can collect it from the memoirs, seems to lie in some such form as this: Mr. Phillipps entered on his ministry in ignorance of his own state before God, and even of the scheme of redemption set forth in the Gospel. From this he was aroused, as he relates with great simplicity, by the sight of a piety in some of his poor parishioners, totally different, not only in degree but in its essential qualities, from anything which he himself possessed. Of all that he wrote, as quoted in this biography, nothing so well deserves to be

recorded as this humble confession poured out from a full heart.

"I cannot forget that this is the place in which the Lord has been pleased to quicken my soul, to instruct me in the knowledge of myself, and to lead me into rest and peace through His blood; neither can I forget that He has made many of you, in various ways, instruments of good to me. My first inquiries after real religion arose out of the conviction of its reality, derived from what I witnessed among yourselves. I had been a secret scoffer of the very name of vital godliness, as mere cant and enthusiasm; but when I came among you I could not deny that there was a power accompanying the Gospel to the hearts of some, and a realising of its blessings by them, to which I was a stranger. When I heard some of you who bore witness, and saw these effects and the support it afforded you in your severest trials, it was evident to me that the Gospel had been brought to some of you not in word only, but in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance, whilst I knew it only in the letter. I bless God that, by the teaching of His Word and Spirit, He has made that conviction effectual to the leading even me to taste of the comforts with which the hearts of others had been comforted. I mention these things, brethren, that no soul may be discouraged in inquiring after the Lord, in whom a similar conviction has been wrought respecting the power of the Gospel. For if ever there was a person that might seem to be excluded from all access to the Gospel, by his corrupt disposition of mind and heart, surely I was that person. For are not the proud an abomination to the Lord? Did not our Lord say, 'I thank thee, O Father, that Thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes'? Whose condition, then, could have been more unpromising than mine? for whose heart was ever more deeply corrupted by pride, or whose mind was ever more deeply engaged in forming vain and self-exalting schemes, than mine has been? . . . . . And to the praise of the glory of His grace I record it, that He has shown mercy to me, has given life to my soul, and enabled me in some measure to loathe the things in which I delighted, and to love and admire what I had despised; to know Jesus to be the Christ, and to discern something of His own glory in Him." (pp. 129, 130.)

Still later, in 1812 or 1813, he wrote a paper intended for the Christian Observer, on "The special difficulty of those who were not converted until after they had entered the ministry." The letter was not published, and probably was never sent. It is very touching, and to our mind very important; though it is quoted by his biographer in order to show "that the obstacle to his peace and joy in believing was in his case, as it often is, the effect of those writings which demand the proof of the penitent believer's acceptance from his own consciousness, and which speak of repentance as preceding conversion, rather than as essential to the continuance of the Christian's course." What those writings are, our author has not in-

formed us, and we ourselves of our own knowledge cannot inform the reader. But the passage from the unpublished letter is written in a very different spirit; it is this:—

"I am one of those who have unhappily presumed to enter upon the work of the ministry while a stranger to the grace of God. But I trust it has pleased Him, in His abundant goodness, to call me out of darkness to light; and I would also hope that He has not withheld from me all experience of the power of His grace in the conversion of an unsanctified heart. The deep importance, however, of a well-grounded hope on this point has occasioned me much perplexity and distress of mind; and it has often been a matter of awful apprehension whether the mere enlightening of the understanding has not been mistaken for a change of heart. And now, though my way is commonly cheered by a brighter prospect, I still find the clouds continually gathering after the rain. . . . . I am not one of those who are led to expect sudden and extraordinary assurances, and to be discontented without them. I long only to be settled and established in trust and dependence upon God; the quiet peace and sober tranquillity of a heart fixed upon His Word, is the happiness I covet. There are times when I would hope that I experience something of this happy state; but no sooner does the prevalence of corruption break in upon its quietness, than a host of doubts and suspicions enter as to the very ground of all my past consolations, and something tells me that I have spoken peace to myself when there is no peace." (p. 132.)

A blessing attended his ministry while he continued in this humble state of mind; reposing upon the great verities of the Gospel, and preaching Christ to his people; experimentally as revealed *in* him, and doctrinally as displayed *to* him and to all men in the Gospel (*subjectively* and *objectively* are the modern terms, but we prefer the old ones, for the same reason that we prefer the old ideas and the well-worn modes of thought). His congregations were good; the number of communicants was large; "a revival" took place, the fruits of which were visible, in many instances, in at least an outward change of conduct, and some true converts were made. But this happy state of things was not of long continuance, and the causes of the spiritual barrenness of Mr. Phillipps' ministry during the many dreary years that followed, even to the close of his life, now begin to display themselves. It was his misfortune to become intimately acquainted with Mr. Vaughan of Leicester, who possessed, as his biographer admits, a more powerful mind than his own, and who was the advocate of the principles which are often called ultra-Calvinistic, but which are, in fact, a burlesque of Calvin's Calvinism; or, as we have it in the memoir, "he was throwing the whole force of his genius into teaching the doctrine of election," and, "in the broadest and fullest manner," "absorbed in the present truth, was giving

himself wholly to it." About 1819 Mr. Vaughan printed a sermon entitled "God the doer of all things," in which he seemed to make God himself the author of sin, and that not permissively but actively. It was strongly reprobated by all orthodox Christians, and by none with more severity than the reputed Calvinists—the Evangelical party, amongst whom Mr. Vaughan had never been suffered to become a leader, and, henceforward, there was on both sides a complete estrangement. It does not appear that Mr. Phillipps followed Mr. Vaughan in this extravagance, but his mind was unsettled. What effect it had, our author shall tell in her own words:—

"And no doubt it was Mr. Vaughan's teaching on baptism and the Church which, in 1828-9, drew his attention to that subject, and led him to go into it so fully, though he had been prepared for it by a different course of inquiry, and approached it therefore on a somewhat different side from that which Mr. Vaughan had taken. But when, in 1829, he lost by a too early death this his most valued friend, he had, like him, far outrun the views of the Evangelical clergy amongst whom his lot was cast; and from that time he met with very few with whom he could communicate on the truths he was investigating, who could enter into his mind or respond to it. As early indeed as 1823, when he had brought out all he then knew of the work of the Holy Spirit, whilst they admired the power of his sermons, many of them regretted that he should waste 'his time in useless abstractions and mystical distinctions: why should he teach more than Christ crucified?' In truth, from the time of Mr. Vaughan's death he was alone in a new generation; until, towards the close of his ministry, he found that the great truths which he had been so long teaching without any hearers beyond his own village,—of the promise and gift of the indwelling Spirit, of the ministry of Christ in heaven, and of His kingdom on earth, of the redemption of the world and the priestly office of all Christians,—were being recognised and taught by one and another who are not numbered amongst the Evangelical teachers of our Church; whilst he found, also, that body to which he had always considered himself to belong, and which still claims for itself the exclusive possession of spirituality and of vital religion, was more and more, as years passed by, cutting itself off from further progress, and excluding all others from its fellowship, by encircling itself, not with an ever-living spreading band of love and light, but by a fence of shibboleths tending to anathemas. 'In the pride of self-righteousness,' he wrote in 1830, 'the older Pharisees perverted everything to their own exaltation: in the pride of a falsely assumed spirituality, these later Pharisees have done the same, though in a different way.'"

Inquirers after truth, or those who so style themselves, are of two classes. The first are those who make the foundation sure, and then build the superstructure higher as wisdom increases and life advances. Occasionally a brick or two may have to be removed even from the basement storey, and so far

the work has to be undone; but as they proceed with caution, and seldom accept as settled principles those which have not been submitted to the severest tests, this does not often happen. The characteristics of their work are solidity and progress; progress sure and gradual. To this school Mr. Phillipps did not belong.

His mind was of another order. He was one of that much larger class who flatter themselves they are learning new truths while they are merely disturbing old ones. With them it is a suspicious circumstance that any doctrine has been long received—that it is widely known—and, above all, that it is held and taught by men whom they regard as their inferiors in sense or learning. They have a diseased appetite; it is always ravenous, but always craving for variety. Such men, if wrong, may be observed sometimes to get right again from sheer perversity; their love of opposition and of singularity sometimes throws them back, by a happy accident, into the path in which truth lies; but they soon go wrong again from the same vanity which at first misled them. If they happen to have set out aright, they are like children who tear up their favourite plants, from time to time, to ascertain whether they are taking root or not. In philosophy they are doubters; speculative men; the hangers-on of science—obstructing her wheels, and causing her, like Pharaoh's chariot, to drive heavily through sands always shifting. In religion, they are those of whom the Apostle speaks—"ever learning, but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth." When, "for the time" they have been in Christ's school, they "ought to be teachers," they are still uncertain about the very elements of the Gospel, and have need that some one "teach them again which be the first principles of the oracles of God."

Mr. Phillipps seems to have brought himself at length to the verge of Pyrrhonism. He seems to have thought it meritorious to doubt of everything; except that, unfortunately, of his doubts, and the wisdom of indulging them, he never doubted. There appears at length, if we must construe some of his own expressions, and still more the statements of his annotator, strictly, to have been scarcely anything fundamental in his creed—scarcely anything which was not always open to a fresh discussion. "No person," he says, "should hold opinions which cannot be mended." We give his own illustration, and we give it in his own words. "For example: On the Trinity a young person might express himself rightly in words, but to say that he knew that truth fully, would be idle." And would it be less idle, we ask, in the wisest man that ever lived, or, we will venture to add, in the noblest seraph before the throne of God? With amazing simplicity Mr. Phillipps proceeds

to say in the next sentence, "Who can comprehend it?" and he concludes with the remark, "People's opinions on most subjects ought to be changing, for they will always find reason to alter and modify them." (p. 317.) If this be a specimen of Mr. Phillipps as a reasoner, his mental infirmities ought to protect him from severe censure. But what must have been the state of that congregation whose pastor could speak of the doctrine of the Trinity as a matter of "opinion;" a question on which a young man must not speak with too much confidence, because he does not yet fully comprehend the subject? And yet this gentleman, we are informed—fifty times, perhaps, in the work before us—held fast through life to the doctrines of the Evangelical school of 1810; only that he surpassed them far in his subsequent attainments! We deny both of these propositions, but just now the first especially; and we challenge either friend or foe to prove that the Evangelical Churchmen of 1810 held, or indeed that any one of them individually held, not the whole, but a single item in the following grievous list of errors and absurdities:—

1. "Adam was not holy." "The image of God seen in him consisted in that in which he differed from the animals around him; in his rational, moral, immortal spirit." (p. 193.)

2. "The image of God in which Adam was made is not lost. Every child born into the world still bears it; is still a rational, moral being, immortal and innocent." (p. 194.)

3. "The soul of each child born into the world comes from God as Adam's did—immortal, innocent, upright." (p. 194.)

4. "Don't suppose I underrate preaching. The Scriptures are not a perfect revelation without that ordinance, and simply because, though they contain all truth (so that whatever is not found therein, nor can be proved thereby, &c., as our sixth article says), yet they do not lay out the truth systematically, but by parts and in different combinations; so that it requires a teacher to instruct the young and unlearned in the true relation of these parts to each other," &c. &c. (p. 248).

5. "It must not be supposed that he imagined himself or his work to be in any sense the objects of a special providence—a term for which there was no room in his vocabulary." (p. 259.)

This statement of Mr. Phillipps' views on providence is made by the author, and we repeat it simply on her authority.

6. "The law given to the Jewish church through Moses, spiritual in its motive,—love to God and love to man,—was still only moral in its extent and in the course of life it prescribed." (p. 261.)

This is given, we are told, "as a specimen of what became the constant subject of his teaching, while instructing his people on the spiritual meaning and extent of the Christian law." It is added—"The Christian law not only exceeds this

in extent, requiring unlimited devotion to God and self-sacrifice to man, but altogether differs from it in its nature." "Our law" (but again we are uncertain whether these were the opinions of Mr. Phillipps, or only the glossary of his commentator) "is no duty required from us, but one written by the Spirit on the hearts of His people." (p. 261.) Yet it appears, we are sorry to admit, to be borne out by his own words, p. 314:—"The Christian law is not merely the moral law,—Do to others as you would they should do to you,—but exceeds this as much as the moral, rational life exceeds the animal life." Again, on the same page—"Fallen men have not lost God's image; James iii. 9, is decisive on this." "When born into the world, the child's soul is neither carnal, worldly, or devilish; it is innocent." So that, in the case of baptized children, Mr. Phillipps, who held extreme opinions as to the efficacy of the baptismal rite, must have believed that they had, "written on their hearts by the Spirit," a view of the divine law which superseded the moral law, and, in short, made all catechisms and all instruction in Christian morals utterly needless. The babe left the font already well instructed in the spirituality of the law of God.

"By their fruits ye shall know them." The fruits in this case were abundant, but they were fruits of bitterness. There was the loss of usefulness, and the complaint of many friends that, instead of preaching Christ, he perplexed himself and others with subtleties. And further, too, a vulgar, coarse, sneering tone in speaking of the party he had forsaken, unworthy of a gentleman, and unbecoming a Christian minister, now breaks out. We are not surprised; it is but the common course of things. The man falls into error, and his old friends remonstrate: if he is meek, he listens, and by and by returns; if not, he is shy of their company, he dislikes them, and begins at length to rail against them. So at last he learned and practised such *slang* as this:—"All the abominable Pharisaism of the Evangelical set." "This crusade, or rather party agitation, in its (pretended) behalf" (this is written in July, 1850, against the efforts made for the better observance of the Lord's-day) "will lead ultimately to its more gross violation; and the puritanical clique will learn to their sorrow that three-fourths of the population will have nothing to do with their sabbath." (p. 442.) All this, and much more to the same purpose, it is easy to forgive, and by no means difficult to forget. Much of it may have been owing to mental infirmity. Confusion of thought he mistook for depth of reasoning; and novelty, laboriously wrought out, had for him the charms of truth. But, after all, whatever the effect in his loss of influence upon others, we may hope that he never let go the more essential truths of the common salvation, so far as his

own spiritual safety was involved. His letters to his family show that, with many imperfections, he sought their eternal welfare by leading them to Christ as the only Saviour; by faith in whom they might have peace, and through Him obtain the gift of the Holy Spirit. Yet he writes to his youngest daughter, who waited for his parental advice, that he "had no objection to her going to the opera to hear Jenny Lind if she wished to do so;" but "if her mind led her to stay away, I should by all means stay away, and, without any *pretence to purism*, stay at home with Miss ——." (p. 428.) We hope few clergymen's youngest daughters are instructed thus.

We have said that it has become a fashionable exercise with our opponents, of the school to which our author apparently belongs, to draw a contrast between the Evangelical party in the Church of England in 1810, and those who have succeeded to the title in 1860. They say, in short, that we are mere impostors, not legitimate descendants. The heritage is none of ours; many intimations are given, that if it were worth contending for, it belongs to them. Our author draws out the contrast at considerable length, and, to do her justice, with considerable skill, not without a due proportion of invective and a very reasonable dash of malice; quite enough to make the mess savoury to the public taste. We regard it as a fortunate circumstance, in every way, that 1810 is the period fixed upon; the year of jubilee to our opponents: the date from which Evangelical religion began to waste and shrivel under the incantations which, at the end of fifty years, have left us a shrivelled, though still living, corpse. We are not afraid of letting the world know what can be said against us. It is a long quotation, but here is the bill of indictment. We have met with it several times before. There is nothing new in any of the charges; but we have them here well compacted and in formidable array. But first as to the men of 1810:—

"In 1800 and 1810 the Evangelical body was in a very different position from that which it has of late years occupied, and was actuated in some respects by a very different spirit. They were already indeed a powerful because an increasing body, but by no means a popular one; and the name was used in ridicule oftener than in praise by the great mass of the nation. They included most of the active religious life in the country, and not very much besides: they might be narrow-minded, but circumstances made it impossible for them to be persecutors; the truths they knew might be only the first principles of the gospel of Christ, but they not only lived upon them, they used them in fighting against dead formality or open profligacy, and they had never yet proclaimed them to be the whole truth, the *ne plus*

ultra of the Christian's faith. The clergy who were known by that name were shut out from all preferment, which was in the hands of the bishops or of the government, and for the most part from the society of the great. As a body, they were never distinguished by learning; but in the active pursuit of benevolent and philanthropical objects, in the religious education of our own poor, and in missionary work amongst the heathen, they were amongst the foremost. Indefatigable and systematic in their work, closely united together, active, bold, and despised, their leaders compelled respect by the disinterestedness of their labours, and silenced malice by the purity of their lives. They fought with the power which life has over death, and they won. Had their knowledge of the truth been more profound, their victory over public opinion had perhaps been less rapid. But their first great success in the abolition of the slave trade, and, not many years after, of slavery itself, put them entirely in a new position; a battle fought on religious grounds had ended in a great political victory: and the methodistical fanatics and saints became at once an important political party; no longer to be despised, they were to be courted and flattered, for they who could induce the country to spend twenty millions to purchase a loss, might again turn their scale for or against any measure." (pp. 23, 24.)

And now for the modern Evangelical school:—

"That weighty and inert mass of intelligence, called public opinion, which

> "'Will not hear the loud winds when they call,
> And moveth altogether, if it move at all,'

has now for several years been moving steadily and comfortably along the Evangelical groove: ostensibly, that is. The prudent and intelligent world, whose voice constitutes public opinion in this country, knows well we must have some religion as a safeguard for domestic life and for public morality. And it chooses to have it in this form; for in this form it does a deal of useful work very cheaply, in the way of necessary education; it supplies enough of the oil of charity to keep the wheels of the social machine from taking fire in their rapid and grinding course; it affords a wholesome safety-valve by which may escape in smoke and noise feelings which, if restrained and controlled, might prove real enough to interfere with the movement of the age. It is, as one well said, a thoroughly feminine form of religion, and in this respect also is quite well adapted for those domestic purposes for which the world especially needs it. And whilst it fiercely denounces the world in the opera and the ball-room, it is neither deep nor strong enough to offer the least real opposition to the world's proper business, or to interrupt the carrying out of the world's will.

"Useful in public, safe in private, feeble everywhere, such is the religion the world loves; and so long as Evangelical men will supply this, so long will the world countenance their teaching, tolerate their admonitions, and approve within certain limits their intolerance. They dream that public opinion has been greatly influenced by them

for good; should circumstances ever arise to make their form of religion troublesome, that world whose mind is expressed, not in the balls and theatres they denounce, but in the public opinion they prize, will soon make them know, by setting them aside or crushing them out of its path, that it is not they who are influencing the world, but the world that is using them.

"But, for the present, to be an Evangelical is, amongst clergymen, well-nigh the only way to praise of men; to be a popular Evangelical preacher is a sure road to preferment; religion walks abroad in her silver slippers, and whilst we still hear of persecution from the pulpit, the only persecutors amongst us are Protestant Christians; the only people in the least danger of being persecuted are those who will wear a religion that is not of the popular form, or who are open unbelievers. It may be no fault of the Evangelical body itself that it has become thus popular and triumphant: it is no reproach to the sincere and zealous Christians among them, that the multitude is walking with them. But it is a great temptation — a temptation that no professing body of Christians has ever yet withstood, since the Lord of Christians pronounced a woe on those of His ministers of whom all men shall speak well. And the effects of this popularity are already very visible. They are profoundly contented with their own teaching. No Roman Catholics were ever more convinced of the infallibility of their own church, than English Evangelicals are of the spirituality of their own party. Not only have they *not* left the first principles of the doctrine of Christ and gone on towards perfection, but they have been too much occupied with drawing up their little codes of the outward and visible signs of spirituality, and with imposing them on others, to attend much to the inward graces of contrition, humility, and love. Since the Oxford movement began, they have been satisfied with contending against it, pulling down without building up; and since these practically defeated themselves, they have been more engaged in endeavouring to exclude them from our Church, and with them whosoever dares to teach anything more than they have accepted as the truth, or to differ one hair's-breadth from their warranted formula for stating it, than in trying to make progress themselves, or to profit by our Church's teaching." (pp. 25—27.)

Half a century in prospect is an interminable vista; when passed over, the distance is short indeed. There are multitudes amongst us old enough to have a clear recollection of 1810. There are some, whose mental vigour shows no decay, who took an important part in public affairs in church and state fifty years ago. Our Premier was then one of the Secretaries of State; our Primate was a senior fellow of his college; Dr. Marsh was already known as an eloquent preacher, and Mr. Cunningham, who left us for a happier world so lately, was the brilliant curate of Clapham, under the wise tuition, which he always gratefully acknowledged, of the younger Venn, the son of the patriarch of Huddersfield. Thus, we know the men and their communications; and we

are as well pleased as any of our assailants to dwell upon their history. 1810 was about the period when the Evangelical clergy were sufficiently numerous to form a body: hitherto they had been dispersed over the Church; remote from each other, and often ignorant of each other's existence, yet all taught by the same Lord; and when they met, surprised to recognise in one another the features which revealed a common Fatherhood. We accept without hesitation the admission of our opponents, that hitherto there had been amongst them no defection from the ancient faith. The principles of Whitfield and the Wesleys, of Venn, Riland, and De Courcy, were their principles. They were like them, too, in simplicity and in holiness. It was not an age of deep learning, and theology was a neglected science. We are not disposed to rate very highly the Evangelical clergy of 1810 in either of these respects. It is praise enough that they were at least abreast of others, and that, in their own particular sphere, they far surpassed them. Perhaps this is no great boast to make, when bishop Marsh was a profound critic, and bishop Tomline a great divine amongst High Churchmen. As for Horseley, he was in doctrine Evangelical, at least he was a "soli-fidean," which meant everything bad; and Porteus bore a sufficient resemblance to the party to be sneered at in the polished circles of his diocese as a Methodist. Whatever these men did in literature, they did it well. There is no good Church historian of the age; but Milner is the best. There were no great expositors; and Thomas Scott was not a great scholar, yet he stood in the first rank. His learning will bear comparison with that of Mant and Doyley; and his laborious diligence, strong sense, and piety, leave them far behind. Practical divinity was left entirely in their hands. The only sermons of that age which are ever read, with the exception of Horseley's, are those of Venn of Clapham, and Cooper of Hamstall-Ridware. The "Scripture Characters" of Robinson of Leicester are superior to anything of that kind since Bishop Hall wrote his "Pious Contemplations," nearly two hundred years before. For elegant composition and a pure style, no volume of that day is better worth attention than Gisborne's "Familiar Survey of the Christian Religion." It was written with the unambitious aim of supplying a want which Gisborne himself had felt as an Eton boy, when her scholars left her, as he says in his preface, far better instructed in the fabled wanderings of Ulysses and Æneas than in the heaven-directed journeyings of Moses or St. Paul. For a sagacity equal to Luther, and a knowledge of human nature far surpassing that of Pascal, Cecil stands without a rival; though he was neither profoundly speculative like Pascal, nor had he the powers of command, certainly not the splendid

field of action, which fell to the lot of the great reformer. In the pulpit they alone were eloquent. The cry then and long afterwards, at once ludicrous and impotent, against them was, that they emptied other churches and filled their own by their preaching. A strange thing it seemed. They spoke of heaven sometimes as if they had been there; and came back so overwhelmed with its surpassing glories, that the world was tinsel, and even the man of pleasure while he listened felt it so, and felt that he was a fool. We have heard Simeon speak of hell as if he had looked over the yawning precipice down into the lake of fire beneath. The wicked often trembled as they heard. We have heard Clement Leigh, the late Rector of Newcastle-under-Lyne, relate how, when a thoughtless undergraduate, he hurried to his rooms after such sermons, scarcely able to restrain the overwhelming sense of danger which impelled him to throw himself upon his knees in the middle of the street, and cry aloud for mercy. Yet Clement Leigh, of all the pious men of his day, was no weak fanatic; but a man of unusual vigour in mind and body, a successful clear-headed student and a gold medalist. Strange to tell, men would go again and again to hear these fanatical discourses! It was a problem hard to be resolved. Many an earnest minister, anxious to do good, but ignorant of the way of life, pondered it, amazed and very sorrowful; and so did many a layman. At length they made the discovery that there was something more in the ministry of these despised though popular men than either alarming descriptions of hell, or enthusiastic raptures about heaven. They preached Christ and Him crucified. This was the grand secret of their success. They proclaimed the Holy Ghost the Author and Giver of life. Here lay the secret of their own strength; these two doctrines were the pillars of their system, and they sustained all the rest. Of their scholarship, compared with others of their day, the calendars of either university are proof enough. Kempthorne and Henry Martyn were senior wranglers. Only inferior to them in mathematical honours were many others, of whom, a name we venerate, archdeacon Hoare, is a living representative. Crouch of Oxford, and Daniel Wilson, then tutor of his college, were no mean instances of evangelical piety in connexion with sound learning in that university.

It is with this body of excellent men that it pleases the high-church-men and broad-church-men of our own times (for when the Evangelical party is to be assailed, we find them in strict alliance) to contrast the pretensions of that worn-out faction which, as they tell us, affects to succeed to their well-merited honours after the lapse of fifty years. The point which stands in the foreground of the charges laid against us

is, that we are honourable while they were despised; we are the well-favoured kine, they were lean and ill-favoured; and this, no doubt, is the most galling of many circumstances which provoke offence. The fact itself is slightly misstated, by our author amongst others. The truth is nothing more than this, that after a long and total exclusion from every post of honour, influence, or emolument, from which the virulence of party spirit, acting upon the most profound ignorance of their real character, nay, of the doctrines which they taught openly, and of which they made their boast, could shut them out, they are at length allowed to be deserving of some share both in the honours of the church and in its emoluments. The irritation displayed on this account recoils upon those who make so childish an exhibition of it. The public at large regard their lamentations and invectives just as they regard those ebullitions of ill-temper to which both Whigs and Tories are liable, when they find themselves, after a long repose upon the Treasury bench, suddenly dispossessed of power: they listen and are amused; and wonder much that heroic natures, replete with the new theology, and soaring amongst the sublime philosophies which ordinary mortals find it so hard to comprehend, should be subject to these sordid influences:

"Tantæ ne cœlestibus animis iræ?"

In one respect the pious men of 1810 had, no doubt, a great advantage. The outer world did not want them; the Church itself, as a national body, despised them. If they walked out, it was to be passed by in the street with contemptuous silence; if they went into society, it was to be embarrassed by contradiction, if they had the good fortune to escape the open rudeness of a sneer, or the audible whisper of contempt. Thus driven in upon themselves, they were solitary men. They read and thought much, and their profiting appeared unto all men. Without being at all remarkable for genius, they were, with a few exceptions, very effective men; for they were men of one idea and one pursuit. "This one thing I do," might have been, and was indeed, their motto. Those requisites which are said to make a minister,—prayer, study, and reflection,—these they had. It was greatly to their advantage, too, that the machinery now deemed essential for the working of a parish was not yet set up; and where it existed in its feebler forms, they never understood that the responsibility of its management rested upon them. They had loftier notions of ministerial dignity than their successors feel. They magnified their office. They were ambassadors for Christ; they would not have submitted to be made—what we have become to a sad extent—the servants of men. Even parochial visitation they *deputed* to the pious members of their flock. If there was a

school in their parish, endowed or not endowed, they would visit it at reasonable times; but they would neither sink the clergyman in the schoolmaster, nor would they devote their best hours to raising funds for secular charities, or attending committees for secular objects. We of later years have tried the opposite plan; and we are told that we must try it still and push it further. It is time that the Evangelical clergy at least, whatever others may do, should resist the unreasonable clamour. We have already paid the penalty in part; and the retribution is a righteous one. Those who have been the loudest to complain of our delinquencies as parish priests are the loudest to complain of our mental poverty as Christian teachers. The selfishness of our congregations defeats itself; it recoils both on them and upon their pastor. They would have him to be a sort of spiritual police through the week, and yet an able minister on the Sunday. The demand is unreasonable. They would have us to be the agreeable guest and the domestic chaplain, and yet the well-read divine and the always fresh and interesting preacher. They must learn to forego the one or the other of these spiritual luxuries. Their very kindness is unkind; still more so is our compliance. Our fathers in the ministry were not exposed to this temptation; and had they been, they would not have submitted to it. In other respects, the charges levelled against the Evangelical clergy now are sufficiently answered when the proof of their truth has been demanded. One of them, we perceive, is what amounts to an imputation of Arianism, "Why is it that in so many of our most popular churches, in those filled confessedly by our most spiritual congregations, the name of the Father is not heard after the sermon begins?—that the blessed Spirit Himself, the Lord and the Giver of life, is, if alluded to at all, most generally designated by the neuter pronoun, and spoken of merely as a mysterious influence exercised by the Lord on the hearts of His converted and elected people?" We will venture to ask, in reply, why it is that neither our author nor her prompters—for the charge is by no means new—have ever had the courage to mention one of these popular churches, or to tell us where one of these spiritual congregations may be found? The accusation is painful to us only because it displays in those who make it a careless indifference about truth, which amounts to falsehood; falsehood the less pardonable, because the truth might be known so readily, and because the misrepresentation, if believed, would create, as it is meant to do, a deep prejudice against the faithful ministers of Christ and the cause of divine truth. If there be any difference between the early and the later Evangelical school, it is rather in favour of the latter. It was about the year 1820 that it began to be

felt that the work and personality of the Holy Spirit, though always recognised, had scarcely been allowed their full importance in the ministrations of the clergy. They were the men of 1810, Simeon, Scott, Daniel Wilson, and above all the rest, Haldane Stewart, who drew attention to a defect which few had noticed; for, in truth, they had always insisted on these doctrines, and had all along incurred the charge of fanaticism in consequence. But now they began to feel that they ought to be made still more prominent. Associations were formed throughout the country for discussion and special prayer upon this very topic. Many courses of sermons were preached upon it. Invocations of the Holy Spirit in prayer, and hymns addressed directly to Him, became more frequent. And, in short, if there be any difference between the later and the earlier school of Evangelical preachers, it is that the grace of the Father in sending His Son for us, and the grace of the Holy Spirit in carrying on the work of sanctification in us, are rather more fully exhibited, not more distinctly, for that were impossible, by the latter.

In a large body of men, consisting of many thousands, who are compelled to appear before their parishioners once at least every week, and in general much oftener, as public teachers, there is room, of course, for great variety. And ordinary candour, or rather common sense, should lead every critic to make due allowance for the inexperience of all young preachers, and the necessary want of vigour and even of accuracy in many old ones. The same men, though long trained, will sometimes be unequal; and now and then, no doubt, from ill health, from want of preparation, or simply, as Paley expresses it, because "his hand is out," an able minister delivers an indifferent sermon, defective, it may be, in doctrine, and feeble in its application to the conscience. We have this infirmity in common with our fathers of 1810, as they had it in common with the best of men. If it be desired to draw a fair comparison, let any divine of that date be chosen (Simeon or Venn, for instance), and let it be shown in what single point of doctrine the Evangelical preachers of 1860 have swerved from their honoured predecessors.

In the same spirit of detraction, our author runs on through other charges; all of them exaggerated, most of them untrue. Not that we charge her with intentional falsehood, no more than we charge a parrot with lying, when it repeats the lie it has been taught. Amongst the exaggerations, we place the statement, that "no Evangelical minister can now name the Holy Catholic Church, except in repeating the creeds; or dwell on the meaning and importance of baptism, and the supper of the *Lord*, except when compelled to do so by the rubric, without

being slandered as a Romanist in disguise." On each of these points, serious errors are abroad; from which we remark, by the way, Mr. Phillipps did not escape; and it is therefore necessary, when we speak either of the Catholic church, or of the Sacraments, to guard ourselves with a precision which was neither known nor wanted by our fathers in the Gospel fifty years ago. Amongst the impudent untruths which have been so often repeated that they are at length believed, none is more glaring than "that the Bible, in evangelical teaching, has long been substituted for the Holy Ghost, and is now often put in the place of Christ the Word." Why not charge us, as the poor Jews of York and Norwich were charged six hundred years ago, with roasting a child at Easter? The scandal would be a savoury morsel, and the falsehood no greater. Most of the other charges are of little importance, if true; but their truth is on a level with those to which we have replied.

There is one point, however, in this curious bill of indictment, to which we plead guilty without any sense of shame. "Evangelical religion is, as one well said, a thoroughly feminine form of religion, and in this respect is quite adapted for those domestic purposes for which the world specially needs it." If it did not sustain this character, if it were not a feminine form of religion, it would not be the religion of Jesus Christ. They who preached it would not be the true followers of him, of whom it is expressly recorded, that "the women ministered unto him;" "that he loved Lazarus, and Mary and Martha, his sisters;" and that, nailed to the cross, His last words expressed His sympathy for His mother's sorrow, and His concern for her future comfort. The religion of the Gospel called in a woman, with her husband, to assist in the conversion of an Apollos, "expounding to him the way of God more perfectly." It made a widow's house the refuge of the Church, when prayer was made for an apostle in chains and in a dungeon. A woman gave hospitality, at one and the same time, to the greatest of Apostles, and the very first of bishops. Women were fellow-helpers with Paul; and John, speaking by the Spirit, dedicates a letter to the Elect Lady whom he loved in the truth. The primitive Christianity seemed to haughty Scribes and wondering Philosophers a truly feminine form of religion; and, no doubt, they scorned it the more on this account. The strange thing now is, not that the offence should still be felt, but that it should be so keenly resented by a woman! The religion, however, which works well at home, or "is quite adapted for those domestic purposes for which the world needs it," must be the purest, deepest, strongest, of all those influences which God, in providence or grace, has brought to bear upon mankind. Home, if not the temple of the living God, is the den of devils. Here the fiercest passions revel;

here the highest conquests of grace are achieved. It requires more than a martyr's courage in thousands of God's children to bear up at home against the daily trial of cruel mockings in vulgar life—the contradiction, the ill-concealed contempt, or the studied, courtly rudeness in higher classes. Here it is, when grace reigns, that its noblest triumphs are displayed. In the privacy of home no human eye confronts the sinner, no fear of public opinion compels him to throw around him, however loosely he may wear it, the cloak of decency. Here he can display every evil temper, and indulge every unhallowed lust. A religion which is adapted for domestic purposes, which purifies the household and makes it the abode of holiness and love, is, we may rest assured, that form of godliness which Christ approves. Our author, however, does not approve it; one reason is, "it fiercely denounces the world in the opera and the ball-room," which certainly few other religionists profess to do. If she can show us that these, and especially the former, are consistent with the command, "Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world;" "for all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eye and the pride of life, are not of the Father but are of the world," we will venture at once to promise, on behalf of the Evangelical clergy, that "the fierceness" of their denunciations shall be toned down to more dulcet strains. So it is, however; evangelical religion, all-powerful at home, "is feeble everywhere;" a proposition which the reader will of course admit. A little preliminary drilling will, however, be required. It will be necessary that he at the same time unlearn all that books, all that experience, nay, all that our modern philosophy, German or English, spiritual or political, has ever inculcated. He must believe that society is not made up of individuals, or states of families, or that public opinion is the result of education; nor must he allow that the most abiding education, and that which leaves its deepest traces on the man in the most important years of his life, was carried on at home; the result of parental discipline was the effect of a mother's teaching and a mother's prayers. All this being granted, he may begin at length to see his way to the conclusion, that a religion which is powerful at home may be impotent abroad.

Evangelical religion is again upon its trial under circumstances to which it has been long a stranger. It has borne itself well in poverty and shame; how will it bear the caresses of the great and wealthy, and the respect of the wise? It is, no doubt, a new discipline; but if it be of God, we have nothing to fear for the result. The prophet was equally unharmed in the lions' den and in the palace of the king of Babylon. The temptations were of a different kind, no doubt; but the same grace was sufficient for

each emergency. So it will be with Evangelical religion, if it be of God. New trials—for prosperity is a grievous trial—will elicit fresh graces, or else the lamp of God will be removed; and with the loss of spiritual life in the Evangelical body, the Church of England will be finally undone. The form of religion cannot be the true one which melts away in the sunshine. We are to be "instant in season" as well as "out of season." We are therefore to expect favouring gales as well as rude blasts of wind, even from the world without. Paul, with all his afflictions, was "courteously entreated" by men in power sometimes; it did him no harm, for he knew how to abound" as well as "how to suffer want;" and our Lord Himself was once received with hosannahs in the city where He had come up to die. The religion which cannot bear prosperity is but a feeble sapling, and needs the sharp pruning of the master of the vineyard.

But we are not afraid. Indeed, many things indicate that the present gleams of sunshine may soon be obscured. The church, the true church of Christ, God's spiritual believing people, have many conflicts yet before them. But neither of this are we afraid. It was noticed in our late campaigns that the youth of the noblest families sacrificed their ease with as much indifference as the private soldier, and bore up with as much cheerfulness as though nursed in poverty and inured to all its hardships. The soldiers of the living God will not be wanting to their Great Captain when the battle is joined, whether on fields of snow or on plains withered by the scorching sun; for they fight not in their own strength, but in that of Him whose watchword to one and all of them is this: "My grace is sufficient for thee."

MIRACLES NOT INCONSISTENT WITH GENERAL LAWS.

In our employment of machinery upon almost every department of human labour, we are undesignedly imitating the method of general laws so largely adopted by the great Creator Himself. When, instead of the hand, we use a machine, we substitute the agency of some general principles in lieu of the direct operations of the living person. These principles become second causes; and it is precisely the substitution which occurs in any province of the government of God, where we find a general law apparently taking the place of His immediate and personal interference. There is an

analogy, likewise, in the results; for in their accuracy, uniformity, and multiplicity, the products of machinery represent in miniature the wondrous offspring of nature's grander laws.

It is a curious fact, that the tendency of art in its higher branches seems to be thus both to generalize its operations and to work by secondary causes. There are conspicuous exceptions, but this is the rule. The more consummate the skill actually employed, the more remote will seem the hand that employs it. Art hides the artificer, and produces the greatest results by what will appear the most self-acting machine.

In printing, for instance, or pattern-painting, instead of labouring at the detailed formation of each letter or figure, as in manuscript or hand-painting, we employ the general laws of colouring, pressure, and steam; and the result is, that we can in a few hours cover acres of space with uniform and elaborate impressions of the same sheet. But no painter's hand is seen. In locomotion, too, instead of seeking an extension of power by the multiplication of individual strength, yoking myriads of beasts of burden to the task, or assembling a multitude such as swarms round the car of Juggernaut, art has introduced the level rail, and the potent steam engine, by which thousands of ponderous vehicles run to and fro with ease, adhering to their tables of time with a regularity emulating that of the tides and planets. The result is far greater, but the human agent by several degrees more remote. To the questions, What draws the waggon? what moves the idol-car? the answers are direct, namely, the horse—the crowd. But when we ask, what moves the railway train? the answer is, the engine; and we must further inquire, what moves the engine? what creates the steam? who kindles the fire? before we arrive at the living agents,—the driver, or the engineer who invented this contrivance.

Having purposed to accomplish results upon the most stupendous scale, the Divine Artificer has seen fit to pursue precisely the same principle of action, and to establish a system of general mechanical agencies in place of His own direct and detailed operation. To frame the fruits and petals, the boughs and roots, of the vegetable world, He has consigned them each, in their several classes, to certain laws of reproduction. And how well, throughout the revolutions of ages, has the delicate machinery of light and moisture, earth and air, fulfilled its appointed task, accurately preserving the primary type! The roses that perfume our summers, and those that bloomed in the gardens of Solomon, are one; the lilies, the laurels, the oaks, the apples, are the same. In numbers far outdistancing human thought, they are poured forth from

that wondrous apparatus. The sun and the rain, the ground and the flower, we can see; but the Great First Cause stands further back, and is veiled from our view. Or, to adduce a still plainer case: instead of acting upon the planets by the direct power of His hand, the Creator has committed them to the influence of the laws of motion and attraction. Here we can, as it were, almost see a system of elaborate machinery at work. The sun in the centre, like a gigantic furnace and engine, impels the whole. The numerous spheres, small and great, like whirling wheels, obey it; and mutual gravitation, as with unseen cords and chains, connects them with their centre and with each other. Thus they roll on, from age to age, unerringly in their appointed circuits. The more direct causes and influences we can perceive, but the great Designer Himself is hidden from our sight.

Nor does the dissimilarity which is apparent between the agencies employed by the Creator and those resorted to by ourselves in any way destroy their general analogy, or the strict oneness of their principle. We might surely be prepared for a vast disparity. The laws employed by man are merely adaptations of those which he finds already existing in the material world. He can originate none. His knowledge, moreover, of these is scanty, his skill in applying them very limited; at best, therefore, his efforts are but rude and most imperfect copies of the glorious processes of nature. We paint our coarse patterns, or print our myriad sheets, with complex engines, in the din of the workshop, amidst the roar of the fires, and the fumes of gas and colours; but the laboratory where the Heavenly Artificer frames the flowers, and the engines with which He compounds their rainbow hues, are ethereal and unseen. To transport our loaded trains, we must with ponderous couplings attach them to the steam locomotive. A paragon of skill it is, bright with brass and glossy with oil, the pride of the engineer; yet, after all, but a cumbrous contrivance, tracking its way in noise and smoke. But when God launches forth through immensity the array of suns and planets, their inconceivable velocities are given and preserved by an apparatus so subtle that no eye but the philosopher's could detect its existence. These are self-evident discrepancies, nevertheless the principle is the same. The result is obtained by intermediate agencies, commonly termed second causes, and not by the direct action of the living First Cause—the Designer Himself.

Could no further parallel be traced between the human and the superhuman process, one very important conclusion, at least, would have been obtained; namely, that since the world of general laws, which in the aggregate we call Nature, is no

other than a vast and exquisite machine, or system of machinery, the consignment of existing things to its governance, whereby they seem endowed with a sort of isolated independence and a principle of self-regulation, is so far from evincing the non-existence of a designer that it furnishes a most significant indication and high presumptive proof of design the most profound, and of art in its loftiest exercise.

But the comparison may very reasonably be extended a step beyond this, and will thus serve to elucidate a further point of deepest interest. It is, the perfect consistency of miraculous interference with a system and organization of general laws.

Though apparently ever so independent, no machine is actually self-governing; still less is it so fabricated as to defy the control of the living mind and hand that formed it. An ungovernable machine would be an anomaly; and, however great its powers, art would, by such a construction, have made no true advance, but have outwitted herself. Her beau ideal would rather be machinery that combined the greatest powers with the utmost sensitiveness or obedience to the touch of the operator himself. So likewise the very excellence of the laws of nature, considered scientifically, would be measured by the degree in which they exhibited this union, and, amidst all their marvellous routine, admitted, without any infringement of their intrinsic properties, an entire control or suspension by the same hand which created them. This is plainly a fundamental constituent of merit in our own arts. Of what avail would be our electric machine, did we not possess the power of tempering, directing, and arresting the current of its mysterious fluid? Of what advantage our gas works, could we not reduce, suspend, and rekindle our lights at pleasure? What progress would have been made in the science of locomotion, unless in the steam-engine submission had been united with power? The more effective the expedients to secure this combination, the more promptly it could have its flying speed slackened at will, or be brought to a stand without violence, to avert an accident, or discharge its freight, the greater would be the triumph of art. Now, to multiply, almost indefinitely, velocity, vastness, and power, whilst still retaining, or even increasing, this mastery over them, would be an achievement, the grandeur of which the human mind could appreciate, but would fruitlessly endeavour to attain. It is, however, precisely what we might expect to find in the works of Him who delights, as we have seen, in presenting us with examples of scientific perfection.

It is quite possible that, in miraculous intervention, we have exhibitions of this very character. Such intervention need by no means consist in an abrupt and incongruous exercise, on

the part of the Deity, of an absolute power, contravening and nullifying the system which He had designed. It is this idea of miracles which has made them seem to some persons incredible; though they do not doubt God's power thus to interpose, they feel it so unlikely that He would thus use it, that they can scarce yield their assent to the supposition. But the above considerations may serve to clear away the difficulty. What appears to us to be incompatible with general laws and subversive of their scientific principles, may, in reality, be nothing of the kind. On the contrary, it may be but the calling into exercise of other essential properties of those laws, and an additional proof of the matchlessness of their structure. The miracles of the highest order, such as the instantaneous arrest and the reversal of the earth in her orbit, without shock or injury, do not necessarily involve in them anything but instances of control, on the part of the Divine Artificer, no other in kind, though in a far more wondrous degree, than that exercised by the human agent who arrests the movements of a giant machine of his own construction by the simple turning of a screw, the closing of a valve, or a touch of his finger. Even had the universe in every department been consigned to the regulation of secondary causes, or a system of scientific laws, such interference would have been by no means incredible. The great living First Cause, though remote, still actuates the whole; and every law, to be scientifically unexceptionable, must possess within it the principle of readiest obedience to His sway.

It is not, however, intended for a moment to insinuate that this is the necessary and only way of solving the phenomena of miracles. Doubtless they may be the results of absolute and abnormal interposition. We must recollect that while with us the use of the machine is a necessity, if certain fixed results are to be produced, the adoption of the method of general laws is wholly the act of the Creator's will. It were as easy for the Omnipresent One to form in detail, and superintend separately, each subject of His workmanship, as to effect the result by a general process. Without the laws of vegetation, He could form each several flower; without the laws of instinct, He could guide the wild beasts through the mazes of the forest, and the insect to its cell; without the laws of gravitation, He could conduct each sphere in its mystic course. It would, consequently, be most unreasonable to suppose that He has surrendered anything of His dominion over these His creatures through the action of laws which He voluntarily introduced. It is perfectly conceivable that He might, from time to time, set aside all their properties, destroy their processes, and subject them all to the one supreme law of His

own potency. At the same time, it is more conformable with the usual method of His dealings to suppose that, having adopted the more artificial system, He would adhere to it; and hence it is that miraculous interferences become more probable, though not, strictly speaking, more credible, if, as has been shown, they can be entirely harmonized with that system itself.

And besides, if we thus allow the explanation of miracles on the principles of art, we are not by any means depriving ourselves of the ability to produce examples of the Creator's absolute sovereignty and independence of systems. The remark was made at the outset, that there are branches of artistic skill which form exceptions to the usual method of the adoption of second causes. There are many of its more refined operations where no appliance can supersede the direct employment of the hand. And similarly we can perceive that in the government of God there are certain departments which He has reserved for His own more immediate administration, with little or no intervention of secondary laws. The fitful events of human life, together with the motions of the winds and clouds, which bear so closely upon its circumstances, these, being connected with His moral government, the highest department of His rule, seem left, in great measure, to the detailed and special conduct of His providential hand. We are not accustomed to consider ordinary or even very special providences in the light of miracles, and it is for this reason they take place under opposite constitutions. In miracles there is exhibited the power of developing fresh properties of a general law, whilst in providences there is direct interposition without such law.

Since, then, the glorious attribute of God's perfect sovereignty has abundant manifestation in this method of His providence, we are left at full liberty to account for miraculous interposition on the other principle we have indicated. We may consider it, not as an arbitrary infraction of the laws of nature, but as an amazing display of that attribute of the Deity which, in human language, would be termed the perfection of scientific skill.

In this view, miracles are seen to be, in the fullest sense, consistent with general laws; they present no difficulty to the reasoning mind; they readily harmonize with our conception of the divine wisdom and unchangeableness, as well as with our acknowledgment of His power, and instead of being subjects for incredulity and evasion, they take their due rank as the most impregnable testimony to revealed truth.

E. D.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ON REPENTANCE.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—There is one aspect of repentance which, it appears to me, your correspondent W. B. M. has not sufficiently insisted upon. He says most truly, that a true penitent does not bring his repentance to Christ as a ground of peace; but he does not say, what is equally true, that his repentance does bring the sinner to Christ. For what is it which moves him to come to Christ but a conviction of sin? and what does he come to Christ for but to be delivered from that sin which he feels to be an intolerable burden—a hard master, from whose galling yoke he is taught Christ came into the world on purpose to redeem him? And what is this conviction of sin, and this longing to be disenthralled from its bondage, but that μετανοια—that change of mind with regard to sin which Christ Himself proclaimed, and His Apostles proclaimed as an indispensable prerequisite for entering into the kingdom of heaven? I quite agree with W. B. M. that repentance in a child of God is a progressive grace which becomes deeper and more intensified as he advances in the divine life; but everything has its beginning, and it is, I think, incontrovertible that repentance in its initial state is antecedent to that faith which accepts Christ as a Saviour, and is imputed to the believer for righteousness.

Sir, yours, &c.,

EDMUND CARR.

The Outwoods, near Derby.

OBITUARY.

THE REV. J. HAMPDEN GURNEY.

IT is with deep concern that we announce the death of this eminent minister of Christ, the rector of St. Mary's, Bryanstone-square. He has been taken suddenly from us, after a few days' illness, in the midst of a career which seemed to promise many years of usefulness and honour—honour such as waits upon the mature labours and ripened wisdom of the faithful servant of God. Mr. Hampden Gurney was in his sixtieth year, but his appearance gave no sign of failing strength. A robust frame seemed to foretell a long life; but a few days of typhoid fever, and the scene closed. He has left a large family to mourn his loss, a large and most important parish to whom the loss is scarcely less grievous, and a wide circle of christian friends. The London clergy, as a body, share in the general grief, sorrowfully deploring the absence of one whose wisdom in counsel they knew from long experience how to appreciate.

Mr. Hampden Gurney was one of several children of the late Baron Gurney. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he obtained the first English declamation prize. We notice this as a proof how in early life he had begun to direct his attention to a noble study, which the pedantry of that day affected to despise, the study of our own language, in the use of which, in its bold and manly forms, and yet with an accurate discernment of its nicer shades, he was afterwards an acknowledged master. When he took his degree in 1824 he was third in the classical tripos, and had a fair place in mathematical honours.

His father destined him for the profession of the law, conscious, as he was, of his superior powers, and naturally anxious that he should distinguish himself in his own profession; and Mr. Hampden Gurney, after taking his degree, read two years with a view to the bar. But solemn thoughts of the christian ministry, and of his call thereto, were laying hold upon his conscience, while at the same time he was becoming more and more deeply impressed with the reality of true religion, and was brought more fully beneath its gracious influences. He gave up his prospects at the bar, and became a humble curate in a country village.

He took orders as curate of Lutterworth, where he remained seventeen years. Offers of good preferment were repeatedly made to him, but he did not feel disposed to desert his post. His influence, for a curate and a young man, was remarkable, for his character won respect and confidence. He was bold without presumption, very faithful in his ministry, and not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; and there was something in his manner and bearing which marked him out as one of those who are made to govern without being suspected of doing so, and perhaps without the consciousness of doing it. He collected funds and got a handsome monument erected to the memory of Wickliffe, whose college cap and gown, we remember, were still preserved with pious care in a glass case in the vestry; and he led the way in a much more important work. When in 1834 the Municipal Reform Bill was before Parliament—one feature of which was the compulsory sale of the rights of patronage possessed by the old corporations—he saw at once the importance of the occasion, and wrote and privately circulated an energetic letter to Mr. Simeon, urging upon him the purchase of the advowsons of some of the largest and most populous parishes in our great towns, and having them vested in Mr. Simeon's trustees. Mr. Simeon had already set apart a large sum from his own private property—all that he could afford, indeed—for the same object. He was delighted with the ardour of his young friend, and resolved to proceed, trusting to the aid he might receive from others, in consequence of Mr. Gurney's appeal. We have a letter by us—and we believe he wrote many others to the same purpose—in which he says, "If an angel from heaven had spoken, could I have been more certain than I now am that I ought to go forward?" and forward he went thus nobly seconded. About ten thousand pounds were raised; and many thousand souls since then have had reason to bless God for the wisdom and hearty zeal of Hampden Gurney, no less than for the holy disinterestedness of the venerable Simeon.

He left Lutterworth to become Honorary Secretary to "the Scripture Readers Society," then in its infancy. Lay agency in the Church of England was at that time as much slighted, as it has now at last come to be esteemed. Mr. Gurney had the foresight to perceive its importance, if the Church of England must really do her work and maintain her position. In four anonymous letters addressed to the bishop of Exeter, he defended the soundness of the principle with great ability, and showed the futility of the objections with which it was assailed. He was also the author, at various times, of several interesting volumes of historical and biographical memoirs, which have found a place in our Christian literature.

About fourteen years ago he was presented to the important living which he held till the time of his death. He was presented to it by the Crown, and Lord Aberdeen a few years afterwards, on the death of Dr. Spry, offered him the higher post of Rector of Marylebone. This, however, he declined. But he accepted an honorary prebend at St. Paul's, offered him by the bishop of London; gratified the more, since it was the first vacant one that fell to his lordship's gift. We have reason to know that on one point of serious importance,—we refer to the divine obligation of the Lord's day—his views were very different from those which at one period he was thought by some to entertain. He held the same conclusion as to the sanctity of the Lord's day with the rest of his brethren, though he arrived at it by a different process. We naturally have pleasure in mentioning that he took great interest in the Christian Observer, and was occasionally a writer in our pages. He was a warm friend of the Bible and Church Missionary Societies, and when in the country often travelled about to assist their "deputations" on the platform.

His spirit was catholic and his heart large. Maintaining firmly the great doctrines of the Gospel, as understood and taught by the Evangelical clergy, he was anxious to believe that all essential truths were held by many of those who disclaim the title of Evangelical clergymen in their dread of party. What his own ministry was his sermons tell; and we have directed attention to them in these pages more than once, as eminently practical, and as worthy of being made the study of our younger brethren. Mr. Thorold, whose former position as curate of a neighbouring church gave him many opportunities of knowing Mr. Gurney well, says of him:—

"Mr. Gurney's vigour was apparent in a moment to all who came into contact with it. His athletic form, his masculine intellect, his warm affections, his determined will, all bore the stamp of power. Upright, liberal, unworldly as any village boy, fearless as a soldier of a hundred battles, to his sturdier qualities he could join a rare considerateness, for which the world did not give him credit: and for those whom he loved there was a fountain of exquisite tenderness in the manliest and truest of hearts. His preaching must be better known to you than to any one. I conceive it to have been practical rather than dogmatic: expository rather than controversial; never sentimental, yet on special occasions flowing over with human love; winding its skilful way through all the relations of life, and considering the events of the hour in the light of eternity. If he never much discussed what may be called the niceties of theology; if his mind was of an objective rather than subjective cast; if his teaching as a whole rather elevated the moral life than edified the spiritual, he held manfully fast of Evangelical doctrine; no one could say of him that he preached a false Gospel. Justification by faith in a living

Saviour, the sufficiency of the Word of God for the instruction and regeneration of man—the Vicarious Atonement of the Lord Jesus—the Divine Obligation of the Lord's Day, were truths of which he was firmly persuaded—were topics which from time to time he clearly and unflinchingly enforced. Of the freshness, of the acuteness, of the masterly power of his sermons, you, I say, are the best judges. If sometimes he enlarged, even with severity, on the duty of liberal almsgiving, he was always the first himself to set the example; if the feeling occasionally escaped him, that his influence with you was not all that it ought to be, he was jealous over you with a godly jealousy: you must make allowance for the sensitiveness of a pastor's conscience. I know how he desired your conversion and edification unto God. I know that it was a matter of deep regret with him, that he did not see more fruit of his labours. I know that, like all the rest of us, he was apt to say, 'Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?' I know that, so far from being complacent about his work, it was almost a temptation to him to murmur, 'I have spent my strength in vain.' "*

A great man in Israel has fallen. And while we bow in submission to the divine will, we are not forbidden at the same time deeply to deplore our loss. Nor ought we to forget to pray the Lord of the harvest, that there never may be wanting a succession of faithful men, endowed as he was with calmness, courage, deep personal religion, and holy disinterestedness, and thus duly qualified to serve God in the sacred ministry of His Church.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

Inspiration; a Dialogue between a Christian and his Pastor. By the Rev. James Kelly, M.A. Nisbet. 1862. — Many readers will dissent from some of Mr. Kelly's conclusions; none, we think, will be disposed to deny that for all of them he brings forward powerful arguments. He takes the highest ground, and maintains the inspiration of the very words of Holy Scripture. So much has been written lately upon the subject in our own pages, and in a multitude of other works, to many of which we have directed the attention of our readers, that we are obliged to dismiss Mr. Kelly's shilling tract with this brief notice. The least we can say is, that it is deeply thoughtful, and that the reader will do well to consider the subject seriously; and not lightly to reject without examination even that high view of inspiration which Mr. Kelly adopts; and especially we would have him to consider what Mr. Kelly terms "the suicidal principles of some writers," who, giving up the doctrine of a plenary inspiration, have, in fact, opened the door to the conclusion that the inspiration of no one part of Scripture is perfectly secure.

* The Memory of the Just. A Sermon, preached in St. Mary's, Marylebone, Sunday evening, March the 16th, 1862, on the occasion of the death of the Rev. John Hampden Gurney, M.A., Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Rector of St. Mary's, Marylebone. By the Rev. Anthony W. Thorold, M.A., Rector of St. Giles' in the Fields, &c. Acton Griffith, 8, Baker Street. 1862.

The Life of Arthur Vandeleur, Major, Royal Artillery. By the Author of "Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars," "English Hearts and English Hands," &c. London, James Nisbet and Co. 1862.— We once heard the complaint, from a pious layman, that of religious biographies so large a proportion were those of ministers of religion. We believe the feeling is very common, though not frequently expressed. The clergy read these memoirs with avidity, and derive, no doubt, great advantage from them; by the congregations of the deceased, and their private friends, they are highly prized. But the layman, immersed in business, or struggling with the difficulties of a professional career, feels that a great part, perhaps by far the greater part, of such a biography has no special words of counsel, caution, or encouragement for him. Sensible laymen often feel this of the sermons to which they listen from week to week. They feel the want of sympathy; the preacher does not understand their case; he does not enter into their difficulties; and though what he breaks to them is truly the bread of life, he deals it out, if we may use the expression, in such lumps that, unless the spiritual appetite be good, they find it sometimes hard of digestion. We are, therefore, always glad of a well written religious biography, of which the subject was himself a layman, and we could scarcely wish for anything more to our purpose than the beautiful little volume with which Miss Marsh has favoured us. It is the story of one whose life, spent in the service of his country, was not the less devoted to the service of his Lord. A character not less noble, not less lovely, not less affectionate, not less soldierly than that of Hedley Vicars himself. Nor is the record drawn up with less skill or pathos, or spiritual wisdom. Already we perceive a second thousand has been called for, and it will be followed, we have no doubt, with many thousands more. Nor is there any want of interest such as the adventures a soldier's life impart. In his short life Vandeleur saw much service. In what spirit he entered the army, the first entry in his journal, after obtaining his commission, tells:—

"*Monday, November 29th*, 1847.— So here I am, through the mercy of my good God, comfortably settled in my quarters in the Royal Artillery Barracks. O my God, open Thou my lips, that my mouth may show forth Thy praise. Lord, I am Thy servant; let me rejoice that Thou hast taken me into Thy service. My humble prayer to Thee is, that Thou wouldst give me strength of mind and courage in an abundant measure, that Thy Holy Spirit may enable me to resist, without flinching, the laughing scoff of an ungodly world. Yea, Lord, why should I be ashamed to own that Thou hast chosen me; that I am the adopted son of that great and glorious God who inhabiteth eternity. Oh, teach me to rejoice and to bless Thee for having made me 'an heir of God, and a joint heir with Christ.' What infinite love and condescension! Oh, for ever will I praise and magnify Thy holy name, which alone is worthy to be praised and had in honour! To Thee will I give glory, both here and throughout the endless ages hereafter."

How nobly he fulfilled the promise of such a beginning, in the West Indies, in the Crimean campaign, and afterwards at Gibraltar, until he came home sickening, and soon to die, we have the recital here. It is the record of a truly happy and holy life, and of a death such as they only who believe in Him, who has the keys of death and of hell, can hope for. "The world," says Miss Marsh, "has seen," alluding no doubt to Captain Vicars, "with what calm courage the

Christian can meet death amidst the fierce excitement and mortal terrors of a battle field. But this Christian soldier met death alone, step by step steadily advancing face to face with the 'last enemy,' and yet 'feared no evil.' 'There is NO DEATH,' he said, 'for a man who believes in a Saviour. He cannot die. He is in 'the Life,' for he is *in* Jesus; and thus he is a part of Life Eternal.'"

We need not commend such a work as this; it carries its own commendation with it. May the pen which has written two such memoirs long be used with equal power in the service of the same Lord and Master.

Title Deeds of the Church of England to her Parochial Endowments. By Edward Miall. London: Longman. 1862.—The object of this treatise, after an ostentatious parade of candour and impartiality, appears to be to prove that the church of England has *no* title deeds to her parochial endowments, consequently that she "can own no property, and therefore can be despoiled of none;" that practically, and in relation to all national ecclesiastical endowments, the church of England, as a corporate unity, does not exist—that the church of England was framed by parliament for the whole people, and not for a part of them; and that parliament has a full, constitutional, and equitable right to dispose of the bulk of what is called church property as, in its wisdom, it shall at any time see fit. These are some of the startling conclusions at which Mr. Miall endeavours to arrive. He indignantly observes, that "it is misfortune enough to be deprived of the advantage of an ecclesiastical common, provided by and for the public, whether because we have no cattle to graze there, or because we prefer feeding our flocks and herds in inclosed meadows; and it is adding insult to injury to tell us that, by ceasing to use our privileges we lose our rights." Now, we would ask, who has been injured or insulted? Who has been deprived of the right of this, so called, ecclesiastical common? Is it not now, and has it not ever been, to carry out the simile, open to every description of religious or irreligious animal in the kingdom? And because the owner of a commonable animal may prefer to put it in a private enclosure, and be perfectly at liberty to do so if he please, *without* losing his right of common, this is almost termed a hardship! Is it not a much greater hardship, as in some continental countries, to be compelled to turn your animal on the "ecclesiastical common" of the state, whether it die there or not of starvation or of poisonous weeds? Mr. Miall then adds, that, "happily, this is not constitutional law; for in *the eye of the law* the church of England is, in regard to the rights of the subject, no more the inheritance of one man than another." Mr. Miall is here unquestionably correct as far as he goes; but we go still further, and say that every man not only has this right *in the eye of the law*, but that by custom he has never been deprived of this right, and can enjoy it when he chooses; and, we are well pleased to add, Dissenters do "turn on" upon the common in great numbers, and on occasions too many to be noted.

Help for the Helpless. By W. B. Mackenzie, M.A., Incumbent of St. James's, Holloway. Seeley. 1862.—A little volume of nineteen

chapters, full of Christian experience, and therefore full of consolation and of help for the helpless. It seems to have been more especially designed for those who, in this transitory life, are in sorrow, need, sickness, or other adversity; and truly the number is never small. To such, however, after the Book of books, few religious writings of the consolatory class are more wisely, tenderly, or forcibly written than that before us. Perhaps the reader—for we are happy to know that we have readers of every class and every shade of thought—may wish to know more exactly what is meant by experimental religion. One page from Mr. Mackenzie's book will, we hope, assist such a one to understand us better:—

"The gospel is, after all, often misunderstood. Even ministers have preached for years, without stating, or knowing, what its glad tidings are. Thomas Scott, the commentator, relates, in his 'Force of Truth,' that this was his case. Dr. Chalmers, in his first parish, did not understand the gospel which he was ordained to preach. Remarkable also is the case of Dr. Conyers, Rector of Deptford, whose funeral sermon was preached by John Newton. Reading the second lesson in church, Eph. iii., he came to the words, 'That I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ.' Instantly the thought struck him, that he had never perceived any unspeakable riches in Him. He always concluded the gospel to be a very plain affair, that a man must do his best, and leave the results; and was astonished that the apostle should find anything difficult to search out. He felt that he must be all wrong,—his faith, knowledge, experience wrong,—that his own personal Christianity—his hopes for salvation—his preaching—his ministry and work among the people, wrong—and that he had been a blind leader of the blind. The peril of his own soul, aggravated by the ruin to others by his ignorant and unfaithful ministrations, alarmed him distressingly. Pacing his room in great conflict, the Scripture came to his mind, 'The blood of Jesus Christ his son cleanseth from all sin.' He believed that promise,—his fears were instantly dispelled,—he fixed his hopes on the blood and righteousness of Christ,—and obtained peace with God.

"'I went backwards and forwards,' he said, 'clapping my hands for joy: crying out, "I have found Him,—I have found Him, whom my soul loveth,—and, for some time, so full of joy was I, that whether in the body, or out of the body, I could hardly tell."' The Spirit thus took of the things of Christ, and shewed them to him. He found 'the unsearchable riches' for himself; and thenceforth made them known to others.

"The leading idea of the gospel may be known, and the language familiar. It may be admitted to be the right subject for preaching. But, as to any particular interest, any relish, any marked benefit, any change on the character and life, attributable to the gospel, any discovery or enjoyment whereby we are blessed with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ, that, after all, is the real question." (pp. 262—264.)

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE greatest of English moralists, and one of the greatest of her divines, has laid down the axiom, that "with us probability is the guide of life." Yet there are times when the course of nature, of which the same great writer so often speaks, seems to be absolutely inverted: whatever is most unlikely comes to pass; whatever seemed

most probable does not take place. Let the reader go back and imagine himself to be living on this first day of April only two years ago; let him suppose that he is told, without preface or explanation, that within two years the United States of America shall be broken up; that the New England states shall be the most heavily taxed people in the whole civilized world; that there shall be a standing army on both sides of the Potomac numbering eight hundred thousand men; that civil liberty shall be entirely suspended in the New England states, yet not in the slave states; and that all this shall be the act and deed of America herself. Let him then cross the ocean and land himself in China, and there learn that the Taepings, who were printing copies of St. Matthew's Gospel, and professing to obey the ten commandments given on Sinai, shall prove themselves, within two years, a horde of ruthless ruffians, whom Great Britain, for their crimes, might well exterminate from the face of the earth. Let him be further told that England and France, instead of turning their arms against each other, would sail round the world in happy alliance, assisted (of all nations!) by Spain, to deliver Mexico from herself and her domestic tyrants. And if all this be not enough to tax his credulity to the utmost, let him be informed that a new export trade shall suddenly be opened, that Liverpool shall supply America with cotton, while not a bale is sent to England from New York or Charleston. Two years ago, not one of these predictions could have been uttered without exposing its author to contempt, or to the suspicion of insanity. No height of political fanaticism would have accounted for his extravagance. Yet all this has taken place; and it has come to pass by no supernatural means, but in what we term the ordinary course of things, quietly and gradually. Superficial men, now that all has happened, see nothing wonderful. Such men see nothing wonderful in the mightiest changes, unless there has been something in them to shock the senses. It is only the thoughtful who perceive anything of the importance of these mighty revolutions. Miracles were therefore in mercy given to the unthinking multitude in the days of old; for on them all moral phenomena are lost.

And if the past has violated all probability, the future defies all conjecture. Let us again take the instance of America. It is nearly a month since the Federal press, and indeed the leading members of their government, confidently predicted that within three months the rebels would be conquered and the Union restored. Just at the same time Earl Russell, in the House of Lords, expressed the same opinion so far as the duration of the contest was concerned; and the hope was generally entertained. Since then the Federals have gained a great victory in the capture of Fort Donnelson; they have succeeded in forcing their army at several points into the border states, and even by the Mississippi into the state of Tennessee, which lies almost in the heart of the Confederacy, and have penetrated to Nashville, its capital. By the latest mail we learn that President Lincoln, as commander-in-chief, has ordered the whole Federal army to be prepared for an advance on the 22nd inst. The Confederate States are now invaded by an army numerically greater than that with which Napoleon crossed the Niemen in 1812, and we may expect to hear, what will be to us

revolting tidings, of fighting and slaughter on a scale of frightful magnitude. But no thoughtful person, statesman or soldier, cares at present to hazard a speculation as to the probable result. Grant that the Federals are everywhere victorious. Can victories, however splendid—we do not say restore the Union—but can they force a peace? Even this baffles conjecture. The Southern republic seems prepared to repeat the strategy which made the Russian campaign terrible—a page of horrors even in the annals of war, written as they are within and without in characters of blood. The Southerners, wherever they retire, seem resolved to leave only a desert behind them, or a smoldering furnace. Their President admits the greatness of their calamity in the loss of Fort Donnelson, but in the spirit of an old Roman. The few ships they possess,—scarcely enough to be termed a navy,—boldly dare to challenge the Federals and come off victorious. After a fight, such as we have not heard of since our great war with France, they sunk one frigate and captured and burnt another; three steam vessels were engaged on the Confederate side, and two sailing frigates on the other. The Merrimac, it should be noted, however, one of the Confederate vessels, was an iron-clad steam frigate. She has initiated a new kind of warfare and set at rest the question of the terrible power of such vessels as the Warrior and La Gloire. A dreadful triumph of science devoting her best energies to the destruction of mankind! The next day the fight was renewed on more equal terms, the Merrimac being matched against the Monitor, an iron plated steam-ship like herself; but neither side could now claim the victory. It must be noted, too, that as the Federals advance the slaves do not rise against their masters, and no Union party starts up to welcome its deliverers. What, then, is to be the result of this campaign? All seems confusion. What hope there is arises chiefly from the conduct of the Federal government. Mr. Lincoln has sent down a message to Congress suggesting a scheme for the purchase of slaves from those states which may be willing to part with them; for there is to be no compulsion. Would that he had made the same offer twelve months ago. The proposition is a bold one; but the house of representatives have at once adopted it. If successful, it will probably detach the border states from the Southern confederacy, and is no doubt designed to do so. But to succeed, it will add another hundred millions to the Northern debt, and therefore we have not the slightest hope that it will succeed. Even if the slaveholders accept the terms, it will be impossible, we believe, to raise the funds. The Federals have yet to learn how the sight of the tax-gatherer shocks the most enthusiastic patriots. Not his first appearance; but the monotonous, irritating repetition of his imperious, inexorable demand. If ever a friendly nation needed our forbearance and commiseration, it is the United States, both Federals and Confederates alike.

At home, parliament has not yet plunged into any great questions of national importance. The old Code, and the Revised Code, have each of them their advocates. We counsel peace and a compromise, for the same reason that we have presumed to offer the same advice to the fiercer belligerents across the Atlantic; namely, because a compromise must come at last, if indeed the struggle

should not last too long; for in that case there seems to be some danger that the educational grant itself may disappear. Mr. Edward Baines has given notice of an amendment on Mr. Walpole's motion, expressing a feeling which has only to be enunciated to find supporters. And yet, if carried, the grant would melt away into very small dimensions. He proposes—1. "That, in order to prevent the unnecessary and undue expenditure of the public money, it is expedient that managers, before receiving the capitation grant, should declare their belief that the circumstances of the parents of the children attending their schools were such as to require public assistance, and that the district in which such school is situated is one where a good and efficient school could not be maintained without aid from the public purse." 2. "That, although evening schools are valuable as a means of carrying on the education received in day schools, it is inexpedient to grant public money for their support, inasmuch as the youth attending them are generally in the receipt of wages, and are well able to pay a small charge; and because a number of evening schools already exist, and are constantly increasing both in number and efficiency."

Before our next number appears, the great International Exhibition will have drawn, it is expected, a crowd of foreigners to London, and amongst them many persons of distinction, perhaps some crowned heads. There is a great desire, in which we heartily concur, to seize the golden opportunity for leading the serious attention of the strangers to what the Apostle terms "the glorious Gospel of the blessed God." We are not, we hope, disposed to be censorious towards those whose exertions we honour, and for whom we have only sentiments of affection or respect; nor do we wish to read them a homily: but we must suggest to pious English gentlemen and Christian ladies at home, as well as to the bulk of English travellers abroad, the propriety of paying more attention to the apostolic precept, "Be courteous." Our own blunt off-handed manner with each other may be harmless; to a foreigner it is often offensive, and never more so than when his religion is called in question. A great preacher said, no man was ever yet scolded into piety: and no foreigner, we will add, will leave our shores impressed with the superiority of English Protestantism, if he is given to understand, in our own dry manner and supercilious tone, that we pity his darkness, and wish to teach him better things. Let us try for once to "become all things to all men," so that we "may win some."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE are obliged to W. W. S. and J. C. Much time is lost by advertisers addressing their letters containing advertisements, &c., to the Editor. They should be sent to our publishers, and addressed to them.

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ON THE PARABLES.

In studying the Holy Scriptures, the parables cannot be overlooked. Indeed, these portions of the Word require special attention; for while they are so attractive—the beauteous labyrinths in the garden of the Lord—they are proportionably difficult. Their very indefiniteness, as well as their enigmatical character, seems to challenge inquiry, and tax our best intelligence. Intended mainly, no doubt, for the conveyance of instruction in a manner familiar, and beautifully adapted to the constitution of the human mind; still it is in a peculiar manner; one demanding thought, care, and, above all, sincerity of purpose, or what the Gospel calls "an honest heart." We believe that no portions of Scripture are more easy of apprehension to such as come guilelessly and simply desirous of being edified; but, on the other hand, that none are more readily obscured and abused, until the meaning may be positively inverted by the self-willed, the prejudiced, or the theorizing. Parables, in this respect, resemble some pellucid lake. So long as all is still above and below, you can look down to the very bottom, and count every pebble; but only let there be a little ruffling of the surface, or some disturbance of currents beneath, and all becomes at once distorted and confused.

Hence we find that the heresies of every age have sought refuge in the Parables. They have endeavoured to establish each strange speculation, for which no direct warrant of Scripture could be found, out of this store-house of indirect and figurative expression. Nor is the difficulty to be denied. What is the real moral of the story? Where does the allegory touch the plane of truth, so as to make that part essential, and leave other parts as only accessory and decorative? Out of so many points, how can we be satisfied which are to be pressed?

Above all, how can we be sure that we have "the mind of the Spirit," when we would interpret this singular kind of illustration? In the case of a single metaphor employed in a discourse, or even of two or more together, the general argument overrules them, and draws them along, as a powerful current the floating leaves and straws. But here the whole discourse is metaphorical. It is evident, therefore, that nothing can offer more temptations to an imaginative or speculative mind, for raising contentions about its meaning, than a parable. And it is just here, I think, that we may perceive the force of that reason which our Lord assigned for addressing the infatuated Jews so much in parables. "Therefore," he said, "speak I unto them in parables, because seeing they see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand." These wilful bigots were in a state of judicial blindness; and Christ, in His divine sovereignty, saw fit to deal out truth to them in a covert manner, lest they should abuse it; in a way of judgment mixed with mercy, which, while offering great advantages to others, served rather to withhold the truth from these, at least until there was, on their part, the inquiring and humble mind."

These considerations show what careful and delicate handling the parable requires, and how anxious the earnest student should be to ascertain the right rules for its unravelling. It is not that any need be deterred, as though there were any insuperable difficulty. Our Lord meant not this. The parables themselves do not look like it. Their universal popularity, especially with simple minds, proves it to be otherwise. To all who are truly desirous of being taught of God, they present truth in an engaging, delightful, and easy form. But they still require care and caution. They seem to hide the truth, but it is only that the earnest merchantman may seek the pearl, and exercise his faculties the more. Just as St. Chrysostom says: "Our Lord spake in parables that we might dive down into the deep sea of spiritual knowledge, from thence to fetch up pearls and precious stones."

The well-known canons of interpretation, as collected by Dean Trench from the Fathers, and from Keach, Olshausen, and others,* though most admirable so far as they go, yet seem to regard each single parable too much as a disconnected unit. I would venture to suggest whether in this way we make sufficient use of the materials at hand. Remembering

* The following are Dean Trench's rules:—1. A unity to be sought within the parable itself. 2. A central truth sharply and accurately distinguished. 3. The context, the introduction or succeeding application, where given, to be taken into account. 4. An easy interpretation indispensable — not always easy to be discovered, but easy when discovered; and 5. The parable not to be resorted to as the first source of doctrine.

the important maxim, of taking masses of Scripture as much as possible together, especially such parts as may be justly inferred to be in close connexion, have we not a means of enlarging the ground of observation in this matter, and so gaining a better opportunity of detecting and eliminating errors, and of confirming and establishing the truth? To use an astronomical illustration, having the basis of the triangle increased, is there not a greater probability of ascertaining the desired parallax?

Let me first state what this rule is, and then endeavour to show its practical value in an instance or two.

I. The rule, then, is simply this: that when there are two or more parables evidently in connexion, and uttered at the same time, they should be viewed as one group, and allowed to throw light one upon the other, as to the main topic of discourse. It cannot have escaped the attention of any student of the Bible, that the parables are usually found in clusters. In order to explain this, it will hardly suffice to say that it is for greater beauty or effect, like the profusion of flowers in the field, or the constellations of the heavens. Nor would it exhaust the matter to add, that this peculiar arrangement is for the greater confirmation of the truth, on the principle of "line upon line," or "that out of the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established." Were this the true explanation, the parables need only to have been simple repetitions in another form, like the dreams of Pharaoh, or the visions of Daniel; whereas they are manifestly distinct in some respects, even while allied in others. Are we not, therefore, driven to a further explanation, viz., that this grouping was for a special purpose; that each parable was intended to give a different aspect to the one subject in hand—something like the consecutive heads in a sermon, or the various views of a building in an architectural elevation. If we take—as we may and must—every figure, illustration, and type of Scripture to be a kind of parable, either briefly told or silently enacted, we shall see a sort of natural necessity for this principle. One metaphor corrects and explains the force of another. Hence we are seldom satisfied with one alone. This may seem a matter almost too obvious to merit notice; forming, as it does, the constant practice of any eloquent advocate. But we cannot help thinking that it may have a particular use in Scripture, where no word is tautologous, even the important use of guarding as well as of explaining truth. The various types of the Lord Jesus Christ in the Old Testament, often so crowded together, will serve for an example. Not the least part of their office is to prevent any superstitious view of any one type, personal, animal, or ceremonial, and also any partial view of any one truth. The pious Jew was taught thus not to rest on

any means as an end, but to look through and beyond all to that glorious reality and antitype which all, even when piled together, only faintly adumbrated. Much more, then, may this principle of interpretation be esteemed necessary in respect of the more extensive and intricate structure of the parable. If the single metaphor requires other metaphors by its side, lest it should be misunderstood or wrested, how much more the parable which has all its points and details capable of misapprehension! It is perfectly true that every parable may be considered one and complete in itself for its special object, and so sometimes may stand alone, and require no light from sources external to itself; as in the case of Luke xii. 16, the parable of the rich fool. But more generally this kind of teaching requires all the aid it can obtain; and this, we imagine, comes not only from itself, not only from the introduction or explanation affixed to it, but also by comparison with those instructions of a like nature which are, as we contend, for this very purpose of mutual elucidation, intentionally linked with it. This is the sort of principle I would suggest; and if my reasoning is correct, and the Holy Ghost has furnished us with the materials, I do not see how they can be neglected without a proportionate risk of error and loss.

II. We come now to show the practical value of this rule. Two or three instances must suffice; and here be it observed that the reader is not tied to my view of this or that parable. What is offered is simply something suggestive, which he can improve for himself.

1. First, let us take a case which may illustrate the positive use of this rule, and the increase of light and interest thus afforded. In the thirteenth chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew we have a galaxy of parables, no less than seven being found together. That they are on one subject—"the kingdom of heaven," or the Christian church—I need not stop to prove. Dean Alford says: "They are clearly indicated to have been spoken on one and the same occasion, and form, indeed, one complete and glorious whole in their inner and deeper sense." Keeping this in view, then, let us see how they may be said to irradiate and supplement one another. The parable of the sower gives us the seminal idea, the planting of the Gospel kingdom, and therefore very appropriately introduces the subject. The eye is fixed upon one thing, viz., the Word of God, and the effect it has, or rather its reception, in the world. The parable of the tares next carries on, and, in some respects, corrects the thoughts thus awakened. Confirming the view of the origination of the Church, it adds a new and important element to account for any want of success in the preached Word. The "enemy" is introduced counteracting the gracious *purposes* of God; and not only is the unproductiveness of

certain of the hearers in the former parable thus accounted for, but they themselves are now put in a stronger and more decided light. The same idea, indeed, of the Church being a mixed state, is conveyed, but the outward Church is now seen to be divided into but two classes, "the wheat" and "the tares;" and thus a possible inference from the former parable, that there is any essential distinction between the classes of the ungodly, is entirely removed. There is also a future aspect of the main subject in this parable. This state of things, we are informed, will continue even unto the end; at once correcting the notion of there ever being a perfect Church here, and at the same time giving us a wise regulation as to the treatment of those who differ from us in religion. The next two parables—those of the mustard seed and leaven—afford further information respecting the Church, of a kind particularly needed to encourage the few converts at the time it was given, viz., an assurance of her growth and increase from small beginnings, the one, perhaps, describing the outward, and the other the inward and more hidden incremental process. And so St. Chrysostom observes on the connexion of these parables with the preceding ones: "Here is an appeal to our faith, that a great work, even what God hath promised, shall be accomplished. He has truly done much already, and on the strength of the past we can pray more earnestly that the Lord of the harvest would send forth labourers into his harvest." Two other parables now follow on the nature of the Gospel, not before alluded to, viz., the preciousness of it, and the corresponding earnestness with which it must be sought. God is the sovereign Sower, and the alone In-worker; but we are by no means irresponsible. Our part is to seek His grace as though all depended upon our exertions, and to think no self-sacrifice too great if we may be but partakers of this heavenly treasure. Finally, our Lord closes this His parabolic sermon on the Church by a reference to the judgment-day—the fact and its issues. Detached from other circumstances, whether of causation or history, we have the one closing scene —souls as they are found at last in a condition of holiness or unholiness, passed on into eternity. Here we have, as Alford says, "a complete and glorious whole."

2. Again, let us see how this rule may serve to detect various errors fastened upon single parables. The parable of the unmerciful servant has been employed by Socinus against the doctrine of the Atonement. It is contended that the king pardoning his servant merely upon his petition, and not on account of any satisfaction made or any mediator intervening, shows that God will pardon his debtors on the ground of their prayers, without requiring any sacrifice or intercessor. Now, to say nothing of the bearing of the accepted canon, "Theolo-

gia parabolica non est argumentativa," on the ground that it is the natural order of things to go from the literal to the figurative, and not from the figurative to the literal, may we not point to the previous fragment of a parable found in the same discourse, as fully cancelling this Socinian misconstruction? Here we have, in verses 11—14 (Matthew xviii.), "the Son of man" introduced, carrying out "the will of the Father," in "seeking and saving that which was lost." Add this doctrine,—we need not say of the whole Bible, but of a contiguous and connected parable,—and we have the whole truth without mixture of error, viz., the man first forgiven through Christ, and then, *when* forgiven, bound and expected to forgive others.

Yet more clearly will the value of this rule, as a principle of correction, appear in view of the parable of the prodigal son. This beautiful allegory has been likewise tortured by the false teachers of a modern school into intending to set forth that nothing but contrition and reformation are required by God of His people. But consider this parable in connexion with those two shorter, but no less important, parables delivered at the same time. We contend that they must be taken into the account. All three were delivered with one object—to justify our Lord in receiving and associating with "sinners." Each, therefore, may be supposed to give a particular aspect of the one great truth—the way of the soul back to God. I think we might fairly regard these three parables as giving us the work of God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, and God the Father. But, without insisting upon this, we do insist that our Lord describes here, in these first two parables, a previous objective work of Divine grace in the case of the sinner, ere that sinner begins to think of turning to God. He is a "lost sheep," and a Saviour must "save" him. He is a cold and dark and dead soul, until Eternal Love seeks and finds him by the light of truth. Then, and then alone, it is that the prodigal begins to come to himself, and the Father is ready to welcome him.

Again, the parable of the ten virgins has given rise, of late years, to considerable controversy. Those who hold certain prophetic views, sometimes associated with the pre-millennial Advent scheme, have found in these foolish virgins, not the lost, as is usually held by the Church, but a class of the Lord's people who, because they have not watched sufficiently for the imminent and personal coming of the Saviour, are to suffer loss, and remain either in their graves or in an earthly millennial state, as a sort of punishment until the second or general resurrection.

Now, not to notice that the rule, "*regula fidei*," the proportion of faith, would utterly oppose such a notion—for how can *they who are* real believers, found and saved in Christ, and to

whom, therefore, there is "now no condemnation," be punished in this childish way?—we think that the principle now under discussion will show this theory to be quite untenable. Here, also, we have three parables in connexion, and on one specific subject,—"the kingdom of heaven." Indeed, the previous parable at the close of the preceding chapter may also be taken into the account. Looking at all these parables together, we perceive one thought running through each of them. Two parties are alluded to under different names—here called "the good and evil," there "the wise and foolish;" now, "the faithful and slothful," and again, "the blessed and cursed." Each parable in succession seems to give a fresh view of these two great divisions of mankind. The lesson is on watching, and what that watching consists of. One point is, that we must have the oil of grace in the heart, as well as the lamp of profession in the hand. This is taught by the parable of the ten virgins. But how does the oil of grace manifest itself? Is it to lie concealed and useless in the heart? Here comes the second point. It is to be known by the faithful use we make of our talents and opportunities and means of grace. This is taught in the parable of the talents. But what special direction does this fidelity take? Here follows the third point. It goes out in every practical way of duty, co-extensive with the necessities and wants of our fellow-creatures; and especially in works of Christian charity and mercy, performed out of love to the Redeemer.

But I must close my remarks, apologizing for their length. The whole matter is offered as a hint which has been occasionally useful to my own mind, and may possibly help others.

B.

MEMOIR OF DR. GEORGE WILSON.

Memoir of George Wilson, M.D. Edinburgh: Edmonstone and Douglas. 1860.

We should be glad to impose another duty on the bookseller's "Reader." He should not only judge whether a book may safely be published, but whether it may not with advantage be shortened. We confess to a weakness for memoirs, and have no wish to discourage them; but we are often vexed by memoirs written by friendly pens, which pour on us, along with what is valuable and instructive, a flood of trivialities. Here is a memoir swollen to an octavo volume of above five hundred pages, which would be more interesting were it confined to a duodecimo at half the price. Such will probably be its fate,

and it well deserves to survive. Meanwhile we anticipate it, and shall try to offer, within a moderate compass, a sketch of the life of a true-hearted and amiable man.

George Wilson was born in Edinburgh in 1818, the son of Archibald Wilson, a native of Argyleshire, who had settled in Edinburgh for business. George Wilson's mother was a person of warm affections and simple piety, anxious to cherish in her children the love of knowledge and of truth which she herself had acquired. She made her family a happy one; though, from the delicacy of her children, and the recurrence of frequent death, clouds of sorrow drifted over it, saddened the mother's looks, and rained tears even on young faces. George was fond of reading, and a book as big as himself was dragged by the child into a corner. He showed early his love of natural history; but he had also learned from his mother's lessons a sympathy with everything that lived. To save a butterfly from drowning was his triumph as a child; and thus he showed the tenderness which afterwards pleaded with his fellow-medical students against experiments on living animals. He lingered after school hours to play with a companion who, because he had lost an eye, was shut out of the games of the school; and thus betrayed the loving spirit which afterwards expanded over his family, his friends, the sufferers in the hospital, the ignorant and poor of Edinburgh.

Though their early family life had so many sorrows, that birthdays were never mentioned among them, yet home was made cheerful by family cheerfulness, by talk, and jest, and games, and by those pet animals which children delight in:—a tame owl disported itself on its perch, tame mice and rabbits rejoiced in their boxes; a hedgehog lay coiled up before the fire, a grey cat was restrained from indulging its love of mice, and a rough terrier had to practise a general forbearance. In later years the same tastes survived. The young student writes to his friend, that while he is addling his brain with studies of medicine, and running deep into the night with chemical experiments, he wanted a little wiry terrier to sit by him and make him cheerful. His mind turned early to the pursuit which was to engage his life—Chemistry.

But though chemistry absorbed his thoughts, he knew that he must find a profession to live by; and in 1837 he passed his degree as a surgeon with credit; and this was followed in 1839 by his degree of M.D. As an interlude he had been employed as an assistant in the laboratory of Professor Graham, who was then Professor of Chemistry in University College, London, where he found himself associated with Mr. Playfair, now well known as Dr. Lyon Playfair; and he formed an intimacy with the celebrated traveller, Dr. Livingston, who was then a chemical student in the College. During this labour, which brought him

to his twenty-first year, he showed the energy and the spring of gaiety which marked his character. His tenderness also appeared. A description which he gave, in a lecture, of the life of the medical student in the hospital, of the cases of suffering which he witnessed, and the sympathy which it called out, are evidently taken from his own recollection; and he practised the lesson he taught, that, instead of indulging morbid feelings, the student should do something for the good of the sufferer. He himself, though he was a boy of fourteen, when he began to walk the hospital, carried to the sick books, newspapers, and various delicacies, talked to foreigners in French, and raised collections to help them to return home. The nurses might well say, as he appeared with the pockets of his great-coat stuffed with all manner of good things, "they never saw sic a laddie." We find the same spirit in his London life, both in his love for his brother, and his interest in the queer-looking orphan who did the dirty work in Dr. Graham's laboratory. The forlorn boy said he would do anything for him. The illness of his young sister illustrated the same character. He writes to his brother to tell of her fever, and to ask him to join him in prayer for her recovery; and when the infectious nature of her illness, the smallpox, kept every one from her room, he used to go, after his day's work, to her door, and with a candle so placed that no light could enter the room, he read to her droll stories for hours. During these years he lost his twin-brother, and these afflictions deepened thoughts which had already entered his mind, and of which, from time to time, we find the traces. Not lost was that tender prayer to which, in his boyish days, he used to listen with fascinated delight, when his mother, visiting nightly the cot of her twin-boys, used to repeat over them Jacob's words, "The God which fed me all my life long, and to this day, the Angel that redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads."

At the age of seventeen he had written to a friend of the feelings of sadness which sometimes came over him, and of his remorse for neglected opportunities and faults of temper. He had said that, though in minor points he was undecided, he had never been undecided in religion, nor led to doubt its reality.

The early loss of so many dear to him had made him feel that he walked in a life which was soon to close. He said, in later life, "the other world and the shadow of death have been in my thoughts ever since I remember;" and in his youth he had the conviction that his life would not be long. At this he did not repine. What he longed for was, that he might understand more of religion; and now, at the death of his twin-brother, he began to apply the consolations of the Bible; for he said, that he thought no text of the Bible so beautiful as

this,—"God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes." Soon after, we find in his journal bitter self-reproach "at the accursed sins I daily commit." He says that the brightest prospects were clouded by remorse; and he poured forth the earnest prayer that he might, with the Divine assistance, overcome and banish his sins. A letter, written when he was twenty, to his brother, shows these feelings strengthening; amidst tender interest for his health, entreating him not to overwork and draw on his capital of health, these words are found: "For the present I bid you good-night; and as night brings sober and chastened religious feelings and duties, let me only add the hope alike for both of us, that earthly things, however noble, will not shut from our straining eyeballs the higher things which must swallow up all other feelings, when deathbeds and eternities come. God bless and preserve you, my dear brother, from all evils and snares; and myself too, for I have many."

His Sundays were generally well kept. He speaks to his brother of the "Sunday's peace." To his mother he writes from London of attending the ministrations of the clergy of the Church of England, being agreeably surprised to find among them so many pious men; and he meets the objections which his mother would feel to the English Church, by saying that he liked the solemn simplicity of their Prayer-book, and was delighted with the beauty and aptness of the musical part of the service. "I attend the Church of England, because it seems to me to conduct the public worship of God in the most befitting and devout way."

His self-renunciation, his tender love for others, and his loving humanity, continued in these years of his youth. The young Irish mother, weeping at the separation from her husband, entrusted her infant to his charge in the railway, and he tenderly shaded it from the carriage lamp, and saw mother and child safely lodged in their inn. The old man in Edinburgh, with a cork leg and weak eyes, starving in his garret in the Old Town, became his amanuensis and pensioner. The old sweep, who died a pauper in the infirmary, he watched over, and sold his cherished Koran to buy him a coffin. The blind man, who got a penny at his door, gathered from his feeling tones how warm was the heart, and got from him one of his hats to cover his grey hairs. When to all this we add his noble courage, his heroic endurance of pain, his unconquerable ardour in pursuit of science, unquenched by suffering, his spirit serene and buoyant in constant disease, his genial sympathies in the midst of disappointments which had blighted his prospects and stopped him in his career to wealth, we can understand how the friends who saw his course, and loved his virtues, should have held that he wanted nothing to *complete* his character.

But not so thought those who watched him with a closer love, nor He who sought the service of his heart. His mother longed that he might change his vague aspirations after goodness for a personal piety, and that the reverence which he felt for the character and works of God might be succeeded by a devout apprehension of Him as He is revealed in the Gospel. But here difficulties met him. He could not reconcile the miracles of Scripture with the fixed order of nature, and his heart, set on eminence in science, had no wish to receive deeper thoughts, which might interfere with it and subordinate it. But here a gracious hand intervened, and hindrances, which no human power could conquer, were overborne by events which were plainly directed by a loving Father. "Have we not realized," he said in later life to his sister, "in spite of all our sorrows and cares and trials, that we are the children of many prayers?" These prayers were now to have their answer.

The spring of 1839 found him in Edinburgh, full of ardour, looking forward to his degree of Doctor, and to some post as a lecturer, for which from early days he had felt the desire. He had seen many sorrows in his own family—his sister's illness, his cousin's death—but, he says to his brother, "we are men, and will strive to look things in the face; to bear is to conquer our fate."

Besides his love of chemistry, he had a wide range of tastes. His remarks on pictures show a mind of high sensibility and discernment. He loved buildings, cathedrals, sculpture, all that was great and beautiful. He was intensely fond of music, and played upon the guitar. His love of poetry was deep, and his own verses contain many poetical thoughts. Some of them were on flowers, which he worshipped with a fond delight; but every touch in his letters on natural objects is the touch of a delicate hand: as, for instance, the snow-drop opening in spring—the squirrel driven by the cold into his dormitory, and "rolling himself round and round till nothing but the tip of his tail peeps from beneath his bedclothes"—the polyanthus spreading its colours to the sun, and the water-lily

> "All night bathing
> Her petals hidden in the swathing
> Leaves, that keep from scathing
> Its every charm."

Along with these tastes there was a love of companionship, and in the closer circle of friends a deep affection; and with this a buoyant spirit and a love of jest that was irrepressible. His letters to his family and friends are full of fun. He was one of the gayest at the festivals of the companions who set up a brotherhood in Edinburgh, which enrolled many names distin-

guished in science, and he contributed to this club some of their most popular songs. Even sickness could not quench his gaiety. After sleepless nights upon a sofa, where he lay twisted by pain into strange postures, he indited the blithest thoughts, and sent his jests to cheer his friends. His standing on one leg to lecture, while the other was agonized with pain; his countenance scarred by inflammation, which robbed him of an eye; his crippled form, carried to the sands of Portobello, or hoisted into the carriage which gave a breath of air to the mutilated body; his nights passed in one posture, his days spent in a darkened room in silence; his limb gashed by wounds; his crutches, on which he proposed to race all the cripples on the sands;—all these wounds and sufferings, sharp enough to dash the gayest nature, were made subjects of blithe and innocent jest, arising from a gaiety which, in writing to others, learns to forget its own pains.

After much labour and years of effort, he seemed, at the age of twenty-two, about to reap the fruits of his exertions. He had early tried his hand, as a stripling, at a lecture on chemistry which he gave to a few young friends. As soon as he became an M.D., he sought an opening for public lectures on chemistry. For these he had a great capacity. A thorough knowledge of his subject, a fine taste, a lively fancy, made his style of lecturing attractive. When the British Association met in Birmingham in 1839, he was called upon to speak without time for preparation, and he acquitted himself admirably. So high an authority as Edward Forbes pronounced him one of the best of lecturers. With these qualifications he received a licence to teach chemistry for the College of Surgeons—the first they granted. He opened a room near the Edinburgh university. He worked hard, rising at seven, and often continuing his studies till two in the morning to complete his preparations, and he soon attracted a class; and both students and miscellaneous hearers were charmed with the sweet voice and clear illustration. "If God grant me health and leisure, my most urgent needs, I shall not despair." Comfort, even wealth, home, marriage, for which his gentle nature was fitted,—all these objects seemed before him. In buoyant spirit, with health equal to a daily walk of twenty miles, he started on a pedestrian tour, which was to end at the meeting of the Association in Glasgow in September, 1840. But here the clouds fell on him, and when they cleared away we find a crippled form and an altered man. A trifling sprain, as he walked near the Bridge of Allan, was aggravated by a week of excitement in attending the Sections of the Association in Glasgow; and on his return to Edinburgh he was confined to his sofa. Hardly recovered, he began his first course of lectures, and a constant strain of work continued the mischief.

He inherited from his father a liability to rheumatism, and after this accident it began to show itself. In summer he went for change of air to London, and there inflammation attacked the right eye. He returned to Edinburgh, and before his winter labour commenced the eye was again attacked. He was unable to walk to college through the winter, as the rheumatism now assailed his ankles and knees; and in this state, after sleepless nights, with one eye impaired in sight, with his legs bandaged after leeches, he stood to lecture three hours, and crept on crutches, "literally and metaphorically a lame, blind man." But yet, though the exulting and abounding emotion of rugged hills of difficulty overcome is, he says, departed, yet hope remains irrepressible. "It will come back with the swallows and the summer flowers, and they will be here one of these days." "Much profitable and promising work chalked out for immediate and future performance. On the whole, quiet contentment, sometimes cheerfulness, overflowing in its old channels, and gladdening the hearts of the much-enduring dear sharers of our little fireside circle." Among his plans, he says, he proposes to give in summer a special course to senior students, three lectures to one of the surgery classes, and he has been busy with analyses. All the while, while he is calling himself much better, and hoping soon to bid farewell to his present aches, he confesses that for the last five weeks he has not had a night's unbroken sleep through pain, and even that rest gained by opium; his lecture interrupted by a paroxysm of pain, and his weak eyes irritated by gas-light.

The spirit in which he bore all this is to be noted:—

"That I have often written you, he says, in another than the old merry mood, will not surprise you: you know, with all my thoughts, I am not a hypocrite, and never conceal, or seek to conceal, the mood I am in. But, if I have been grave, I have never been melancholy. I have neither desponded nor repined, but have struggled patiently throughout to bear every pang. I bow myself, with the most sincere resignation, to God's will, and pray that I may in all respects be strengthened and bettered through affliction."

And again:—

"This much of peace of mind God has granted me, and I trust He will vouchsafe patience and courage to bear all that is sent me. I believe that even for this world all noble characters are perfected through suffering; and in that spirit I try to endure all things. But flesh is weak, and I know this too well to vaunt anything at present."

It is not surprising that Dr. Cairns, who at this time became better acquainted with him, should have seen the heroic struggle with feelings of admiration. He saw him whilst the paroxysms of pain were on him, writing down his agonies in the preparation of his lecture; carried, half-alive, in a coach to the crowded room, which an overflowing audience both of

students and seniors filled. Unable to put one foot to the ground, resting on a crutch when he stood, yet lecturing with vigour, though for weeks he had had little sleep: and, having lost his appetite, could scarcely taste food, yet riveting his audience with a taste and humour which were contagious, and lighting up his lecture with illustrations more brilliant than his experiments. No wonder that he felt stupid in his lecture; "but that nature which has given horns to bulls has given me a tongue which nothing but death will keep from wagging." A short time after, his disease increased; the strain of exertion had aggravated the evils. The doctor threatened him with a severe operation. The inflammation in his eye grew alarming; he was obliged to give up his lecture, and return the fees. He was condemned to his sofa in a dark room, and, as he says, "he lay like a stranded ship lying powerless on the sand, with sails idly flapping on the mast, while those who set sail with me, with like hopes and chances, are far ahead, out in the open sea." And yet he is able to say that God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, and that among the things for which he was thankful was the power to turn away a dark or gloomy thought, by perception of the ludicrous in the things or persons round him. His sister now returned his kindness by reading to him for hours; and though poetry and fiction were put aside as uncongenial to the stricken heart, works of history amused him, and he could pour forth his sympathy for others in lines written in the darkened room, which show that the heart, though he thought it was a dried-up fountain, could gush forth with abundant tenderness. At times indeed, though rarely, it poured forth to his brother a cry of suffering. "The last two years have been fraught to me with such mournful experience, that I would gladly exchange my condition for a peaceful grave. A bankrupt in health, hopes, and fortune, my constitution shattered frightfully, and the almost certain prospect of being a cripple for life, before me, ... I have lain awake, alone and in darkness, suffering sore agony for hours, often thinking that the slightest aggravation must make my condition unbearable." Yet along with these words, wrung from him by his pangs, to one who shared his thoughts, there come glimpses of brighter hope. Confidence in God, "who has supported both of us through cruel trials, and will not desert us in our great need," a sense of the value of affliction in dispelling the mists of vanity, and in purifying the mind, hope for the future clouded but not destroyed, a sympathy with others which was as fervent and unselfish as ever one heart offered another. Truly God had not deserted him. "My religious faith is feeble, because my light is dim and my knowledge scanty; but I pray for more, and I have felt assured of answers to prayer already."

In these sufferings, and with these thoughts, closed the year 1842. In the strength of hope he said, "Take comfort, my dear brother, we shall yet do well;" but for that hope there seemed no ground. The rheumatism, which had settled in the limb, produced agonies of pain. He suffered through the day; at night the pain became intolerable; no sleep could be had except through opiates, and the rest was unrefreshing. All that science could do had been done; the ablest medical men lavished upon him assiduous care, but science and art were exhausted. His medical friends were obliged to tell him that nature could no longer stand the struggle; he must either lose the limb or die. He acquiesced in their sentence, but he begged for the interval of a week before the operation; not that he expected in that time any change, but that he felt that the operation might probably prove fatal, and he was not prepared to die. It was then that his friendship with Dr. Cairns proved an inestimable blessing. This young divine had become sometime before the intimate friend of the family; and his teaching had been the means of rescuing George Wilson's dearest friend from religious doubts, and settling his mind in a peaceful faith. Dr. Cairns was admitted into the sick man's room, and, conversing there with members of his family already settled in religion, he used the occasions to direct the conversation to that subject. At first George Wilson listened without much personal interest; but at length he had become roused, and during these two years of sore probation he had opened and pondered his Bible. He had begun to read it, not with a distant formality, but with strong anxiety. He turned to it now with intense interest. What the Book said, what views it opened, what hopes it held forth to the suffering and the sinful, were matters now of absorbing concern. The character of Christ, His tenderness, His sympathy, riveted him. The pages of the Epistle to the Hebrews were nearly worn away by his reading. He drew to this Epistle especially, as it offered the most vivid view of the sympathy of our Saviour, and the completeness of His atonement. He consulted Dr. Cairns on passages which perplexed him, and he asked him to pray with him. He himself now prayed, and he felt that his prayer was answered. Soon after, when he reviews his feelings, he says: "When I was recently struggling in a great fight of afflictions, soul and body racked and anguished, my life hanging in the balance, and eternity in prospect, I prayed to God for light and help, and my prayer was heard and answered." The agony of the operation performed (for these were not days of chloroform) was intense. The state of his feelings corresponded. He speaks of that black whirlwind of emotion which swept through his mind, and plunged him in a horror of great darkness, with a sense of

desertion by God and man; but nothing could be more unequivocal than the blessing. Three days after, when Dr. Cairns visited him, he was able to report to the sorrow-stricken mother that, if there was darkness in the outward chambers, there was light in the heart. In the first letter which he wrote he could say, "I have no repentance or repining at the step I took, or the loss I sustained. It pleased God, who speaks to some with the still small voice of gentle persuasion, to address me in the whirlwind and the storm. I look back on the last month with wonder and speechless gratitude, and place my reliance for the future on the same mighty arm which wrought my deliverance from past affliction." To another friend he describes his feelings, first of agitation at being brought so near to another world; then, during his recovery, the dreary feelings which filled the weary sleepless hours—"despair seemed ready to overwhelm me." Then it was he realized the unspeakable preciousness of prayer, and that "to a human person possessing, as I possess, a human nature, though, unlike mine, His nature is sinless and unspeakably glorious."

It was characteristic of the man that the buoyant spirit should resume its playfulness, and find amusement in common incidents. His verses on the loss of his foot are an evidence of this. But cloud upon cloud drifted over him; first his father dropped down dead; then a cousin, whom he loved, died of rapid decline in his house; but he resumed his energy and his lectures. Four different classes engaged him on different days, of very various hearers; yet ladies and amateurs, artisans and mechanics, were alike attentive and delighted. In the session of 1844 he numbered in his audience Dr. Chalmers and Lord Jeffrey, with both of whom he formed a close friendship. His evening lectures indeed exhausted his strength; but he recruited this by visits to the country, when, as he sat gazing at flowers and insects, watching the trees, the shadows on the hill, and the changing aspects of the sky, he resigned willingly for a time the companionship of friends, and even the praises and prayers of his Church, to dwell among the birds who sung their *Te Deum* over his head, and seemed to know him, for he had the love of animals which belongs to all gentle natures. In his room in Edinburgh a large Manx cat used to lie upon his chest and pat his mouth, to coax him to give it bread; and the wiry terrier, his constant friend, lay by his sofa, slept at his feet on the bed, was his companion to the laboratory and to the lecture-room, and when he left town refused food.

The years which were to carry this suffering life to a close were full of activity, but also of pain. Already, in 1845, he was so sensible of the precariousness of his life, that he said to a

friend, "Don't be surprised if any morning at breakfast you hear I am gone." In another place he said that he counted his life, not by years, but by weeks. Again, "I live from day to day, feeling no hold upon life." But he now looked forward with hope, and abounding joy. So many dear to him had gone, that heaven seemed now his home. He could say to his sister, that God was ever willing to succour men, and that His ear is ever open to our prayers: "for you and for me Jesus Christ died; to know that, and to make it a well-spring of divine gratitude and obedience, is at once a high duty and a great joy." "My roving fancy," he says, "is ever building castles in the air, or digging dungeons in the nether depths. Well, there is a cure even for that; and for the benefit of poor dreamers like me it has been written, that neither heights nor depths shall be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord."

In 1843, in his twenty-sixth year, this great suffering had fallen upon him; and under this cloud he lived sixteen years longer, till he had passed the meridian of human life. His life, though short, was full of lessons; and he taught us how much may be endured by Christian courage, and how much in the midst of suffering may be done by Christian zeal. His life was prolonged from 1843 to November 1859; but it was one long struggle with sickness. Soon after the operation on his limb, pulmonary disease set in. It was kept within certain limits by constant blisters and harassing setons; changes of weather brought on cold, and the comforter on the chest, as he called the blister, was resorted to. Lectures, to which duty called him, and from which neither weakness nor disease would let him shrink, overtasked and exhausted him; and he delivered these often in the evening, when his feeble frame wanted rest, with a pulse galloping at 150. He was so popular as a lecturer, that every institution, scientific or benevolent, sought his help; and he confessed that he could never bring himself to use the hard monosyllable, "No": so he lectured repeatedly to a crowded audience at the Philosophical Institution, and with equal enthusiasm for a ragged school to children; in one of the wynds, for a Free Church collection, though with that body he was not connected; for the merchants of Edinburgh, on the subject of his favourite industrial museum for the Young Men's Society, in order to correct the evils of the book on the Vestiges of Creation; and for various bodies, practical and scientific, the Society of Arts, of Art Manufacture, and the College of Surgeons. And not only did these lectures, which sometimes were extended to provincial towns, exhaust him in the delivery, and were generally followed by sharp attacks of illness, but the preparation for them cost him much; for though he could find words for the occasion, he

prepared the matter with assiduous care. When he was too ill to sit up, and had to spend his evenings in bed, he was surrounded by books and papers, and read, wrote, or dictated; for he had all along the conviction that his life would be short, and that what he could do must be done swiftly; and he was anxious to do something for the Saviour to whom he owed so much, and work done for Him was a delight as well as a duty. So the sufferings which his toil entailed made no change in his purpose. A lecture at the School of Art in 1855 was followed by the rupture of a blood vessel; but he lectured, notwithstanding, twice on the following day. Hæmorrhage returned on the succeeding night, and he nearly sank under it. In 1857 he lectured at the Music Hall for the Philosophical Institution, on a subject full of difficulty; and in mentioning this to a friend, he says, "To be well enough to work is enough; but to cough half through the wakeful night, and to awake and find your handkerchief spotted with blood, is not encouraging." He was made Director of the Industrial Museum, and in 1855 he was appointed Professor of the newly-founded chair of Technology or Industrial Art. These duties absorbed his interest and occupied every moment. He begged hard for his museum; he collected thousands of specimens; he lectured incessantly to the students during the winter months, to which he often added lectures in spring, as well as the voluntary lectures we have mentioned. To this he added works to which he was urged, and which he felt to be important to science and to Christianity. He drew up Researches on Colour Blindness, which attracted much attention, and led to practical results. He carried on analyses on Fluorine and various chemical substances, the papers on which he wrote. His Text Book of Chemistry was dictated in the summer of 1849, when rheumatism affecting the arms laid him aside from lecturing, and prevented his holding the pen; and this was composed while he had to compress his lips in order to conquer, by a gallant effort, the paroxysms of pain. These works were followed by his Life of Henry Cavendish, and a full account of his scientific discoveries; and by the Memoir of Dr. John Reid, whom he had loved and admired. The latter work was written with all the delight of the fullest Christian sympathy; but in the former, so completely did he throw his mind into his subject, that he said, while writing it, he thought the thoughts of Cavendish, and seemed to live his life. To these labours he added others which were truly labours of love; the composition of hymns, in which he still indulged; letters on religion to those who, sick like himself, would take a word more easily from a sick man. So he wrote to one of his pupils, dying of consumption, and destitute of religious help; and to a young lady of fourteen, who asked him to write. "She is in the *country, and has got* to expect a letter every week. I have

been trying to tell her how the grave may be robbed of victory, and death of his sting." Lectures to students of medicine, in which he introduced religious topics, supplied another work which he gladly undertook: and nothing could be more touching than his appeals to students to remember that the Head of our profession is Christ; and he adjured them not to cast themselves, by their incredulity now, into the world of woe, when they would have to study only the dark page of the Divine threats, or pore over the mournful and indestructible volume which memory preserved and conscience held open. We think of these unwearied labours, and marvel to find that in the midst of them he had a large cavity in his lungs which, eight years before his death, his doctors thought would end his life in a few months; that the least exertion brought the sleeping volcano in his lungs, as he said, to break out and prostrate him with fever, headache, and cough; that he lay through long nights restless and sleepless, "prosecuting a discovery, the steps of which are, that I awake in pain on one side, and say, sleepily to myself, It is the other side on which you sleep quietly, and so I turn to the other side, and after three minutes find out I was mistaken." Then, after the lungs are quieted by starvation and blisters, till the volcano is soothed to its old condition of mere muttering, he finds that his lungs are damaged in a new quarter, and he says, "I have been made a prisoner of war, hit by an icicle in the lungs, and have shivered and burned alternately for a large portion of the last month, and spat blood till I grew pale with coughing." Just after this recital he says, "I am better, and to-morrow I give my concluding lecture." Yet at that moment so critical was his state, that he had to avoid the pleasant laughter which the reading of a volume of "Punch" occasioned.

Every disease seemed to assail him and make him his prey. Erysipelas was always lying in wait for him, and breaking out on occasions. His mutilated limb led to severe falls and accidents: by one of these he bruised severely his side; by another he broke his arm. Rheumatism tortured limbs and arms; inflammation appeared in the lungs or in the side. "I told you that the doctors had discovered a new malady in my distempered body—a swelling in the side, which I knew too well was likely to be used as a pincushion to stick thorns into by Satan." Winter colds struck him on every unguarded part. "I am lying in bed with a beautiful warm blister on one side to keep the cold out." The story of one spring may do for all: "For the last two months I have been existing rather than living; sleepless nights, aching limbs, the whole day a chronic *malaise*, and the smallest work an effort. My only painless moments were when lecturing." Yet during these years, when he

suffered through the day, and passed these unresting nights, he poured forth his brilliant writings and his buoyant lectures; and though he says that the exuberance of his mirth was quenched—death on death—(for he lost during this time his favourite sister), sorrow following sorrow, the departure of his brother Daniel to Canada, and of his cousin to Australia; the loss of his cherished friend, Edward Forbes—all these things wrung his heart, so that he was constrained to say, "I have had to look at this world as full of the most serious realities." He was graver than of old; yet the spirit was still buoyant, and the trials chastened him into happiness. "The powers of the world to come draw nearer to me than ever, and stand in a more benignant relation." "I try to live as a dying man with faith in a living Saviour, whose finished work leaves me nothing to do in the way of meritorious labour, though it lays on me the greatest obligation to work for Him and do His will." Those who saw him in London at the great Exhibition of 1851, marvelled to see him go through the exciting scene, and come back unexhausted; others who saw him in Dublin and Aberdeen, in the Scientific Associations of 1857 and 1859, found his power of lecturing as great as ever, and the variety of his efforts seemed rather to increase than to slacken. "Blessed things," he said, "are taught us in illness, such as health cannot teach; and I have risen from my sick bed with a subdued and grateful heart, praying to be taught to serve Christ more and better." After a long illness he says: "Now I look back on the last two months with a more lowly, chastened, and grateful heart than I felt towards my Saviour before, and desire more than ever to confide in Him. I get great good from the long, quiet, and often sleepless hours. One thing has struck me when ill myself, and when visiting others who were ill, to wit, what depths there are in every human heart, which only God can fill." Of chronic sickness he says, that "it often teaches what exulting health and terrible agony cannot; great torture is not only maddening, but enslaving—it makes the mind reel, and fills the heart with terror; full health is self-reliant, God-forgetting, and unheeding; a dreary season often permits a more profitable study of God, and carries us further forward in the divine life than the extremes of ill health or its opposite will do." So he desires to follow in the bleeding steps of Christ. "Nearer to Him" is the cry which constantly breaks from him. The voids in his affections no longer discompose him; peace of mind is deepened; the meaning of life, the purpose of God, the worth of this world and the next, rise into prominence; "and in spite of many disheartening and distressing cares, and fears, and sins, the sense of a higher Presence enabling me to enter into *com*munion with God, and to pray acceptably unto Him, has

so filled my heart, that the things of this life arrange themselves according to a new perspective, and seem much smaller and further off than before." "I live from day to day, feeling no hold upon life, but happy many times, and for long hours; although my temperament is not one which even the choicest mercies could rob of its native inquietude and sensitiveness. But all is well. I have great holes in my heart, and dreary voids in my affections; but on this side the grave they cannot be filled, and I will work as hard as I can, till the manumission comes."

But the last year of this active yet suffering life arrived. Thus he approaches it: "We are in the hands of God, and know that our Redeemer liveth, and that our life is hid with Christ in God." Striving to live nearer the Unseen; indifferent to the praise of men; increasingly anxious to do his daily work; wishing himself "ten times stronger and healthier, to do ten times more work in the great Taskmaster's eye;" satisfied that on this earth sorrow and suffering are the appointed rule for most; exhausting his body, but his mind brightening with a clearer hope, he stands once more on the stage of life; and what a work did that last year fulfil! It had cost him a sore trial to give up, on the score of health, the object of his long-cherished wishes, the chair of Chemistry, which was unanimously pressed upon him by the Town Council. But though he cheerfully sacrificed this, he laboured in his chair of Technology with unflagging zeal. Besides giving a course of lectures to an audience of eager students, he gave a lecture for the Free Church at Leith; presided at the devotional meeting of the students, and at the meeting of the trades' delegates; delivered four lectures on Metals at the Philosophical Institution; addressed Dr. Candlish's Bible-class; examined candidates; gave his evidence in court on a difficult case; read papers to the Royal, the Photographic, and the Botanical Societies, and lectured to the Association of Teachers in Glasgow; and these lectures, which he delivered with intense energy, and under the strong feeling of his responsibility to God, took much from his strength. It was a relief to him to escape from these labours to London, though his work in London was fatiguing. The excitement of the Aberdeen Meeting of the British Association in the autumn, severe as it was, was a rest from these exertions. He returned to Edinburgh at the end of September, 1859, to have fresh labours; to find difficulties in settling his museum, and providing a lecture-room; and to mix with all this letters to sick friends, and visits of comfort to a dying one. Then followed the excitement of the election of Chancellor and Rector at the University, and the dinner to Lord Brougham; from which he had to fly in the severest weather to Glasgow, to examine into the infringement

of a patent for a kind friend. When the exertion brought upon him a severe cold, and when, forgetful of his state, he followed these efforts, not by rest, but by two lectures on the same day to his students, no wonder that the poor frame gave way. These lectures, his last, were delivered on the Friday, November 18th, 1859; and on the following Monday evening, with his sister gently tending him, and his friend, Dr. Cairns, receiving from him the assurance of his perfect peace, pointing his arm aloft to show his mother his assured hope, he entered into his rest. A short time before, in reviewing the sad lives of some literary men whose death-beds had been cheered by no such hope, he had written, "God keep us from such a death-bed; from that cheerless and formal faith, and these dim and doubtful prospects!" At such a time he had felt that each one would be alone; and the prevailing feeling would be that of "one's own personality and God's personality — the great Judge waiting for our soul, and we in our naked spirituality about to pass away to the darkness, and stand before God. Chemistry will not help us then; 'if there be knowledge, it shall vanish away.'" But his prayer that our Blessed Lord and Master would be with him in the combat with the last enemy, had been fully answered. To Dr. Cairns he said, "I am in the hands of a good and kind Redeemer."

The sorrow which his death called forth was a national sorrow; nothing like it had been seen in Edinburgh since the death of Dr. Chalmers. It was through closed shops, streets lined with vast multitudes hushed in silence, balconies and windows filled with gazers, that the procession of mourners, joined by the magistrates, the University and the Scientific bodies, wound its way from the College to the old Calton burial-ground, where his remains repose. Among the thousands assembled at his funeral, there were few who had not learned something of the kindliness, and patience, and gentle purity of their fellow-citizen; and had been taught to feel that, passing away from them in the midst of labours and self-denying toil, he had left a memory to be fondly cherished, endeared to them by virtues which had been rooted deep in a lowly faith, and had been perfected in a life of suffering.

UNFULFILLED PROPHECIES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

"I BEHELD then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame."—(Dan. vii. 11.)

Present appearances lead to much speculation upon the predicted downfal of the Papal system; and many are saying, We know not the times or seasons, but we know that popery is doomed to perish. And when this expected consummation has come to pass, it is supposed that then we shall see a second blessed and happy reformation, ushering in the reign of universal righteousness. But it may be asked, where, in all the prophets do we read of the ten-horned beast, or the fourth empire, becoming transformed into a pure Christian commonwealth? We follow his history from Daniel to Revelation, and we find him still making war upon the saints; to the very end we find him under the inauspicious influence of the same false prophet, fighting against the people and purposes of God.

The burst of gratulation which accompanied the first great shakings of the Papal throne in Italy caused even wise men to forget that Satan *is not dead,* nor yet is he chained or bound in the pit. And what now do present appearances suggest? *Reaction* in many parts of Italy as to the civil power; and in all the rest of Europe *ecclesiastical* Romanism has become more than ever a steady working power, which, though its High Priest may be despoiled or weakened, will never close its Sanhedrim as long as Protestants are found lukewarm and divided.

France, notwithstanding her professed liberalism, is engaged in an active system of propagandism in the East. She has planted her foot in Syria; and is now laying her grasp on Egypt, where, on the pretence of prosecuting the Suez Canal works, she has seized territory of a mile in width on either side of the line.

England—we grieve to say it—has earned for herself, *nationally,* the character of a people caring for commerce, but exhibiting less value for true religion than do her neighbours for the lying vanities inherited from their forefathers.

"We went to China," says Count de Palikao in the French senate, "to serve French interests; to avenge the blood of French subjects shed by Chinese perfidy; to open China to French commerce." There was also a third object—the establishment of Catholicism, which is the most powerful antagonist to England. The Chinese are intelligent: and they understand that Catholicism, which represents France, is a *moral influence,* while English influence is only shown in commercial interests.

Could our religious men look with so much apathy upon this contrast, were they not under the persuasion that the Lord is pledged to give pure religion the victory under the present dispensation? Otherwise they could not fail to see, that what

men sow, that shall they also reap, by the just judgment of God.

Neither have the remaining false religions of the world lost their vitality. "The feelings that prompted the holy wars of former ages are not dead, though it pleases English politicians to ignore them; they have merely, in some respects, changed their direction. They are even now the *stern* realities, the great facts, the *motive* powers, which may again convulse the world." (Vezey Fitzgerald.)

Oh! but England's love of justice will enable her to steer her course through all these intricacies, and to secure liberty of conscience among the nations. But the sentiment which prompts a rigid impartiality between blood-thirsty zealots and peace-loving Christians, proves itself injustice of the deepest dye. *Summa lex, summa injuria.* It is to give a wide range in the field, and a warm corner in the fold, alike to the ravenous hordes of the devouring wolf, and the timorous droves of harmless sheep.

"Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth." (Dan. ii. 34, 35.)

"The language here," observes Barnes, "would seem to imply some *violent* action; some positive crushing force; something like that which occurs in conquests when nations are subdued. Would it not appear from this that the kingdom here represented was to make its way in the same manner as the other kingdoms, rather than by a silent and peaceful influence?"

If, then, the language of the prediction implies violent action and crushing force, shall we listen to a commentator who expends whole pages in pure special pleading, endeavouring to invalidate the plain meaning of words, and to prove that the *leading* idea in the prophecy points to a "gradual demolition, to a removing of portions of these kingdoms, and an occupying of their places, until they should disappear, and there be a complete substitution of the new kingdom in their place"? (Barnes.)

We are well aware that such an anticipation as the breaking up of our European commonwealth, and the scattering of its several policies to the winds of heaven, is looked upon in most religious circles as something wilder than fiction; and that to escape such convictions the serious study of the prophetic

word is very generally neglected. "Woe is me, my mother," said the prophet Jeremiah, "that thou hast borne me a man of strife, and a man of contention to the whole earth." And true it is in all ages: he that faithfully and fully expounds the whole circle of Divine prediction, sets himself in opposition to the strongest prepossessions of his age.

At the first advent of our Lord, the Jewish mind was prepossessed with the notion of a *kingdom*, which should unite all temporal and spiritual blessings, and rule over the whole earth. It is objected to them that they *mistook* the promises of Scripture on this head, whereas they mistook nothing but the *time*. They expected *first* that which was to come last. "O fools, and slow of heart to believe *all* that the prophets have spoken. Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into His glory?"

That people have now for above eighteen centuries borne the heavy penalty of their sin; a sin resulting from their refusal to receive the whole counsel of God. A part they embraced, and confidently expected; they rejected only what appeared to them derogatory to the character of Jehovah, and flat blasphemy against His glorious attributes. That He who "doeth according to His will in the armies of heaven and amongst the inhabitants of the earth," should deliver up His co-equal Son to be *wounded, bruised,* and *scourged;* that the Lord of the universe should be "cut off out of the land of the living," and caused to "make his grave with the wicked;" could *they* receive such things who had so long sat in spirit under the shadow of the peaceful Solomon? In His days the righteous were to flourish. He was to save the children of the needy, and break in pieces the oppressor. (Ps. lxxii.) This was "the promise to which they and their fathers hoped to come." In His person their Messiah was to be "fairer than the children of men; all his garments were to smell of myrrh, aloes, and cassia." (Ps. xlv.) Could this be the same described in that mysterious fifty-third of Isaiah: "He hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see Him, there is no beauty that we should desire him"? He was to "ride prosperously, because of truth, meekness, and righteousness;" how then could He be the despised and rejected of men? "All kings were to fall down before Him; all nations to worship Him;" was such a One to be "abhorred of the nations, a servant of rulers"? The deep abhorrence with which they regarded such an abasement to Him to whom, according to their prophet Daniel, was to be given "dominion, glory, and a kingdom," dwells in the hearts of their children to this day.

Shall we venture to hint that, if these unhappy outcasts sinned in selecting only such portions of the prophetic word

as pleased them, and rejecting the rest, we are not altogether guiltless in this regard? We indeed deny not that He shall "appear again without sin unto salvation;" but we deprive His advent of nearly all its predicted accompaniments. Few and obscure, as Sir Isaac Newton well remarks, are the prophecies that relate to our Redeemer's sufferings and humiliation, in comparison with those that speak of His second coming in glory. But we have in such wise robbed this advent, for which heaven and earth wait, of all its accessories, that His coming at all to our earth again seems a matter of supererogation.

Yet *facts*, and the realities of the world, altogether confirm the necessity of such a Divine interposition as is foretold in all the prophets. Only read with thoughtful consideration the spirited address of the returned missionary, G. Despard, and say, is there not work cut out for a hundred missionaries, for an indefinite number of years, in the southern portion of South America alone? We will not dwell upon the millions of Asia and Africa, amongst whom the few gospel missionaries are but as small drops to the ocean. Still we might listen with more indulgence to the arithmetical calculations fondly indulged in by some, were the advance of the light *progressive*, though slow; had Christianity not only acquired, but *retained* her influence over the families of the earth. We will not speak of the Continent, where "reasoning infidelity presides over the fountains of instruction, poisoning the streams, while darkness has again covered the land, and gross darkness the people;" but peruse the chronicles of the time in our *own* country, and confess that the picture of the perilous times of the latter days seems well nigh filled up.

"Shall I crucify your King?" said Pilate to the Jews. Oh! what an insult to the proud hopes of that people! A consummation that, in their view, would for ever debar the claim of Him who assumed to be the Messiah; of whom it was written, "I will make Him my first-born, higher than the kings of the earth." This great wrong, then, they did, and this great abasement they suffered in the sight of the heathen; because they "knew not the voices of the prophets, which are read every Sabbath-day." And if we, entertaining a similar one-sidedness in our views, reject for our parts a large amount of all that the prophets have spoken, will not our unscriptural hopes, also, be laid in the dust? He has assured us that His glory He will not give to another; and that His purpose is, to stain the pride of all glory, whether of Jew or Gentile.

In the "Jewish Intelligence" for June, 1861, we read the following:—

"The question of the restoration of the Jews to their own land has come to the surface more than once of late, quite independently

of prophecy: and it is therefore neither immaterial nor needless to anticipate what might be the result to our work, if such a solution of a great political problem took place.

"Great numbers of the Jews are verging fast towards infidelity; and if they should still adhere to any hope of a Messiah, we have little doubt that they would readily accept *as such* any one who would most warmly advance their worldly interests—neither obtruding nor expecting any great amount of *religious* conditions. In such a case *any* religion, or none at all, might prove no inconvenience to any of the parties. But most surely the aggressive policy of the Gospel would be either stopped altogether, or at all events the faithful missionary would be always carrying his life in his hand."

The French occupation of Syria is here evidently glanced at; the design of France being, undoubtedly, a *permanent* planting of the Romish propaganda there. We need not enlarge upon the nature of the snares and pitfalls thus prepared for the sons of Israel. But how wonderful the coincidence here, with that aspect of the Jewish restoration which the Fathers drew from the study of the prophetic word *alone*, centuries before the Eastern or Western apostacies had developed themselves!

"The Jews shall declare for Antichrist, acknowledge his dominion, and enjoy the principal employments in his government. He will win upon them by his delusions, his caresses, and false miracles, and by all the appearance of piety, gentleness and clemency, so that that unhappy people will take him for the Messiah, and will flatter themselves with the expectation of seeing the kingdom of Israel restored by his means."

The carnal infidelity of a large proportion of the Jews, the threatened disruption of Turkey, and the ascendancy in Europe of a prince whose policy leads him to extend the Romish apostacy in the East, that he may counterbalance the otherwise mortal offence of stripping the Pope in Italy, all foreshadow a state of things closely resembling the picture which holy men of old drew from the prophets alone.

Not that we would fasten the name of Antichrist upon any living individual; for "no prophecy is of any private interpretation." But we may venture to affirm, that whoever shall use his power and influence to establish Romanism within God's ancient heritage, and thus to root out Protestant missions, and prepare a trap and snare for the house of Israel, the same will be the precursor of the last Antichrist.

Nevertheless, the word of the Lord, that shall stand; and what He has predetermined shall surely be done!

"Thus saith the Lord God; Behold! I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, and I will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land: And I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king to them all.... And they shall dwell in the land that I have

given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt; even they and their children and their children's children for ever." (Ezek. xxxvii. 22.)

Those who impugn the expectations founded upon this and similar scriptures affirm, amongst other objections, that the Jews, generally speaking, have no desire to return to Palestine; that, as a people, their hearts and minds are set upon the golden marts of London, Paris, and Vienna. This we do not deny; yet, on the other hand, it may be remarked, that this people are not more devoid of spiritual affection towards the land of promise, than are the mass of professing Christians towards the promised advent of their Lord. Nevertheless a great change shall be wrought upon both. And when it shall please Him to turn the captivity of Israel, He will operate to that effect both by His providence and grace. At that time we may look to see such a stirring up of their natural affections as will awaken a nearly unanimous desire to take possession of their ancient inheritance. St. Paul gives us some insight into this mystery. "Inasmuch as I am the Apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office: if by any means I may provoke to emulation them which are my flesh, and might save some of them." (Rom. xi. 13.) From that day till now we know how it has been with Israel after the flesh; scattered among the nations; everywhere regarded as the most abhorred of aliens! They have seen the kingdoms of this world given into the hands of the *uncircumcised* and the *unclean*, and themselves deprived of the privileges enjoyed by the lowest nationalities—recognized governors to protect them, with consuls and representatives to hear their appeals. In short, they have been made as "the filth of the earth, and the off-scouring of all things." And such they are in the Papal and Mohammedan kingdoms, to this day. But the ancient national pride of this people is not yet trodden out: there yet lingers in their breasts a latent hope that they shall one day change places with their scornful oppressors; that they shall yet see the execution of the sentence written upon the haughty Gentile dominion: "Come down and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground: there is no throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate." (Isa. xlii.) They expect yet to hear the joyful call, "Awake, awake! put on thy strength, O Zion; put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem, the holy city: for there shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean!" (Isa. lii.)

And should the shifting affairs of the world bring about a state of things whereby these secret aspirations might seem utterly overthrown—should the Western Powers, who have lorded it over them so long, overflow and pass over into the land still named the Holy—should they plant their tabernacles in

"the borders of His sanctuary, even the mountain which His right hand had planted;" surely, if a spark of feeling remains, they will arise and call upon Israel's God. So, in the thirty-fifth of Ezekiel, that prophet, addressing the men of Mount Seir, says: "Because thou hast said, These two nations and these two countries shall be mine, and we will possess it; whereas the Lord was there: Therefore, as I live, saith the Lord God, I will even do according to thine anger, and according to thine envy, which thou hast used out of thy hatred against them; and I will make myself known among them when I have judged thee." (Ezek. xxxv. 10, 11.)

In the present divided state of the East, it would little surprise us should an ambitious prince seek to act out the character here predicted, and speak the words put into his mouth. But now, "Thus saith the Lord God; Because the enemy hath said against you, Aha, even the ancient *high places* are ours in possession: Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Surely in the fire of my jealousy have I spoken against the residue of the heathen, and against all Idumea, which have appointed my land into their possession with the joy of all their heart, to cast it out for a prey." (Ezek. xxxvi. 2, 5.)

The countries that border on Syria contain a mingled population of Mahommedans, Buddhists, and Fire-worshippers—enemies both of Jews and Christians. But the chief offender is Idumea, or Edom. This name, we know, typifies the leading power of the Roman empire under its last head.

But it may be objected, Where is the confirmation of all this? What assurance have we that the prophet does not speak of the ancient enemies of the Jews, who would have prevented their settling in the land on their return from Babylon? We can but say, Read the whole of the thirty-sixth chapter of Ezekiel, and you shall find that the dispersion therein spoken of is the present and the final one, and their restoration accompanied by a fulness of blessedness they have not yet known. "Thus saith the Lord God; In the day that I shall have cleansed you from all your iniquities I will also cause you to dwell in the cities, and the wastes shall be builded. . . Thus saith the Lord God; I will yet for this be enquired of by the house of Israel, to do it for them; I will increase them with men like a flock. As the holy flock, as the flock of Jerusalem in her solemn feasts; so shall the waste cities be filled with flocks of men: and they shall know that I am the Lord." (Ezek. xxxvi. 33,37,38.) In the words of our admirable translators,—"Israel was rejected for their sin, and shall be restored without their desert." "Thus saith the Lord God; I do not this for your sakes, O house of Israel, but for mine holy name's sake, which ye have profaned among the heathen, whither ye went. And I will sanctify my great name, which

was profaned among the heathen, which ye have profaned in the midst of them; and the heathen shall know that I am the Lord, saith the Lord God, when I shall be sanctified in you before their eyes." (Ezek. xxxvi. 22, 23.) Among those alluded to as the heathen, we may well number the multitude of infidels and scoffers that now abound throughout Christendom. How will they be confounded who have derided the miracles and neutralised the prophecies, when the Lord shall suddenly recall to all minds, with the vividness of the lightning's flash, His *ancient Name!* "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob: this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations."

An idea prevails that Islamism, as well as the Papacy, is nodding to its fall, and will ere long leave the field of the world open to the preaching of the Gospel. But neither in Scripture, nor in the actual state of the world do we find any confirmation of these hopes. Though the Turks have long ceased to be a woe to Europe; nevertheless in Persia, in India, and in all the northern parts of the great continent of Africa, we find the followers of Mahomet the most obstinate and fanatical opponents of that Gospel. It is predicted of the little horn of the he-goat—the Impostor of Islam—that "he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hand." (Dan. viii. 25.) From the first he has set himself up as a rival to the true Messiah, and it is probable that at the end he will join the confederacy against the Lord's people.

It is true, the Turkish empire is doomed; as an independent power, her vigour is utterly gone. But, oh! how much sooner do empires dissolve than false religions disappear! All the prophets bear witness that the unclean spirits of error and apostacy shall continue to work upon the minds of men till the day of the "restitution of all things" dawn upon the earth.

HIBERNICUS.

[NOTE.—We cannot altogether yield our assent to several of the conclusions which our correspondent would establish; but his views are stated with so much clearness and brevity, and with so little dogmatism—that bane of prophetic interpreters—that we are persuaded our readers will thank us for inserting his letters.—ED.]

PLYMOUTH BRETHREN AND THEIR ERRONEOUS DOCTRINES, WITH SOME WHOLESOME ANTIDOTES.

1. *Notes on the Book of Genesis. By C. H. M. Third edition. Morrish, Warwick Lane, London.*

   Notes on Exodus. Second edition. By ditto.

   Notes on Leviticus. By ditto.

2. *Imputed Righteousness "The Righteousness of God." A Dialogue. By J. M. C. Bateman, Paternoster Row, London.*

3. *Ten Sermons upon the Nature and the Effects of Faith; Preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin. By James Thomas O'Brien, D.D., Bishop of Ossory, &c. Second edition. Macmillan & Co.*

4. *Test before you Trust, or the New Doctrine and the Old Divinity Compared. By John Cox. London: Nisbet & Co.*

5. *The Holy Spirit and Prayer; with Thoughts on the Conditionality of the Comforts of the Holy Ghost. By John Cox. London: Nisbet & Co.*

It is now about thirty years since the Plymouth Brethren made their first appearance. It was just at the period when Irvingism was at its height; when dissent was furious; when tractarianism, meaning at first to fight the battles of the Church, drew her unconsecrated weapons from the armouries of Rome, and began her suicidal attacks upon the common faith. "The foundations were out of course;" doctrinal truth was very imperfectly understood amongst the laity; and many excellent persons were beguiled, for a time at least, into each of these delusions. Irvingism professed to give what she considered the highest tokens of the Lord's presence, in the power of working miracles. Tractarianism offered the same evidence on the grounds of Catholic tradition and apostolic descent; while the Plymouth Brethren resolved to present the world with the spectacle of a pure church, "without spot or wrinkle or any such thing." To spiritual minds the latter system was far more attractive than either of the other two, and unquestionably it was the least dangerous. It has, however, proved itself to be scarcely more than another form of Quakerism; better in some respects, but in generosity, in tenderness, and in all good works, much worse. It boasted its apostolic character; and indeed it had not proceeded far, before it displayed evident signs of some of the worst infirmities of the apostolic Christians. Factions and party spirit broke out. Every one began to say, not I am of Paul and I am of Apollos, but I am of C. H. M., or I am of J. M. C., or I am of J. N. D.,

or I am of C. S., or of some other potential letter in the alphabet, the exact significance of which, as used by the Brethren, is to us unknown. However, at present the great republic is divided into parties, like another quarrelsome republic beyond the Atlantic; agreed, like them, in looking down with scorn upon all other governments; agreed, like them, in a blindness, which seems to us infatuated, as to the dangers and demerits of their own. Yet the Plymouth Brethren, we confess, have claims upon our regard which we cannot acknowledge in respect of many other sects. They are a singularly unworldly body; many of their members are, in an eminent degree, spiritually minded. This, indeed, explains the cause of one of the great faults of their favourite teachers. By a spiritually-minded Christian we understand one who, being renewed in the spirit of his mind, worships God in spirit and in truth; who serves not in the oldness of the letter, but in the newness of the spirit. Judging by their writings, however, the Brethren—or rather, we would still hope, one section of them, but not all—have been led into a dangerous error. They seem to entertain a conceit, by no means peculiar to themselves, but carried by them to its utmost extreme, that a spiritual person is one who can spiritualize a text, fasten upon it some meaning of his own, and set it afloat upon the waters with a flag to which all in the true ark do homage. We deny the right of any man to deal thus with Holy Scripture. We are not disposed to acquiesce in a peremptory summons to surrender our own judgment to any man, whatever his acquirements or his gifts may be, who demands it on account of his own presumed spirituality. We are not disposed to close our Bibles, and submit to the tyranny of an expositor. And it is on these grounds we have thought it right to direct attention to the commentary on the three books of Moses which heads our list. These volumes, we are informed, have gained a high reputation amongst the Plymouth Brethren, and, we regret to add, amongst many pious members of our own church. Their "letters of commendation" are an appearance of exalted holiness; something which leaves far behind the homely piety of Matthew Henry and Thomas Scott. We are quite aware how we shall fall at once in the estimation of some whose piety we sincerely respect, if not their judgment, when we say that a vast deal of what here seems to be spirituality, when tested by God's Word, will be found to be mere vain babbling; that there is an assumption of superiority on the part of the writer, disguised (probably from himself) by frequent protestations of humility, which is to us intolerable; and that whatever else he has learned, he has not learned to receive with meekness the engrafted Word. We know not of whom we are speaking, for we are not learned in the enigmatic

alphabet. But be he who or what he may, so far is he from being of a full age in Christ, that, to us at least, he seems at present to display only the confidence and the precocity of an ill-grown and unhealthy child.

But we have as little disposition to thrust our own dogmas upon others as ourselves to submit to the dictation of the unknown expositor. Let the reader judge for himself. We shall have done our part if we can assist him to form his judgment. In order to do so, we shall present him with a few specimens, taken almost at random, from each volume.

We begin with the institution of the Sabbath-day in Paradise, which, we are told, "in the strict and proper sense of the term, could only be celebrated when there was really nothing to be done;" and this is followed by as strange a piece of argument or illustration, to prove that the Sabbath was *not* made for man, as in the whole course of our reading we have happened to encounter. Here it is:—

"God can have no rest where there is sin; and one has only to look around him in order to learn the total impossibility of God's enjoying a rest in creation *now*. The thorn and the thistle, together with the ten thousand other melancholy and humiliating fruits of a groaning creation, rise before us, and declare that God must be at *work* and not at *rest*. Could God rest in the midst of thorns and briers? Could He rest amid the sighs and tears, the groans and sorrows, the sickness and death, the degradation and guilt of a ruined world? Could God sit down, as it were, and celebrate a Sabbath in the midst of such circumstances?

"Whatever answer may be given to these questions, the Word of God teaches us that God has had no sabbath, as yet, save the one which the second of Genesis records. 'The seventh day,' and none other, was the sabbath. It showed forth the completeness of creation work; but creation work is marred, and the seventh-day rest interrupted; and thus, from the fall to the incarnation, God was working; from the incarnation to the cross, God the Son was working; and from Pentecost until now, God the Holy Ghost has been working.

"Assuredly, Christ had no sabbath when He was upon this earth. True, He finished His work—blessedly, gloriously finished it—but where did He spend the sabbath-day? *In the tomb*. Yes, my reader, the Lord Christ, God manifest in the flesh, the Lord of the sabbath, the maker and sustainer of heaven and earth, spent the seventh day in the dark and silent tomb. Has this no voice for us? Does it convey no teaching? Could the Son of God lie in the grave on the sabbath-day, if that day were to be spent in rest and peace, and in the full sense that nothing remained to be done? Impossible! We want no further proof of the impossibility of celebrating a sabbath than that which is afforded at the grave of Jesus. We may stand beside that grave, amazed to find it occupied by such an one on the seventh day; but, oh! the reason is obvious. Man is a fallen, ruined, guilty creature. His long career of guilt has ended in crucifying the

Lord of glory; and not only crucifying Him, but placing a great stone at the mouth of the tomb, to prevent, if possible, His leaving it.

"And what was man doing while the Son of God was in the grave? He was observing the sabbath-day! What a thought! Christ in His grave to repair a broken sabbath, and yet man attempting to keep the sabbath as though it were not broken at all! It was *man's* sabbath, and not God's. It was a sabbath without Christ —an empty, powerless, worthless, because Christless and Godless, form." (pp. 18—20.)

From this argument, however, the conclusion is drawn, that no Sabbath-day exists. "If I celebrate the seventh day, it marks me as an earthly man, inasmuch as that day is clearly the day of rest—creation rest; but if I am taught by the word and Spirit of God to understand the meaning of the first day of the week, I shall at once apprehend that new and heavenly order of things of which the death and resurrection of Christ form the everlasting foundation." "The Church is *privileged,*" not commanded, the reader will observe—for the word is underlined—"to enjoy the first day of the week, of which it is quite impossible," we are told, "to over-estimate the value and importance." The reader is invited to love, honour, and celebrate the Lord's-day as much as possible; but he is not to regard the celebration of it as a matter of bondage. In short, there is no command upon the subject; but it is the Church's privilege to celebrate, not the primæval Sabbath on the first day of the week, but the Lord's-day: "the very fact of the professing churches seeking to make the first day of the week the Sabbath, reveals a deep principle; it is but the effort to get back to an earthly standing and to an earthly code of morals." (p. 23.)

The answer to all this is very simple. It is, no doubt, a privilege to worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness on the first day of the week, the Lord's-day, rightly so termed, not only by the Plymouth Brethren and the Church of England, but in every state document and act of parliament on the subject. At the same time it is, we contend, a duty too. The Son of man is still Lord of the Sabbath—the Christian Sabbath; and for man He made it. We shall not be expected to re-open a question which has been so long discussed; and on which even within the last two years we have had occasion to write so largely in answer to Dr. Hessey and others. It is enough to say that, under the disguise of an exalted spirituality, we have here a refined antinomianism: it runs throughout the three volumes; for the first chapter is a key to the whole work. What is true of the Lord's-day is true of every commandment, every moral precept. Obedience is, no doubt, our privilege; by obedience we show our gratitude; by obedience we display our love. Now a Christian some-

times feels this, but not always. There are times when obedience costs him a dreadful struggle; there are times, again, when submission—that is, obedience in its highest and purest form—is the very joy of his heart. Thus the commandment wears two aspects to the spiritual man. In his best moments it is the law of liberty; then the law of the Lord is a perfect law rejoicing the heart; but there is another law in his members warring against this renewed nature, and bringing him into captivity to the law of sin that is in his members. And now to this his carnal nature, the remains of which are to be traced even in them that are regenerate, what should be a privilege is oftentimes a task. Now comes the dreadful conflict between the old Adam and the new man; now obedience is not a pleasure. It is not a privilege while the conflict lasts; it is a stern imperious duty; it is a dire necessity; it is cutting off the right hand, plucking out the right eye. But it is law that speaks God's law, and it must be obeyed at the peril of incurring God's wrath; and in the very effort to obey, peace returns to the distracted soul, and obedience once more is felt to be a high and sacred privilege. We enter our solemn caution and protest here against the assumption of superior spirituality in those who trifle with the commands of God; and caution all, but more especially young Christians, to beware of the artful delusion which, under such pretences, Satan spreads for their unwary feet.

We pass on a few chapters and come to the dispersion of Babel. Here our expositor discovers "a confederacy," such as no doubt there was, from "which God was shut out;" and, "looking along the stream of human history, we may easily perceive a marked tendency to confederacy or association." No doubt we may; "for man seeks," as he tells us in the next sentence, "for the most part to compass his great ends in this way." Now a confederacy is something very like an association; and there having been one very wicked "confederacy" at Babel, therefore all other confederacies or "associations"—for they are much the same — are bad; very bad indeed. "Whether it be in the way of philanthropy, *religion*, or politics, nothing can be done without an association of men regularly organised." We, in our day, have seen many clever *hits* against Bible associations and Missionary associations, from the famous times of the John Bull down to the lordly scoff against the "brayings of Exeter Hall;" but, for originality, our commentator must bear the palm. There was a confederacy at Babel; it was a bad one; a confederacy means an association; therefore all associations are bad ones; they are all of this world, and truly Babylonish; and what they will come to,—oh! reader, if thou art member of a Bible or Missionary association, ponder well, and hasten to withdraw thy subscription, and have thy name erased; for thou art at present, like Simon, in the very

ge[illegible] of bitterness, and what divine end shall be then mayst read in the words we set before thee:—

"It is well to see this principle—well to mark its incipient working—to see the earliest model which the page of inspiration affords of a human association, as exhibited in the plain of Shinar, in its design, its object, its attempt, its overthrow. If we look around us, at the present moment, we see the whole scene filled with associations. To some these were useless, for they are as numerous as are the purposes of the human heart. But it is important to mark that the first of all these was the Shinar association, for the establishment of the human interests and the exaltation of the human name—objects which may well be set in competition with any that engage the attention of this enlightened and civilized age. But, in the judgment of faith, there is *one* grand defect, namely, God is shut out; and to attempt to exalt man, without God, is to exalt him to a dizzy height, only that he may be dashed down into hopeless confusion and irretrievable ruin. The Christian should only know *one* association, and that is, the church of the living God, incorporated by the Holy Ghost, who came down from heaven as the witness of Christ's glorification, to baptize believers into one body, and constitute them God's dwelling-place. Babylon is the very opposite of this, in every particular; and she becomes at the close, as we know, 'the habitation of devils.'" (pp. 107, 108.)

"Finally," the author adds, "I would say, that all who sincerely desire to know the true character, object, and issue of all human associations, should read the opening verses of Genesis xi."

Of the qualifications of such an expositor the reader must form his own opinion. To us he seems equally ignorant and conceited.

Let us take up the second volume, and hearken to C. H. M. expounding the book of Exodus. Again we proceed almost at a venture; and, opening the exposition on the twelfth of Exodus, we lay before our readers the perilous doctrine which there confronts us. We select two points of moment, vital points of Christian doctrine, on which C. H. M., with a confidence which, to say the least, speaks but little in favour of his humility, appears to us to lay down several dogmas alike dishonourable to God and perilous to the souls of men. The exposition is too long to be quoted; we must refer to the volume. It extends from page 116 to page 150.

The subject is the sacrifice of the Passover. And first of the Lamb. It was to be taken on the tenth day and kept up until the fourteenth. "Now this fact shows us," we are told, "Christ fore-ordained of God from eternity, but manifest for us in time." A slender foundation, truly, for an induction true in itself, and of such vast importance. But this is quite in keeping with the usual dogmatism of C. H. M., and with his familiarity and *nonchalance* when treating of the most sacred subjects. He knows what passes in the Divine mind, and speaks of it with *the careless ease* with which one speaks of the opinions or inten-

tions of an acquaintance. "Christ," he says, "was ever the primary thought in the Divine mind; and hence, the moment He began to speak or act, He took occasion to shadow forth that One who occupied the highest place in His counsels and affections." This, however, by the way. We come to the blood sprinkled on the lintel, and the exposition of the text, "When I see the blood, I will pass over you." (Exod. xii. 13.) The exposition occupies several pages, and the burden of the whole is this: that since the belief of the Israelite in the efficacy of the blood upon the lintel was all that was required to satisfy him that he was already saved, so, too, our belief in the fact that the blood of Jesus Christ has been shed an offering for sin is all that is needed now to assure us that our sins are pardoned. We must try to make this matter clear; for either we ourselves are greatly in the dark, or a perilous heresy lies beneath the surface. First with regard to the Israelite of old:—"A single doubt on his part would have made Jehovah a liar; for He had said, 'When *I see* the *blood*, I will pass over you.' This was enough. It was no question of personal worthiness. Self had nothing whatever to do in the matter. All under the cover of the blood were safe. They were not merely in a salvable state; they were saved. They were not hoping or praying to be saved; they knew it as an assured fact, on the authority of that word which shall endure throughout all generations." This is further explained in the following passage, the application of which, we are informed, to the question of a sinner's peace is very plain:—

"The Israelite not merely knew that there was safety in the blood; he knew that *he* was *safe*. And why safe? Was it because of anything that he had done, or felt, or thought? By no means; but because God had said, 'When I see the blood, I will pass over you.' He rested upon God's testimony. He believed what God said, because God said it. 'He set to his seal that God was true.' And, observe, my reader, it was not upon his own thoughts, feelings, or experience respecting the blood, that the Israelite rested. This would have been a poor sandy foundation to rest upon. His thoughts and feelings might be deep or they might be shallow; but deep or shallow, they had nothing to do with the ground of peace. It was not said, 'When *you see* the blood, and value it as you ought, I will pass over you.' This would have been sufficient to plunge him in dark despair about himself; inasmuch as it was quite impossible that the human mind could ever sufficiently appreciate the precious blood of the Lamb. What gave peace was the fact that Jehovah's eye rested upon the blood, and that He knew its worth. This tranquillized the heart. The blood was outside, and the Israelite inside, so that he could not possibly see it; but God saw it, and that was enough." (p. 129.)

The first remark we have to offer is this: that C. H. M. entirely overlooks the fact that the blood had not been sprinkled by some miraculous agency upon the door of the Israelite, but

by his own hand. Had it not been sprinkled there, and had he himself not sprinkled it, the life of his own first-born, if no more tremendous punishment, would have been the consequence. Here, then, there had already been an act of faith on his part, and that one circumstance sweeps away the whole of the commentator's argument; or rather, we should say, leaves it perfectly good and sound, only that it turns it upon himself, and makes it destructive of his mischievous theory. What C. H. M. wishes to prove is, that we have only to believe that our sins are forgiven, and they are forgiven. Hear once more his own words:—

"The Lord Jesus Christ, having shed His precious blood as a perfect atonement for sin, has taken it into the presence of God, and sprinkled it there; and God's testimony assures the believing sinner, that everything is settled on his behalf,—settled not by His estimate of the blood, but by the blood itself, which God estimates so highly, that because of it, without a single jot or tittle added thereto, He can righteously forgive all sin, and accept the sinner as perfectly righteous in Christ. How can any one ever enjoy settled peace, if his peace depends upon his estimate of the blood? Impossible. The loftiest estimate which the human mind can form of the blood must fall infinitely short of its divine preciousness; and therefore, if our peace were to depend upon our valuing it as we ought, we could no more enjoy settled peace than if we were seeking it by 'works of the law.' There must either be a sufficient ground of peace in the blood *alone*, or we can never have peace. To mix up our estimate with it, is to upset the entire fabric of Christianity, just as effectually as if we were to conduct the sinner to the foot of mount Sinai, and put him under a covenant of works. Either Christ's atoning sacrifice is sufficient, or it is not. If it is sufficient, why those doubts and fears? The words of our lips profess that the work is finished; but the doubts and fears of the heart declare that it is not. Every one who doubts his full and everlasting forgiveness, denies, so far as he is concerned, the completeness of the sacrifice of Christ." (p. 131.)

Now, that there is an admixture of truth in this statement, we are ready to admit; but it is not the whole truth; and, taken as it stands, it involves a direct inversion of the doctrine, that, "being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom also we have access by faith into this grace, wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God." It teaches that we are justified before faith exists; for if we doubt that we are justified, we make God a liar, we are told. God is made a liar by our unbelief. What is this but to affirm, that God has already forgiven our sin, before faith existed in us? Again, our estimate of the value of the atoning blood is, we maintain, of the utmost consequence, though our author tells us it is of none at all. So, too, of old the Jew's estimate of the blood of the Passover was of the utmost consequence; for, had he not thought so, he would not

have sprinkled it on the side-posts and the lintel of his door In each case there is a foregoing act of faith in the party benefited. The Jew believed, and his faith was counted to him for righteousness: the Christian believes, and his faith is counted to him for righteousness, precisely in the same sense, and precisely in the same manner. It brings him into the Lord's presence; it bows him down at the foot of the cross. The Spirit having convinced him of sin, the Spirit now convinces him of righteousness. There is no merit in his faith; but it is the hand which the Spirit of God enables him to stretch out, the withered hand, and yet, instrumentally, it saves the man; that is, it enables him to estimate aright the preciousness of the atoning sacrifice. What our author writes upon this subject is nonsense; dangerous nonsense, if not worse. "How can any one," he asks, "ever enjoy settled peace, if his peace depends upon his estimate of the blood? Impossible. The loftiest estimate which the human mind can form of the blood must fall infinitely short of its divine preciousness." Be it so. Yet it is enough to know that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin. He who knows only this, and has it sealed upon his conscience by the Holy Ghost, is justified, and has peace with God.

The reader may wonder why we should have placed bishop O'Brien's sermons on faith at the head of this article. They are in strange company, no doubt. But we have done so with the view of calling attention to a new edition of one of the most valuable works on doctrinal theology which have been published for many years; and we have done so, too, with the further intention of showing from an authority, and by arguments which will naturally have more weight than our own, how the sophistries of these commentaries may be refuted. The doctrine of the Plymouth Brethren, or rather of the section represented by our commentator, in brief, is this: believe that you are saved, and you are saved, without sorrow for sin and without repentance. Repentance previous to conversion, or as having any share in it, is not to be mentioned. We can honestly say that we have taken pains to understand this matter; and we hope we are not unwilling to be taught even by a Plymouth brother; though we confess the superciliousness of the tutor makes the lesson rather unpalatable; and his meaning, when drawn out, is what we have represented it to be. Bishop O'Brien does not write controversially; he does not appear to have had an eye to the Plymouth heresy; and on this account he may be consulted with greater confidence and, perhaps, by some with more satisfaction. On this question of repentance, as a part of the faith that justifies, we must quote one passage from his Lordship's admirable work, before we quit the subject. He says:—

"A question is often asked, though not always, perhaps, with a sincere desire for information, namely, How far is *repentance* essential to *faith?* For, if by *repentance* be meant the whole change of mind which a sinner undergoes under the operation of divine grace, it is only necessary to recal what we have established about *the nature of faith* to be enabled to give to this question a sufficient reply, since *just so much of that change as is necessary to render faith real, is to be pronounced strictly essential to it, and no more.*

"FAITH IN CHRIST, as we have said, is *trust* in Him and in His work. But that this trust should be genuine, it is plainly necessary that we should feel truly our need of redemption, and truly desire it, as well as truly believe that Christ died to redeem us. *Faith*, then, is not the act of one careless about the interest of his immortal soul, and therefore consenting easily to confide anywhere or in any one a charge in which he feels but little concern; but of one alive to the soul's infinite value, and to the momentous importance of eternity. It is not the act of one at ease about the safety of his soul, with little sense of guilt and little fear of punishment; but of one who feels himself condemned by God's righteous law, and by its sentence; a sinner in thought and word and deed, and who feels, too, the certainty of his danger, as well as the reality of his guilt; and who seeks relief from this terror and remorse in none of those *refuges of lies* by which such salutary alarm is so often mitigated and finally extinguished, but who, feeling the nothingness of them all, and renouncing them all, has, under this sense of sin and danger and helplessness, come in sincerity to Christ for everything,—for safety and innocence and strength. When we say that FAITH in *Christ* is *trust* in Him, this is the *trust* that we mean,—*trust* founded upon the Word of God by one who has thus entirely received and believed its testimony concerning sin and the Saviour. A serious impression, therefore, of the importance of eternity and its interests—a real conviction of sin and of its exceeding sinfulness—a heartfelt sense of our own guilt and depravity—a heartfelt sense, too, of our helplessness, of our weakness, and our wants, must be felt by all who can be truly said to TRUST IN CHRIST, as *knowing in whom they trust*, and knowing also what they confide to His care.

"This part of *repentance*, therefore, is implied in *faith*, rightly understood, and is, strictly speaking, essential to it." (p. 49.)

"But there is a sorrow for sin which is the portion of God's children, and which is not felt by the unreconciled. Sorrow for sin as rebellion against the rightful Lord of our hearts, as ingratitude to our gracious Saviour, as displeasing to our reconciled Father, as shaming the profession of the gospel, and grieving the Spirit of grace, —this is manifestly the feeling of those who have received from Him, by *faith*, the Spirit of adoption, and is to be looked for only in those hearts in which the *love of God has been shed abroad by the power of the Holy Ghost.* The graces of filial love, and of that filial fear which is its inseparable companion, from whence spring a genuine desire to obey, and genuine sorrow at all our failures of obedience, are themselves (as will, I trust, hereafter more distinctly appear) wrought by the Spirit of God mainly through the instrumentality of the *faith* which He has bestowed, and under that sense of entire

reconciliation with God which *faith* supplies. And to require the possession of these graces, as essential to the genuineness of *faith*, is to mistake the nature of *faith*, to misrepresent the order of the Spirit's gifts, and in its direct tendency to overthrow the principles and to frustrate the whole design of the gospel." (p. 53.)

To return, however, to the notes on Exodus. The exposition of the twelfth chapter contains another dangerous error; it is, that the obedient life of Christ was not meritorious, and formed no part of His atonement. This is insisted upon with the strongest possible assertions and the weakest possible arguments. We will take a few consecutive sentences, which will both explain and justify our censure:—

"I would further remind my reader, that the obedient *life* of Christ is not set forth in Scripture as the procuring cause of our forgiveness; it was His death upon the cross that opened those everlasting flood-gates of love, which else would have remained pent up for ever. If he had remained to this very hour going through the cities of Israel 'doing good,' the veil of the temple would continue unrent, to bar the worshipper's approach to God. It was His death that rent that mysterious curtain 'from top to bottom.' It is by *His stripes*, not by His obedient life, that 'we are healed,' and those 'stripes' He endured *on the cross and nowhere else.*" (p. 135.)

We need scarcely point out the confusion which reigns supreme in these few sentences. In the first of them we have the broad assertion, that the obedient life of Christ is not the procuring cause of our forgiveness; he means, as the last of the four sentences explains, that it was no part of the procuring cause; it is "by His stripes," not by His obedient life—stripes endured on the cross, and "nowhere else," that we are healed. In the second sentence, we are told that it was His death which opened those everlasting flood-gates, which otherwise would have remained pent up for ever; a proposition which has no connexion with the premises. Then, the third sentence is perfectly true; but it has no connexion with the first, the second, or the last, so far as the argument is concerned. If the Lord had remained to this very hour doing good, He would not have offered Himself a sacrifice for sin—the sacrifice would not have been completed; a proposition which no Christian denies. But it is one which does not touch the question; that question being simply this: whether the active obedience of Christ during His life does or does not make a part—for we never read or heard of any fanatic, in any age of the church, who, believing in the atonement, contended that it made the whole of the Redeemer's meritorious work on our behalf. According to the theology of C. H. M., the question is "one of immense weight and importance;" but the only argument by which his view of it is sustained, is drawn from an array of the texts which assert that without shedding of blood there is no remis-

sion. No orthodox Christian ever maintained the contrary. He lays great stress upon two texts, Luke xiii. 32, and Hebrews ii. 10, in which our Lord is spoken of, or speaks of Himself, as being perfected, on which we have the following expeditious criticism :—

"The expressions 'perfect' and 'perfected,' in the above passages, do not refer to Christ in His own person abstractedly, for He was perfect from all eternity as Son of God; and as to His humanity, He was absolutely perfect likewise. But then, as the 'Captain of our salvation,' as 'bringing many sons unto glory,' as 'bringing forth much fruit,' as associating a redeemed people *with* Himself, He had to reach 'the third day' in order to be 'perfected.'"

We need not remind those of our readers who are at all conversant with the Greek of the New Testament, that the verb τελειοῦμαι, or perfected, signifies, in these two passages, neither less nor more than would be equally well expressed by the English word *completed;* or that it is used in this sense by the apostolic fathers (very poor authorities on matters of doctrine, but very good ones as to the meaning attached to Syriac Greek in the apostolic age), who habitually speak of the death of their martyrs (Polycarp, for instance) as the time of their perfection; that is, the completion of their work on earth. But we need not have gone so far. The last words uttered on the cross are decisive, "It is finished"—τετελεσται—the work is completed. But this would rather imply that the awful work had been some time in progress than that it began only on the cross.

This delusion—and it is a very dangerous one—is in great favour with that section of the Plymouth Brethren who submit to the teaching of C. H. M. and his associates. The subject is taken up in the tract "On Imputed Righteousness," by J. M. C., of which it forms a considerable part. The tract is thrown into the form of a dialogue between A. and B., where A. represents the part of the *amicus curiæ* at a mock auction. He stands there to raise plausible objections that he may have them more plausibly refuted; to draw attention to what he pretends to consider a flaw or defect in the article exposed for sale, only that he may have an opportunity by and by of applauding what he now depreciates; and at last, just at the right moment, he puffs the worthless wares he so recently condemned. So A., a little scandalized at first, presumes at length to ask, as we, too, humbly venture to ask: "What do you say of the agony of our blessed Lord in Gethsemane; was it not caused by the burden of our sins, and the wrath of God then pressing Him?" To whom B., otherwise J. M. C., makes answer, "I do not believe it was;" and he gives his reasons accordingly, if reasons they may be called where reason there is none; though A. finds himself "obliged to admit that these

explanations appear natural and easy, and deserving of prayerful consideration." So, on the whole, we are taught that in all which Jesus did and suffered, up to the moment when He was nailed to the cross, He was not doing or suffering on our behalf in any true and proper sense. "What I am now maintaining is," says B., "that in doing these things Jesus was not acting *as our sin-bearing substitute*, nor *as our substitute in any sense.*" (p. 12.)

We shall not pursue the subject, nor shall we attempt a refutation of what, when simply stated, is sufficiently exposed for those who dare to use their own eyes when they read their Bibles. It is enough to remind the reader of such texts as these: "For their sakes I sanctify myself" (John xvii. 19); *i. e.* "I fulfil all righteousness on their behalf." Nor will B.'s flippant "I don't believe it was," spoken with reference to the awful scene of Gethsemane, hinder us from praying, in words which the Church of God has used probably from the beginning even until now,—certainly long before the dark shadows of Antichrist had begun to fall upon her,—"By the mystery of thy holy incarnation; by thy holy nativity and circumcision; by thy baptism, fasting, and temptation; by thine agony and bloody sweat; by thy cross and passion; by thy precious death and burial; by thy glorious resurrection and ascension; and by the coming of the Holy Ghost; good Lord, deliver us." To which, in deep sorrow for many whom we personally love, and many more whom we deeply pity, we add this petition: "That it may please Thee to bring into the way of truth all such as have erred and are deceived."

We turn to the third volume, "Notes on Leviticus." We have, as before, sufficient evidence to justify the charitable conclusion that the writer means well; but anything more shocking to the feelings of those who entertain true reverence for God and for His Holy word than his familiarities with both, it is not easy to conceive. The author evidently regards himself as pre-eminently a spiritually-minded man; he writes with a full measure of this conceit. He is confident that he approves the things that are more excellent; he is himself a guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, a teacher of others who are but babes in his presence. He has the very form or type of knowledge, and of the truth in the law, in his own especial custody. (Romans ii. 18.) For our own part, we must refuse him our confidence. We deny that eminent spirituality of mind is ever found in combination with eminent self-conceit. We deny that a profound knowledge of Scripture is ever found in connexion with a spirit of dogmatism. We deny that any man, whatever his reputation for piety, can be deeply versed in the things of God, who dares to toss them about with familiar airs, as if he were thoroughly master of the sub-

ject, and had a perfect right to give peremptory decisions with off-handed levity. This the author does on almost every page; although he speaks, and speaks well, of the need we have to study these words "with an humbled, self-emptied spirit." Whether we are prejudiced or not, let a few extracts, which shall be taken almost promiscuously, determine.

Chapter iii. treats of the peace offering and the burnt offering. The former "might be a male or a female," and why? Our author knows the reason, and the *only* reason, why. "The only reason why a female" was permitted in the peace offering, "was because it was a question of the worshipper's capacity to enjoy that blessed One, who, in Himself, is "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever!" (p. 67.)

Again, he draws a distinction between praying for forgiveness and confessing our sins, between which, he tells us, "there is an immense moral difference." This we must deny; inasmuch as the one involves the other, and there is practically no difference whatever. "It is quite possible," he admits, "that a person's prayer may involve the confession of his sin, whatever it may happen to be, and thus come to the same thing." It is quite impossible, we rejoin, that the two should be separated. The penitent who really confesses his sin to God is in that act of confession imploring forgiveness; the penitent imploring for forgiveness is in that act confessing his sin. The hardened sinner will not confess, either because he expects no pardon, or because he feels no guilt. The penitent sinner, or contrite believer, prays for pardon, because sin wounds his soul; and the very prayer amounts to a confession that he smarts beneath the wound. It is an idle distinction, a distinction without a difference; and the conclusions which our author draws are some of them very questionable, and some of them very mischievous; some of them unite both of these ill qualities at once. Of such hair-splitting we have on the same page the following specimen:—"A Christian, having erred, in thought, word, or deed, might pray for pardon for days and months together, and not have any assurance (from 1 John i. 9) that he was forgiven; whereas, the moment he truly confesses his sin before God, it is a simple matter of faith to know that he is perfectly forgiven and perfectly cleansed." We need scarcely point out the unsoundness of the teaching which, besides making the method of salvation to hang upon a single verse which treats of it only incidentally, confounds the confession of sin with the assurance of salvation, or makes the one the efficient cause of the other, so that they are in point of time instantaneous. So then it is not faith in Christ, it is confession of sin, which brings peace, and brings it "that" moment, to the soul. In the same chapter we meet with what is more shocking to us, as an instance of unholy familiarity. *He is speaking of* our fellowship with God, which he illustrates

by the parable of the prodigal son. "What was it," he asks, "which constituted the material of communion between the Father and the prodigal? Was it the rags of the latter? Was it the husks of 'the far country'? By no means. It was not anything the prodigal brought with him. It was the rich provision of the Father's love, 'the fatted calf.' Thus it is with God, and every true worshipper. *They feed together, in holy and elevated communion, upon Him whose precious blood has brought them into everlasting association,* in that light to which no sin can ever approach." There is nothing in the missal to exceed this in the grossness of its conception. Indeed, the mass itself is not so revolting. Even the mass nowhere makes the Father "feed together" with the worshipper upon the precious blood of Christ! In the next page we are informed that "a soul bowed down under the heavy burden of sin cannot, with spiritual intelligence, eat the Lord's supper, inasmuch as that feast is expressive of the complete removal of sin by the death of Christ." (p. 86.) To be consistent, our commentator should give us an improved version of the New Testament, and one verse in it should be translated thus:—"Come *not* unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy-laden, and I will *not* give you rest."

And this is eminent spirituality. For such teaching as this, men have been found willing to forsake the Church of England, under the delusion that they are joining themselves to the truly spiritually-minded, the most saintly of the people of God. In fact, they are merely closing their Bibles, and submitting to the tyranny of expositors. The Plymouth Brethren, as represented by these volumes, occupy the same mystic *platform*—their own favorite word—on which Madame Guyon stood; and we shall be by no means surprised if many of them should die, as she died, in hearty fellowship with the church of Rome, which they are already touching at several points. We had intended to proceed with our quotations, but we feel rather that an apology is due to our readers for having made so many, and those of so questionable a character; and we are only too happy to desist.

The space at our disposal forbids us to make the attempt to track the Plymouth Brethren into those weary deserts, "full of traps and pitfalls," as Bunyan says, amongst which they wander; but to those who think it necessary, we commend the excellent tracts by Mr. Cox, which are placed at the head of this article. They ought to be distributed wherever the Plymouth Brethren are disturbing the peace of the churches of Christ; and as the two cost but tenpence, all who are zealous for the truth may afford to buy and lend them. In one of them, "Test before you Trust," the subjects to which we have adverted are calmly and fully considered, and the erroneous teaching of the Plymouth Brethren is laid bare. In the second,

"On the Holy Spirit," another of their mournful delusions is exposed, viz., that which forbids prayer for the gift of the Holy Ghost. Both of the tracts are written in a truly Christian spirit, and yet with a wholesome severity. We shall conclude our task with the solemn admonition and remonstrance of Mr. Cox:—

"For about thirty years 'Brethrenism' has been in existence. It has numbered among its adherents the rich, the influential, the talented, the learned, and, we rejoice to add, many truly godly people. It has proselyted largely from all other sects, gathering out the most talented and respectable in some cases, and the most impulsive in others, many of whom have proved only pilgrims through the system. The efforts put forth to draw away disciples have no doubt been very great; the publications issued have been almost innumerable. And now we ask, What deliverance hath been wrought? What special blessing, above others, has 'Brethrenism' received? And wherein does its utility, as a system for the promotion of peace, unity, and brotherly love among the saints, appear? Has it not had, considering the short period of its existence, many more divisions, secessions, and bitter controversies *among its own members* than any other body of Christians. Only lately some fierce pamphlets have been published by 'Brethren' against one another, which shows 'a house divided against itself.' In these publications serious charges of injustice, tyranny, and violence, are brought against certain parties, with complaints of grievous disorder at their meetings, and great lack of discipline. Similar things have happened in many places at different times; and yet in these disorderly gatherings no hymns have been sung addressed to the Holy Spirit; for such are not found in the book for 'the poor of the flock.' They are free from the grievous sin of singing—

> "Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove,
> With all thy quickening powers;"

while we fear that, at least in some places, they must have known the truth of two other lines of Dr. Watts—

> "The Spirit, like a heavenly Dove,
> Shuns the abode of noise and strife."

We hope that there are many of their gatherings not in this condition; and we can but think that a more spiritual and united state of things would be likely to result, if, instead of blaming other Christians so severely for praying to and for the Holy Spirit, more of the spirit of Watts, Hart, Newton, Wesley, Swaine, and others, who wrote the condemned hymns, prevailed among 'the Brethren.'"

There are many, very many, we believe, amongst the Plymouth Brethren who deplore the errors we have exposed as deeply as ourselves. We by no means wish to involve all in the follies of some—perhaps a minority of their body. But these are their noisy men, the self-elected exponents of their views; and by them only can we judge. We hope the time is not far distant, when the truly spiritually-minded amongst them will return to the Church they never should have left.

THE SPANISH REFORMERS.

1. *La Reforme en Espagne. Par J. M. Guardia. Histoire des Protestantes Espagnoles. Par Adolfo de Castro.*
2. *The Martyrs of Spain, and the Liberators of Holland. Memoirs of the Sisters Dolores and Costanza Cazalla. By the author of "Tales and Sketches of Christians," &c. &c. Nisbet and Co.* 1862.

THE sufferings of the Protestants in Spain, from the bigoted hands of the Romish priesthood, have awakened the sympathies of England during the last few months, and directed our anxious attention to the country which has for three centuries been sleeping the sleep of death. The note of reformation has sounded, and the system of repression is at once adopted which was found successful in the days of Philip the Second. Tranquillity and uniformity of religion must be purchased at any price; from hence, they imagine, the grandeur and prosperity of a nation results, while all history points to the fact that this much boasted policy is irrational and wicked. Spain has always preserved herself from heretical contagion, and she has steadily descended into the lowest rank among the nations of Europe. The Reformation was not only a great religious movement; it was a development of social principles; and had it been permitted to penetrate into Spain, it would have carried with it the elements of civilization. It will not, perhaps, be a useless study to turn our attention to the progress the reformed religion once made in the Peninsula, and to note the large number of proselytes it gained among the highest intellects in the land. For this purpose, we shall refer to a recent work of M. Guardia's, on the subject of the Spanish Reformation, where we shall be called upon to note the energetic perseverance of the leaders, and the devotion of the chosen band of disciples proved under the fire of martyrdom.

The Reformation broke out in Spain at an early date. It was introduced from the shores of Italy, whence the writers known as the Humanists derived their principles. Louis Vivès, destined to become one of the first men of his age, relates how his schoolmaster, devoted to the old system, made his pupils declaim against the innovators. But it was in vain; Vivès could not be retained as the advocate of an exploded philosophy; he soon quitted Spain, and, profiting by his residence in the northern universities, took rank, despite his youth, between Erasmus and Budæus, that glorious triumvirate of the sixteenth century, in which he shone as much by his correct judgment, as his rivals did by eloquence and fertile invention. His mind understood better what the tendencies of the age

would lead to. His commentary on Augustine's works is a model of good sense and raillery, laying bare the pretentious ignorance of monkish scholasticism, and puzzling the Franciscans and Dominicans with quotations borrowed from their own works. If the monks hated Erasmus, they abhorred Vivès, especially the Mendicant Order, whose insatiable greediness and shameful ignorance he had unmasked. The Jesuits did not even wait for orders from Rome to interdict his works, but put them out of their libraries, and termed him "an author of suspected doctrine," as Mariana writes to the Inquisitor-General and Archbishop of Toledo.

Not only was Vivès a man of deep study; he was also a politician. A countryman of his from Valencia, and a kindred spirit, may be found in Frederico Sériol, who went to Paris and Louvain to continue his studies; and passing by his leaders, maintained a thesis against the Catholic theologians, which was altogether Protestant, namely, the necessity of a translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue. This he publicly supported and printed; and because he dared to write his thoughts, he was in danger of losing his life. Nothing saved him but the special protection of Charles the Fifth, who was pleased with his political genius, and esteemed his upright character. The king even sent him to his son, recommending him as an adviser whose talents would be a safe guide for his conduct; and, in truth, Sériol's influence contributed much to the pacification of the first outbreak in the Low Countries.

These two were the pioneers of the Reformation, if not by their profession of faith, at least by their bold and liberal opinions. They refused to separate social from religious order, and desired to see a government animated by a truly Christian spirit. Both had recourse to argument, to expositions which they drew from the Holy Scriptures, and above all from the teaching of Him who guides into all saving truth. This was the secret of their strength; the Humanists with their criticism would never have regenerated Spain. Such, at least, was the opinion of the reformers who succeeded them, whose labours date from the same period as the great movement which burst forth in Germany. From the year 1521, Leo the Tenth was alarmed at the number of Lutheran writings circulated in Spain. Warned in time, the Inquisition redoubled its vigilance, and established the sanitary restrictions which were to save the Peninsula. They extended them across the Pyrenees and the coasts of both seas. But all was in vain; for the reformed doctrines spread first among the followers of Charles the Fifth. The Spaniards in his suite heard Luther at the Diet of Worms, and they associated with the principal Reformers. Melancthon especially delighted them by the graces of his wit and the

amenity of his manners. He soon gained disciples, among whom, in the first rank, figured two men equally remarkable for their talents and their position, Alfonso Valdes and Virues —the first, the secretary to the Emperor's Chancellor; the second, a clever Benedictine, confessor and preacher in ordinary to the Emperor himself. Both were called to give an account of their faith before the Inquisition. Valdes saved himself by flight, and Virues was condemned to make a solemn abjuration, followed by an imprisonment of many long years; a humiliation from which the imperial protection could not save him.

The first symptoms of this contagion having broken out in the Emperor's suite, among men who had the direction of his conscience, the suspicion has arisen that Charles the Fifth's religious convictions were somewhat shaken, to which, however, his conduct gave the lie in the atrocious measures which he sanctioned in the Low Countries for the suppression of heresy. We gather some details of his attitude towards the Reformers from an author well known among the Spaniards of his day, Francisco de Euzinas, a native of Burgos, who accompanied his two elder brothers to the university of Louvain. All the three became Reformers; the eldest went to Rome, after having published a catechism agreeing with evangelical doctrine. Disgusted with the frightful corruption which he found in the capital of the Christian world, he was leaving to rejoin his brother, when he was denounced to the Inquisition as a heretic. He appeared before an assembly of bishops and cardinals, and persisting in his belief, was condemned to be burned alive; he perished at the stake in 1546. The youngest, Francisco, was arrested on the same charge, and was condemned to several years imprisonment, the history of which he has related. His crime was that of having published a translation of the New Testament in the Spanish language, which he dedicated to Charles. The monarch's confessor, Pedro di Soto, a fanatic of the Dominican order, was not thankful for the honour conferred on his master, and excited hostile measures against the author. The account of the audience which Euzinas had with the Emperor, when he presented his translation, shows how profound was the ignorance, on matters of religion, of the prince, whose whole life was passed in an age of theological controversy. His own confession shows that he was taken from his studies before he knew the elements of grammar, and forced to apply himself to state affairs. Hence he lent a deaf ear to heretical propositions, fearing lest he should be seduced by their arguments, and unable to refute their doctrines. At the Diet of Augsburg, he refused at first to hear the Lutheran confession read, and then, by a singular inconsistency, had it translated into French and Latin; and thus it

spread itself over Europe. The heretical doctrine penetrated into Spain, not without producing some agitation. His successor introduced a new system of government; he marked how his father had helped to propagate the doctrines he detested; henceforward, in order to cut them up by the root, he excluded foreigners from Spain, to prevent further contamination; and by remorseless persecution he extirpated heresy. One of his expressions depicts his character: "If it were possible, I would lose my life and kingdom a hundred times over, rather than consent to reign over heretics."

Charles the Fifth's constant custom was to listen to, and follow blindly, the dictates of his counsellors, the bishops and monks. Euzinas gives us the following example. Francisco de San Roman belonged to a rich commercial family at Burgos. A matter of business having taken him to Bremen, he there heard a former prior of the Augustine convent preach. Touched by his words, he had many conversations with him, and, forgetting the object of his journey, began to read and comment on the Holy Scriptures. He composed catechisms and religious essays; wrote three letters to the Emperor on the subject of religion, and the pacification of Flanders; and then, with the enthusiasm of a neophyte, he addressed most pressing warnings to the Spaniards residing at Antwerp. These denounced him to the ecclesiastical authorities, and treacherously invited him to come and visit them. Hardly had St. Roman arrived, than the monks seized on his person, submitted him to a severe interrogation, and ended by burning his works, even his translation of the New Testament. When he had confessed all they wanted to know, they sent him to a solitary tower, six leagues from Antwerp, where he spent six months. On being set at liberty, he went to Ratisbon, where the Diet was then sitting, without listening to the opposite counsels of his friend and compatriot Euzinas. Triumphing over all obstacles, he presented himself before the Emperor three times, entreating him to establish the true religion in his empire, and to devote himself to the service of God and the peace of his kingdom. Charles listened to him patiently, and kindly replied that these subjects occupied much of his thoughts, and that he would bring them to the best conclusion he could. The fourth time San Roman ventured into the royal presence, the Spaniards seized him, and would have thrown him into the Danube, had not the Emperor reminded them that he must be tried according to law. He was loaded with chains and thrown into a deep dungeon; or, as some say, bound to a chariot, and dragged about in Africa; returning to Spain at the close of the disastrous expedition to Algiers, he was given up immediately to the Inquisition at Valladolid; he was condemned to be burnt alive, after some months of torture. The stake

was at a little distance from the town, and the procession must pass by a large cross; the culprit was commanded to bow before it, but refused; the superstitious people, imagining there was some divine virtue in this cross, since it had repulsed the worship of a heretic, precipitated themselves upon it, and broke it into little fragments, which they divided as a precious relic. Having reached the place of execution, San Roman was called on to abjure; but steadfastly refusing, he was burnt. The archers of the imperial guard gathered up the ashes, and the English ambassador, who was present, and shared the martyr's convictions, preserved some of the bones. All this could not be done so secretly but that the Inquisition heard of it; through them it reached the ears of the Emperor, who was deeply offended; the archers were imprisoned by his orders, and the ambassador was desired to absent himself from court. It was perhaps the first and last time when the spectators of these bloody spectacles felt and showed any commiseration for the sufferers. San Roman was the first martyr the Inquisition condemned for the crime of Lutheran heresy, to be followed by a terrible list hereafter.

We find from the history of Euzinas that, though the reformation had penetrated into Spain in the reign of Charles, yet it was not openly preached; but from this time the Spanish reformers prepared to fulfil their mission. Such a one was Juan Vergara, of the University of Alcala, celebrated in all Europe as a centre of learning, where the air of liberty and independence might be breathed. But he was not permitted to preach without opposition; the monks denounced him, and the Inquisition began a suit. After many tedious delays, the archbishop of Toledo procured his freedom, but the suspicion of heresy fell upon him in consequence; and from this time the jurisdiction of the Holy Office was all powerful; no bishop ventured in future to interfere. About the same time, and at the same university, lived Doctor Mateo Pascual, a deep theologian, a distinguished Hebrew scholar, and well versed in the knowledge of the Bible. The latter qualification was, in those days, no recommendation in the universities where scholastic teaching still reigned. Dialecticians and subtle disputers were highly appreciated, and, in derision, they called those theologians *biblists*, who preferred to preach from a text instead of cavilling about Duns Scotus or Thomas Aquinas; thus *biblist* was a synonyme with heretic. One day, when Pascual was proving a theological thesis before a large auditory, he warmed in the dispute, and conquered his adversary completely; but the latter angrily took up the doctor's arguments, and added in conclusion, that if things were so, it followed that there was no such thing as purgatory. "And then?" added Pascual, no doubt expecting some end to these conclusions. For this

single word, of which the meaning is ambiguous, he was immediately dragged from the pulpit, brought before the Inquisitors, and thrown into prison, where he passed many long and cruel years whilst his cause was pending; his judges, not daring to send him to the stake for a single word, released him at length with the confiscation of all his property.

Another most celebrated preacher, Pedro de Lerma, may almost be considered as the first Spanish reformer; seeing that the character of his sermons was closely copied by his successors. None of them would receive the name of Lutheran; they preached evangelical doctrine according to the early church, declaring that their whole faith rested on the Bible. Pedro de Lerma belonged to one of the highest families of Spain; had received his title of doctor from the Sorbonne; was Chancellor of the University of Alcala, and Canon of the Cathedral of Burgos; his revenue was considerable, and his reputation extended over the peninsula. From youth he had been accustomed to read the Holy Scriptures, and necessarily, though almost insensibly, he became disgusted with the sophisms and arguments of the schools. In old age, he read the works of Erasmus, which completed his conversion. His preaching could not fail to be influenced; it took a character unknown in Roman Catholic churches. The monks denounced him; and at the age of seventy he was thrown into prison. He boldly objected to the power of the tribunal, and declared he would never consent to argue with ignorant and prejudiced judges. It was imperative upon the inquisitors to support their infallibility, so they accused Pedro of uttering blasphemy, and in the end obliged him to contradict in every large city of Spain, where he had formerly preached, eleven of his own propositions, which were pronounced heretical, scandalous, and execrable.

He could not bear up under his disgrace, and determined to end his days far from his native land; he fixed on Paris, where he was received with the honours due to his excellence and his years, and died in 1541 dean of the Sorbonne.

During this time, Spanish Protestantism was strengthening itself beyond its own country. Converts to evangelical teaching, alone or in company, laboured at Naples, Frankfort, and Geneva, in the cities of Germany and the Low Countries, for the propagation of the reformed religion; and a diligent correspondence was kept up with the old country. Medina del Campo and Seville became the principal centres of missionary enterprise, where religious works in Latin or Spanish were sold at a low price and largely circulated. When the watchful eye of the Inquisition rendered the introduction of suspected books more difficult, the depôt was kept at Lyons, whence they penetrated into Spain over the frontiers of Arragon and Na-

varre. In 1557, an intelligent and intrepid man, known by the name of Julianillo, introduced tuns with double bottoms, which contained a small quantity of French wine and an immense number of Protestant books, including the Spanish translation of the New Testament by Juan Perez. They were stored at a monastery, the inmates of which were well inclined to the new doctrines; but a traitor denounced the contrabandists, and the terrible arm of the Inquisition arrested at one stroke eight hundred persons.

There was a remarkable person at Seville, Rodrigo de Valero, one of the first men who really preached the reformed doctrine at Seville. We take the following sketch from the "Martyrs of Spain," which stands at the head of our article, an unpretending but admirable volume, in which the leading events of Spanish story, in connexion with the reformation there, are presented in a lively and very accurate manner under the slight fiction of memoirs of two sisters, Spanish ladies of rank. The work is intended for young people, and we can hardly commend it too warmly.

"He was a gentleman of Lebrixa, not a priest, nor a learned man. His youth had been spent in the eager pursuit of pleasure. Listless idleness could never have been his temptation. Among the young men of rank of Seville he was a leader of fashion. Wealthy, daring, and generous; in feats of arms, in the chase, in entertainments, in dress, he was the prince of his circle. No society, no amusement at Seville, was complete without the presence of Rodrigo Valero. All at once, without any reverse of fortune or any loss of health, he absolutely abandoned his life of dissipation, became indifferent to all he had delighted in, and gave himself to reading and meditation on the things that are not seen and eternal If he had taken monastic vows, or founded a new order of monks, people would have understood the change. Such visible conversions from dissipation to the convent, from the gay world to the religious world, were among the recognised phenomena of the day. But Valero avoided the monasteries as much as his former pursuits. His religious book was not the Lives of the Saints, which any one would have made allowance for, but the Bible; and to him the study of the Bible was no easy matter. The only Bible he possessed was the Latin Vulgate; and the little Latin he had learned in his boyhood had been nearly forgotten. But the Bible was from God; and what God said Valero must know; therefore, day and night he studied, until he could read Latin easily. Then the treasure house was open to him, and he became indeed a man of God, furnished from the Divine armoury for every good word and work. Henceforth he sought the society of the clergy, to tell them of the truth he had found. He addressed all who would listen to him, of all ranks and professions. He had good news to tell them—that the veil between man and God is rent for ever by God's hand, and that, through Him who died for us all, the way is open for all to draw near to God. To the clergy he had other messages. Their hands, too many of them, were employed in erecting barriers between man and

God; by their false doctrine, which misrepresented Him; by their sins, which disgusted men with the name of religion. Such words could not be spoken with impunity; from the days of the Scribes and Pharisees to ours. The clergy demanded by what authority he taught these things. He told them that the truths he spoke were his credentials, and directed them to the word of God as the source of all he said. He was brought before the Inquisitors; his rank and the influence of his family saved him; and his enemies contented themselves with commanding him 'not to teach in this name,' and with declaring him mad. For some little time he abstained from all public speaking, and simply explained the Epistle to the Romans privately to his friends. But his heart was too full to be content with such comparative silence. In all battles some must take the first step, and make a way for the rest. He did not shrink from his post. Once more he spoke, and he was brought again before the Inquisitors, and sentenced to wear the robe of infamy, the Sanbenito, and be imprisoned for life.

"This final sentence was passed in 1541, four or five years before the martyrdom of San Roman at Seville. For such a nature death would have been easier. Henceforth, the leader of gaiety and fashion at Seville was only to be seen on festivals, driven through the streets in his yellow robe of disgrace, among the penitents, to the church of San Salvador. But even this could not extinguish the fire of his zeal for souls. More than once a voice was heard from that dishonoured company, after the sermon, faithfully warning the congregation against any false doctrine in it, and telling them of Him who was near to them and near to God—the Redeemer, the Sacrifice, the Priest. This could not often be permitted. At length he was shut out from all society in the monastery of San Lucar, at the mouth of the Guadalquivir; and there, at the age of fifty, he died. He had no monument but his poor robe of shame, hung up in the cathedral of Seville. It was of an unusual size, and his monumental inscription was, 'Rodrigo Valero, a citizen of Lebrixa and Seville, an apostate and false apostle, who pretended to be sent of God.'"

The Spanish Protestants esteemed him highly, and believed him to be a prophet; but, as stated before, he induced the canon of Seville, Egidius, to draw from the study of the sacred writings that wisdom which he sought in vain in the scholastic writers. Though the talents of Egidius in discussion were great, he had never excelled as a preacher; but soon the simplicity and unction he displayed in the pulpit were remarked, and his success was astonishing. Charles the Fifth appointed him to the bishopric of Tortosa in 1550, the richest see in Spain after Toledo. This mark of favour was his ruin; the hatred of his enemies burst forth; he was accused of propagating suspected doctrines; and they did not forget to urge that, at the condemnation of Rodrigo de Valero, Egidius had interceded for him. Thrown into prison, Egidius wrote his apology; but that, too, was turned against him, as containing heretical

opinions; his friends at court did everything to save their favourite preacher, the Emperor himself interposed, and the Cathedral Chapter were particularly interested in obtaining a favourable sentence on one of their members. He was, however, obliged to make a public recantation; preaching, confession, and public discussion were interdicted for ten years, three of which he passed in prison; and his death occurred shortly after his release in 1556. Four years after, his bones were exhumed and burnt with his effigy, and his name was declared infamous. Such disgusting exhibitions were frequent in the reign of Philip the Second; a different man from his father, who when he entered Wittenburg, and was pressed to disinter the bones of Luther, replied: "No; I do not make war on the dead, but the living. Let his bones rest in peace, he has met his Judge."

Egidius had for his fellow disciple at the university of Alcala Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, a man celebrated for his learning and caustic wit. He was one of Charles the Fifth's chaplains, and followed in his train to Germany. On his return, he was appointed to be preacher at the cathedral of Seville, a place left vacant by the death of Egidius, whom he endeavoured to imitate. In spite of all the precautions he took, he could not escape the Argus eyes of the Jesuits and Dominicans; but, when called before the Inquisition, they hesitated to proceed, on simple suspicion, against a man so popular with the people and the court. Many were the visits he had to pay to the Holy Office; as he was coming out one day from an interrogatory, his friends asked what the Inquisitors wanted with him: "They wish to burn me," he replied; "but they find me too green yet." Chance gave them the opportunity. He had secreted his books and papers at the house of a rich lady in Seville, who was attached to the new doctrines. An unfaithful servant denounced this lady; and her son, surprised by a visit of the familiars, gave up Constantino's writings. This was quite enough for their purpose. Thrown into prison, he confessed that his opinions agreed with what he had written; but his confessions compromised no one but himself. Charles the Fifth, on hearing of his arrest, exclaimed, "If Constantino is a heretic, he is a great heretic." And truly, adds Sandoval, the judges seem to have thought him such; for they shut him up in a loathsome cell, deprived of air and light, where he soon perished; while his persecutors spread the rumour that he had destroyed himself.

The church at Seville was formed by the efforts of these two great reformers, Egidius and Constantino, in union with another pupil of the university of Alcala, Dr. Vargas. Spain had heard through them the heart-stirring words of the gospel. They acted in concert, and divided the perilous task of

bringing back their hearers to the authority of conscience and of the word of God, instead of the guidance of priests. "Preaching virtue and holiness," says a contemporary, "they mounted up to the living source of truth; and the people of Seville, in that more happy than all Spain, heard for twelve years the gospel of Christ in all its purity. This work of reformation ended in an abundant harvest." The church in this city lost its real head at the death of Constantino; after that sad event, the flock was dispersed, and the cause of the reformation in Spain received its death-wound. In other parts of the country, the Protestants were isolated, or formed into small assemblies; in Seville, on the contrary, they counted a very large number of reformed Christians who were not so much attached to the doctrines of Luther as to the pure teaching of the gospel. The second rallying point was the city of Valladolid, and these two churches held a close communication with each other. Nor is it surprising that Protestantism should have taken root in them; the first being the great commercial mart for the old and new worlds, the rendezvous of all nations; the second enjoying all the advantages of the capital without the name, the kings of Spain residing there by preference. In these two centres of reform we must now study the church during the sad period when the iron hand of persecution crushed it out of the land.

The Inquisitor-General, at the beginning of the reign of Philip II., was Fernando de Valdes, archbishop of Seville; he was a man of the strongest determination, but proceeded with cautious steps, temporizing until the moment came for striking the blow. One might, indeed, have imagined that the Inquisition was asleep; yet never was it more vigilant. Valdes had his emissaries everywhere; he multiplied his spies, patiently waited for voluntary accusations and traitorous reports, and when sure of his prey, he struck the decisive blow. The heretics were arrested on the same day in many different places. The trials proceeded with the utmost haste, not only on account of the great number of accused persons, but in the hope that their fearful torture would lead them to betray their companions. In the end, when all was complete, the *triumph* was prepared, the name of the ceremony which the Inquisition celebrated with great pomp when they handed over the criminals to the secular arm. It was also called an *act of faith*, "not without reason," as a Spanish reformer remarks, "for it was in this act that each showed to the public, who were assembled in crowds, the true foundation of their belief, some denying their faith, others bearing a faithful witness unto death."

The first of these dreadful scenes was displayed at Valladolid in 1559, presided over by the queen regent in the absence of Philip II., accompanied by the young prince,

Don Carlos, and a brilliant court. The number of heretics amounted to thirty, two of whom especially attract our attention by the difference of their conduct, Augustin Cacalla and Herrezuelo. The first was of Jewish descent, a canon of Salamanca, and an old preacher of Charles V. He had been converted to the reformed religion during his residence in Germany, and on returning to Spain he had given himself up most actively to the work of making proselytes, standing at the head of the Protestants in Old Castile. Yet his heart failed him in the presence of death; he abjured, retracted, and entreated that he might be strangled before the flames were lighted, a concession which he obtained. Far different was the end of the bachelor-at-law, Herrezuelo. He was gagged as he walked to execution; but his countenance betrayed no sorrow, till his eye rested upon his wife; then indeed an expression of deep, but momentary sadness rested upon his brow. She was but twenty-four years of age, and had been arrested with her husband; but, separated from him in prison, she had allowed herself to retract. Nevertheless she drew fresh strength from the sight of her husband's firmness, and, after submitting to a humiliating penance, she suffered martyrdom at the stake nine years after.

The holy courage of Herrezuelo passed into a proverb, and in Castile they still designate an obstinate man, *Porfiado y cabezudo como Herrezuelo.* The other heretics were condemned, some to the stake, some to perpetual imprisonment, others to ridiculous and hateful penances, but all to the loss of their property; the tribunal sometimes bestowed the favour of life, but never yielded on the subject of confiscation. Philip, the never-varying supporter of the Inquisition, revived a law of Ferdinand the Catholic, by which informers received a fourth part of the goods of the accused; such profits made the horrible business a flourishing one. At this same act of faith the remains of Donna Leonora de Vibero, the mother of Augustin Cacalla, were exhumed, she having been convicted of favour towards heretics. Her house, which had been used as a place of meeting for the converts, was rased, and on its ruins a monumental stone was erected, which remained standing until 1809, when a general in the French army commanded it to be thrown down, but left it lying there as if to shame the people, who for three centuries had respected this monument of fanaticism. Thus ended the *auto-da-fé* of Valladolid, which was but the prelude to other and more horrible displays of hatred to the pure light of the gospel.

Though the repression of the reformed doctrines had been so terrible at Valladolid, they were by no means extirpated. Twenty years after the death of Cacalla, some of his courageous disciples gave proof of their faith. One horrible episode we

will quote. Under the pontificate of Gregory XIII., about 1581, a gentleman of that city denounced his two daughters to the Inquisition, which condemned them to the stake; but at the father's entreaty they permitted him first to try a course of instruction at home. The priests came in crowds, but these young girls, well versed in the Bible, stood firm against every argument. Their father judged that the time had now come for executing a project he had long entertained. Constituting himself the judge in his own family, he condemned his daughters to the death of relapsed heretics, and was himself their executioner. He raised the pile in the court of his house, made the victims ascend it, applied the torch, and yet not a voice was raised against this fanatic! Heresy in those days was dishonour, infamy, the most frightful calamity that could befal a family. One must have been born in Spain to understand the meaning of the word. After having related this tragedy, a Spanish reformer contents himself with this simple reflection: "We need not feel so much surprised, for the Lord in St. Luke has forewarned us that this would happen: 'And ye shall be betrayed both by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolk, and friends; and some of you shall they cause to be put to death, and ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake.'"

The persecution raged equally at Seville. There were two fearful *triumphs* in 1559 and 1560. At the first, the pastor of the reformed church, Cristobal de Losada, was burnt. He was a surgeon, whose love for a young lady had been the means of guiding him to the faith of Christ; her father wished his son-in-law to partake of his own convictions, and brought him to Egidius, under whose instructions he made such rapid progress as to be judged worthy of the highest post in the church. He was soon arrested, and the most zealous theologians disputed with him. To the last moment the martyr expressed himself with wonderful force and clearness; and, fearing the effects of his preaching, the priests changed the language in which they spoke from Spanish to Latin. Losada proved himself as great a master in this; and none could help admiring a man who, on the threshold of eternity, could so perfectly retain his presence of mind. Another of these martyrs, Fernando de San Juan, was the director of a college where his duty was to instruct children in the principles of religion; he taught them evangelical doctrines. When denounced, he freely acknowledged his tenets; in spite of which, he suffered such horrible torture, that his life was scarcely spared for the great day of punishment; his face retained no human features; his body was but a living corpse; yet his soul never yielded its firm faith and trust. He still retained energy to support the courage of a young monk who was wavering under the torture; and they died together, refusing to the last moment to *retract.*

The power of Valdes, the Grand Inquisitor, was rendered still more arbitrary by the Pope's bull of 1558, combined with the willing acquiescence of Philip II.; and his struggle with Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, shall be the last chapter of the history we have tried to retrace. Bartolomé Carranza, one of the luminaries of the Council of Trent, had been early distinguished by Charles V. for his great talents. Twice had he refused a bishopric, which raised him still more in the Emperor's esteem. When Philip came to London to marry our Queen Mary, Carranza was attached to his person, and so signalized himself by his zeal, as to obtain the name of the "black monk." So many titles to favour induced Philip to offer him the archbishopric of Toledo, the first dignity of the church after the popedom, and one which Valdes intended for himself. Warned by a secret presentiment, Carranza refused the honour; but Philip would be obeyed, and this elevation was the cause of his ruin. Called to the dying emperor towards the close of his last agony, Carranza repeated the 130th Psalm, making suitable remarks after each verse; then taking a crucifix in his hand, he cried, "Look unto Him, who is our Saviour! All is pardoned; thanks be to Him, there is no more sin." These words did not suit those present, and at the request of Don Luis de Avila, Villalba began an exhortation upon the value of the intercession of the saints, and a man's own merit in the work of salvation. Thus did the two religions struggle by the deathbed of Charles V.; and Carranza's words were not forgotten: they were repeated to, and were received with the utmost avidity by, Valdes; and then began the work of iniquity, which was to last for eighteen years. M. de Castro has devoted an entire book of his "History of the Spanish Protestants" to this law-suit. The archbishop was arrested and thrown into the inquisition prisons in 1559, where he languished some years, whilst the king and the pope were disputing as to where he should be judged, each claiming the right. Pius V., a man of strong will, at length threatened the king with excommunication, and Carranza was sent to Rome in 1567, where the pope gave him apartments in the old palace of the popes, in Saint Angelo, and treated him with all respect. Three years more were spent in conferences, and thousands of pages were filled with translations of his works, and law proceedings. Not until 1576 was the definitive sentence pronounced, when Carranza, kneeling before the pope surrounded by his cardinals, was commanded to retract sixteen heretical propositions found in his works (among which was this: "The worship of images and the relics of saints is a purely human institution"). He was condemned to be deposed from his episcopal functions, and to pass five years in seclusion. The poor old man died a few days after, worn out with sorrow,

the pope made a magnificent funeral, and raised a monument to his memory, doing justice to his eloquence, great knowledge, and charity to the poor. During his long captivity, a murmur against his judges never passed his lips; his patience was unwearied. Whether he can be called a Protestant is doubtful; he rather seemed to wish for a reform in the Roman Catholic Church, which should restore that authority to the written word which had been usurped by tradition, and correct the abuses which had crept in by time.

This episode closes the militant history of the Spanish reformation; the power of the inquisition was henceforward unbounded. After the *autos-da-fé* of Valladolid and Seville, the reformers were hopelessly conquered; and isolated Christians were in despair: the triumphant inquisitors returned to their accustomed prey, the Jews and the Moors. Occasionally a relapsed heretic figured in the list, and Dr. M'Crie gives in his Appendix the biography of a few Protestants in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.* The trials of the Spanish reformers must always interest and touch us far more than the victories of Charles V. He fought for a corruptible crown: he has long since passed away; and his perishable honour, wickedly obtained, selfishly enjoyed, and at length cloying his sated appetite, perished even before his eyes, and were buried before he himself was really wanted in the sepulchre, They sought a crown of glory which fadeth not away; and even now their song of victory is scarcely yet begun: their record is on high; and though the seed has brought forth no fruit at present, it is not lost, if the days are coming when Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God. Brutal, bigoted Spain, that land of bull-fights and inquisitions, cannot for ever remain a stranger to the sanctifying influences of the gospel. Her day of grace may soon return; but, be it soon or late, the land which Paul longed to visit will receive the word which Apostles preached, and then it will appear that the blood of these holy martyrs was not as water spilled on the ground, that cannot be gathered up again, but rather that it became, as it ever does, according to the almost unchanging course of Providence, the seed of the church.

* History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain, by Thomas M'Crie, D.D.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

DEAR SIR,—In your March number of that very interesting publication, the "Christian Observer," there is an article on "Deaconesses of the Primitive Church," &c. It may, no doubt, become a requisite, and one approved in the Church of Christ, to employ the services of Christian and pious females more than has been done for many years. And we see the goodly work of "Mission Women," now often placed in the hands of female members of the Church of England communicants, whose lives bear witness to the work of God by His Holy Spirit within their souls. Perhaps, also, the appellation of "Deaconesses" might prove to be very suitable as a revival of an ancient office, and thousands of the females of our day of all classes, rich and poor, might be brought out to serve the Lord more actively, more ostensibly, than they can at present; and might follow in the track of those devoted sisters named in St. Luke viii. 3, the "many others, which ministered unto Him of their substance."

But it appears to me a great pity, that, while advocating so excellent a cause, and promoting an institution that might become so valuable, arguments should be overstrained. I have been exceedingly startled by the following passage, commencing at the foot of page 198, which refers to the Greek text 1 Tim. iii. 11. "By 'the woman' is meant 'the female Deacon.' Thus the passage" (which had been referred to before from the Apostolical Constitutions) "is a very important commentary on 1 Tim. iii. 11, where 'the women' are undoubtedly (as I think) not 'the wives of the Deacons,' but 'female Deacons.'"

Now, dear Sir, if these observations are well grounded, we shall have to yield a considerable point as respects Church discipline in connexion with the Romish controversy. We shall no longer have St. Paul, at least in this portion of Scripture, giving his inspired sanction to Christ's ministers entering into the holy bonds of matrimony. But will the text and context of this and other passages bear the putting upon them of what appears to me to be a novel construction? I would observe, also, that the Apostolical Constitutions cannot overrule *Scripture*. We must still be guided by "the Word;" we must still adhere "to the law and to the testimony." The writer of the article in question seems to consider that the "γυναικας, women," signify "female Deacons." But if so, how shall we read—how shall we understand, the "μιας γυναικος ανδρα" (verse 2), translated in our Testaments "the husband of one wife"? They are manifestly joined together by that little word "of;" in what relation are they to stand together? If in verse 11 you translate the γυνη as a "female Deacon," what is the γυνη in verse 2 set forth to be? If a "Deaconess," then you must translate it, "the husband of one Deaconess,"—and it has been already assumed that she is not a "wife." Your only resort, then, will be to take away the character of husband from the ανηρ (man), which at once produces an *impossible*

statement. Also in 1 Tim. v. 9, where the γυνη again occurs, how will you translate the γεγονια ενος ανδρος γυνη, rendered in English, "having been the wife of one man"? Can we arbitrarily say that in connexion with the sacred office of Christ's ministry the γυνη means a "female Deacon," and yet that in connexion with a layman it must be rendered by the term "wife"? Also what, if we accept the rendering "female Deacon," shall we make of the γυναικα, rendered "wife" in 1 Cor. ix. 5; the example of St. Peter being adduced, who, we know, "was himself a married man"?

But especially to return to 1 Tim. iii., how shall we reconcile the interpretation "Deaconess," or "female Deacon," given newly in the article to the "γυναικος," in the 2nd verse, with what immediately follows in close connexion in verse 4—"τεκνα εχοντα εν υποταγη"? Also, more strikingly still, in verse 12—"τεκνων καλως προϊσταμενοι και των ιδιων οικων"? Also let us consult St. Paul to Titus i. 6; how can the "γυναικος, wife," be rendered Deaconess or female Deacon (supposing them to be "unmarried women," page 203, "not the wives of the Deacons"), when we read immediately following, "τεκνα εχων πιστα"? The rightful duties of a father, implied and taught in these passages, surely may convince us and make us rest satisfied that the noun "γυνη," woman, can only have *one* sense; *that* which we have been taught from our childhood, and have read in God's word in Christ, that, whether "Bishops" or "Deacons," they must be "the husbands of one wife." 1 Tim. iii. 2, 12.

Yours truly,

C. L. P.

M. ERNEST RENAN.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—In Naville's excellent Lectures on "La Vie Eternelle" (published at Geneva a year ago) mention is made of M. Ernest Renan as "one of the most intelligent opponents of Christian doctrine." (p. 103.)

The recent appointment of this gentleman to a Professorship in the University of Paris, and his immediate dismissal after the Inaugural Lecture, combine to draw public attention to his opinions.

If the range of your Christian observation may extend to one so distant in point of religious feeling as well as position, you or some of your correspondents might interest and instruct us by showing to what lame and impotent conclusions the most intelligent opposition to Christian doctrine will bring a man.

As a specimen, I subjoin that portion of M. Renan's Inaugural Lecture, which was given in the *Times*, March 1st. To my mind, the admissions made by the Professor at the close of this passage deserve to be rescued from oblivion. They set forth distinctly the miserable blank to which the pride of human intellect conducts its votary; and they are all the more impressive because they are not consequences traced out by a Christian Observer, but avowals made by an "intelligent opponent of Christianity," when he would enlist his hearers in the ranks of would-be illuminati.

I remain, Sir, yours faithfully,

E.

"'Woman, the time is come when no one shall any longer worship on this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, but when the true worshipper shall worship in spirit and in truth.' The fertile centre to which humanity was for ages to refer its joys, its hopes, its consolations, its motives for acting well, was constituted. The spring of virtue—the most abundant that the sympathetic contact of a sublime conscience ever awoke in the spirit of man—was opened. The high thought of Christianity, scarcely understood by his disciples, underwent many disappointments. Yet Christianity at first bore the sway, and from the Infinite it bore it over the other forms of worship then existing. Our religion will grow less and less Jewish, and will more and more repudiate all political organisation applied to the affairs of the soul. It will become the religion of the heart; the intimate poetry of each one. In morals we shall follow those delicacies unknown to the harsh nature of the old alliance: we shall become more and more Christian. From poetry we shall demand a formula for that instinct of the Infinite, which constitutes our charm and our torment; our nobleness, at all events. From philosophy, instead of the scholastic absolute, we shall demand notions on the general system of the universe, In all we shall pursue shading and *finesse* instead of dogmatism—the relative instead of the absolute. This, in my opinion, is our future, if the future belongs to progress. But shall we obtain more certain views of the destiny of man, and of his relations with the Infinite? Shall we acquire a clearer knowledge of the law of the origin of beings, of the nature of conscience, of life, and of individuality? Shall the world, without going back to credulity, but following in the path of positive philosophy, find again joy, ardour, hope, lofty thoughts? Shall it some day be worth while to live; and the man who believes in duty, shall he find in duty his recompense? This science, to which we devote our life, shall it render to us what we sacrifice to it? I know not. What is certain is, that in seeking the truth by scientific methods, we shall have done our duty. If truth be gloomy, we shall have at least the consolation of having found it according to rule. It may be said that we deserve to find it more consoling; but we shall testify that we have been towards ourselves of absolute sincerity."

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—Students of the Book of Daniel are aware that infidels have strongly objected to its authenticity, because they find in it the names of musical instruments manifestly derived from the Greek; e.g., Dan. iii. 5, *kathros*, κιθαρις; *sabbĕcha*, σαμβυκη; *psantĕrin*, ψαλτηριον; *sumponya*, συμφωνια.

Auberlen allows this historical objection "to be of real importance, the occurrence of Greek names for musical instruments (Dan. iii. 5 and 7). But we may look on this very point as given up by our opponents. At least, De Wette says, 'It is possible, we must grant, that such instruments and their names were known at the time to the Babylonians,' a possibility, moreover, which Hitzig is unable to impugn." (p. 11.)

De Wette might surely have gone further, and said, "it is not improbable." Let the reader reflect upon the certainty of intimate commercial relations having existed between the Phœnician cities and the Greek cities of Asia Minor many years earlier than the accession of Nebuchadnezzar. Thus, there is no improbability that musical instruments, with their Greek names slightly altered, were introduced into the courts and temples of Tyre and Sidon, whence they would in the ordinary course of events find their way to Babylon.

In connexion with the subject, we may notice a communication sent at the end of February to the *Athenæum*, by Sir H. Rawlinson, stating that he had found, in the annals of Ashur-bani-pal, the

son of Esarhaddon, a notice to this effect, viz., that Gyges, king of Lydia, had sent a large tribute, and Cimmerian (*Gimirri*) slaves, to this Assyrian monarch. Sir H. Rawlinson considers that this embassy could not well have occurred later than circ. 660 B.C If we may accept as correct the decipherment by Sir H. Rawlinson of the Assyrian tablet, we have the commencement of an intercourse between Sardis and Nineveh some *ninety* years before the setting up of the golden image by Nebuchadnezzar. When, therefore, we consider the immediate vicinity of Sardis to the Greek republics of Asia Minor, we at once see the possibility of the introduction of Greek musical instruments, with Greek names, even into Nineveh, before the fall of the Assyrian empire, and, *à fortiori*, the *probability* of their introduction into Babylon before B.C. 570.

G.

FAITHFUL SERMONS AND IMPATIENT HEARERS IN 1742.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—The very interesting article in your March number, under the title of "Soon forgotten; or England in 1738," is capable of receiving many important illustrations. Perhaps one of the most remarkable will be found in a comparison between the social and doctrinal position of the clergy of a century since, and that of their representatives in the Church of England in our own day. Whatever may have been the causes, it is evident that the great body of the English clergy at that period were fearfully deficient in any solemn sense of their duties and responsibilities. Were they perhaps unprepared for so stringent an Act as that of Uniformity, in an age of general dissoluteness and licentiousness; and hence was not the effect of that very severe measure first to drive and then to keep men of piety and virtue out of the English church, while it let in the men to whom vows and pledges were empty forms, and who therefore attached themselves just as loosely to the great doctrines of religion, as they did to the life which would have won respect, and set their flocks an example of purity?

I will, with your permission, lay before your readers a short account of a Visitation Sermon preached in Kent in the year 1742, and of which I have a copy before me—a faithful and evangelical sermon, but one so far, as it appears, in advance of that age of irreligion as to give the greatest offence to its hearers, insomuch that the whole of the clergy refused to bear its application to themselves, rose in a body, and left the preacher to finish his sermon to the laity.

The title of this sermon runs as follows:—"A Sermon Preached (in part) before the Right Worshipful the Dean of the Arches, and the Reverend the Clergy of the Deanery of Shoreham, assembled in Visitation at Sevenoaks, in Kent, on Friday, the 21st day of May, 1742. Addressed to them by the Rev. Henry Piers, A.M., Vicar of the Parish of Bexley, sometime student of Trinity College, Dublin. Author of 'Two Letters in Defence of our present Liturgy.'"

The valuable work to which this sermon is attached is a quarto volume containing the Homilies, an abridgment of Beveridge on the

Thirty-nine Articles, and the sermon I have mentioned. The whole is interspersed with admirable notes, expressed in the language of pure evangelical religion. One of the notes on Beveridge throws light on the state of the clergy about this period.

"We have been nursed up and educated in false doctrine these many years, ever since the time that Dr. Laud was archbishop of Canterbury, who, in his youthful days, endeavoured to introduce doctrine contrary to these articles; but the Church then being blessed with sound bishops, he and his adherents met with as little encouragement as truth now finds. However, when Dr. Laud was promoted to this high dignity, he encouraged no other doctrine than that with which we are now pestered; so that now being rivetted and confirmed in erroneous principles, we who pretend to be of the Church of England are generally become as blind in divinity, as to put darkness for light, and light for darkness, insomuch that we know no more of Christian scriptural doctrine than the Mahometans and Pagans, as it is proved by our actions, which is more convincing, or more to our condemnation, than windy words; for if a young man comes from the university enlightened in the truth by divine grace, and is providentially admitted into deacon's orders, so sure as he preaches the truth he is denied further orders, as though he was turned heretic; the use of the pulpits are denied him under pretence of discouraging false doctrine. Some lecturers are starved out of their livings; and all are by some means made to suffer for faithfully adhering to their consciences, and preaching the true doctrine of that Church in which they were ordained, and to the truth of which they then subscribed; while those who love the praise of men, and who cannot or dare not speak truth for fear of offending their wealthy benefactors, are caressed and encouraged and favoured with the highest privileges. Are not these glaring instances of infidelity, apostacy, heresy, and the Lord knows what?"

The text of the sermon is 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2, "Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God. Moreover, it is required in stewards that a man be found faithful."

Mr. Piers commences with an appeal to his reverend brethren whether they are truly called to the sacred ministry of the word. The ministry is a continuation of Christ's own office and priesthood upon earth, and the ministerial function, therefore, an authoritative commission to minister in holy things; it is a separation unto the gospel from the business, the honours, and the pleasures of the world. Of what great importance is that ministry! The same power commissions us, to whom all authority in heaven and earth is given. We, like the apostles, have received the Holy Ghost, unless our unbelief and profaneness have made a mockery of God on the most solemn occasion. Hence, as messengers of God, what faithfulness will be required of us! no selfish ends, no by-ends, no preaching of ourselves instead of Christ Jesus the Lord; none of these things should occupy us, but a constant crying to sinners, "Be ye reconciled to God."

Secondly, Mr. Piers pressed upon his unwilling hearers, as the greatest instances of their faithfulness, "the doctrines we should teach, the tempers we should be of, and the lives we should lead, who bear this character." After expressing a doubt whether "our venerable mother have not outlived her authority among us, and a polite education lifted us up above her spiritual simplicity," he proceeds to enumerate the heads of sound doctrine from her Articles and Homilies. (This is the very measure which Henry Martyn adopted sixty years later, when his ministry at Calcutta was held up to scorn.) The foundation of our doctrine and practice he affirms to be the Trinity,

the source or first principle of life and holiness in us. Thence he derives the great truth, that we must be born anew, and all old things pass away; that Jesus is the Saviour of sinners, the great intercessor, mediator, and reconciler. Hence follow the duties of repentance unto holiness, and of taking up our cross daily to follow Him, until we are crucified with Him. Then the Holy Ghost, the mover, the director, the comforter, is preached as dwelling in us.

But "His dwelling in us, the strengthening and increasing daily more and more in the Holy Spirit (which is every true Christian's right and privilege) are denied, exploded, ridiculed." The Scriptures are then recommended to diligent study, with simplicity of heart and deep humility. Man is shown to be entirely dependent upon grace, unable to do anything by nature as to merit any favour of God. Upon this main point the faithful preacher enlarges with much fervour, supporting his statements by both Scripture and the Articles and Homilies of the Church. "Nothing can restore God's microcosm but the great δημιουργός himself; nothing can quicken but He who is the life of the world; nothing can save but that cross on which the Saviour died; nothing can redeem but that gospel which is the power of God to salvation." How faithful in all these doctrines is the Church to her divine head; and how abhorrent to her is that spirit of deism which has prevailed for so many years!

But we cannot teach these divine doctrines rightly unless there be divine tempers within us; if we are conscious of all these things, our zeal will abound. We must have deep humility, meekness, gentleness; we must be pure minded, peaceable, and peacemakers. Hence we propose most earnestly for renunciation of all worldly tempers, for constant self-denial and self-abasement, for patience, too, and long-suffering. "I come now," he continues, "to the last thing proposed in this discourse, which was to inquire whether we do preach these doctrines, and have such tempers, and lead such lives as become the high character we bear"—ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God!

But here comes a foot-note: "It was just here that the right worshipful the ordinary, together with the clergy, rose up and left me to finish my discourse to the laity."

Forsaken through shame and confusion, or more likely through blind and ignorant wrath, by those to whom he had so faithfully addressed words of wisdom and truth, the preacher was obliged to proceed as if his departed audience were present, and to print his address afterwards. It is scarcely necessary to pursue the analysis of this remarkable sermon further. As may be expected, he firmly, but with dignity and gentleness, reproves the notorious neglect of the doctrines known as the fundamental doctrines of the reformation, and associates this neglect with the utter disregard of those Articles to which they had given their assent and consent, and the Homilies, which furnish so excellent an exposition of those Articles. It was the same with their tempers and spirits. Honours and preferments, rich livings, and many of them, lordship and title and dominion, seemed the sole object of their most anxious pursuit. "Worldly maxims are deadly poison to the religion of Christ: as the life of *Christ is peculiarly* our pattern, so never can we support the dignity

of our characters but by an utter renunciation of the world—all its wisdoms, tempers, pleasures, honours, and by denying ourselves, and taking up our cross daily and following him!"

Such haters of the light were the shepherds of Kent one hundred and twenty years ago. The present vicar of Bexley tells me it has been his privilege twice to preach visitation sermons from that same pulpit of Sevenoaks, but though, he trusts, not unfaithful to our Master and His gospel, he was not left to preach to the laity. God be praised for the abundance with which He has graciously poured out His Spirit upon His church in these days! Though so much is left to be desired, so much to be prayed for, still there is a wonderful activity in the Church; amidst all our differences and controversies, the various lines we take all more or less verge towards, and approximate to, the truth; and practical Christianity is, at least, desired and aimed at, and made an object of emulous pursuit.

Yours faithfully,

Claughton, Birkenhead. F. A. Malleson.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

Sir,—I perceive that my paper on the Atonement, in the Christian Observer of April last, has elicited from a Correspondent, who subscribes himself I. E. C., some laudatory and some condemnatory remarks. For the former, I feel much obliged to him; but with regard to the latter, I do not desire to enter into any controversy on the subject objected to in his remarks, which, after all, would be likely to prove a controversy about words, and not about things. But I wished to remark that, in using the particular phraseology referred to in I. E. C.'s letter, I was not using a phraseology dear to me from old associations, but which I believed to be simply deducible from Holy Scripture.

In saying that the righteousness of Christ is regarded as our righteousness, I never *intended* to convey the impression that that righteousness is not ours in as full a sense as other blessings, which are brought to us by the same means, are ours. No spiritual blessing is ours in possession, unless we belong to Christ; but if we are Christ's, then all are ours. From the stand-point of Omniscience (if such an expression be allowable) the whole church of God, in all time, must be regarded (the question of election apart) as complete in Christ. But to enable us to comprehend in part (the whole is utterly beyond our present grasp) the scheme of salvation, it must be analyzed and presented to us, as it were, piecemeal; and so, in the exposition of such expressions as "putting on Christ," "having Christ," if I have ever said they meant, *inter alia*, putting on or having the righteousness of Christ; or if, in explanation of the scriptural illustration of the bride and the bridegroom, I have stated that, as the bride is endowed with the possessions of the husband, so is the believer endowed with the riches of Christ, and amongst them with his righteousness;—if I have given these explanations, I have not thought that they militated against the plain language of Scripture, that Christ is our Righteousness. Should it be, however, that they really do thus militate against a plain statement of the Bible, they must be abandoned.

—Yours, &c., A Clergyman.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

Revelation and Science in respect to Bunsen's Biblical Researches, the Evidences of Christianity, and the Mosaic Cosmogony; with an examination of certain statements put forth by the remaining authors of Essays and Reviews. By the Rev. Bourchier Wrey Saville, M.A., Curate of Tattingstone, author of "Lyra Sacra," "The First and Second Advent," &c. &c. London: Longmans. 1862.— We sincerely regret that this valuable work was not published a year ago, and that for the sake of the public quite as much as for the sake of the author. It well deserves a distinguished place amongst the replies which the speculations of Bunsen, and the more dangerous fallacies of the seven Essayists, have called into existence. But error is short-lived. It may come in with a blustering air or with mock majestic gravity; it may announce its approach with a salvo of its own artillery, or a blander flourish of its own trumpets. But its reign is short; truth only can afford to be modest, and wait while the gaudy procession passes by, for her turn will come at last. Bunsen and his school of "Egyptologers" are in a fair way to be forgotten. The booksellers told us some months ago that the Seven Essays lie undisturbed upon the counter. Indeed, these subjects have become utterly distasteful, and we have dismissed them from our pages. Our only fear is that some valuable works which these controversies have produced will suffer in the reaction. Mr. Saville's is one of them. We are anxious to say, on its behalf, that it is not merely a reply to the volumes mentioned in the title; it has sterling merits of its own. It is written in a happy spirit, conveys much information, and, without being superficial, is one of the most *readable* volumes we have met with on the subjects it discusses. We quote a passage from the argument on miracles which has interested us, and will, we think, interest the reader. Mr. Saville is combating the common objection to the miracle recorded of the prophet Jonah. He says:—

"Scripture by no means describes the animal which received Jonah as a *whale*, but merely says, 'The Lord had prepared a *great fish*,' into whose 'belly' the prophet undoubtedly went. And though it is true that the translators of the New Testament have introduced the word '*whale*,' we all know that the Greek word is merely significant of any *great fish*, and that, as the *whale* was known in their day, as it is in ours, to be the greatest of marine monsters, they thought it allowable to use such a word, without meaning it to be understood in its present common signification. We may question if that species of 'great fish,' from which our domestic article *whalebone* is obtained, was known to the civilized world before the time of King Alfred, in the ninth century, when some Norwegian fishermen are said to have discovered it; and it is certain that the whale is not a native of the Mediterranean sea, where the miracle in all probability took place. We say 'in all probability,' unless we accept the dictum of an archbishop of Lisbon, who once gravely contended in the pulpit against the assumption of priority in the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, which was generally attributed to his distinguished countryman, Vasco di Gama (though, by the way, the Phœnicians had circumnavigated the Cape ages before, according to Herodotus), since Jonah had previously performed the same voyage in the belly of the whale, which, by safely landing him at the mouth of the Tigris, enabled him to perform the remainder of his journey by water to Nineveh! Further, the comparison of Jonah being in the *mouth* of the whale, as our Lord

was buried in the surface of the earth, is rather beside the mark; for the expression, 'the heart of the earth,' referred doubtless to our Lord being laid in a tomb dug out of a rock, as St. Matthew records, which would be suitably defined as belonging to the heart of the earth, as distinct from the upper surface, or what geologists term the post-tertiary system. But the question which really concerns us is the possibility of there being any species of sea-monster inhabiting the Mediterranean Sea with a throat sufficiently large to swallow, and a belly to contain, a human being; for though, in the exercise of this miraculous power, God could as easily enlarge the throat of a whale, and place him in any sea to which naturally he does not belong, we have no reason to suppose that He goes unnecessarily out of His way to perform a *second* miracle, in addition to what His own word declared. Now we have evidence that there is a 'great fish,' common to these latitudes, in which men have been discovered whole. Without accepting the wonderful tales of Pliny, who speaks of whales 600 *feet long, and* 360 *feet broad*, or of Pomponius Mela, who relates that at Joppa they used to show the skeleton of a great sea-monster, which was afterwards exhibited at Rome during the ædileship of M. Scaurus (though, as these are not writers of Scripture, possibly their stories will have more weight with some than Christians would feel right to allow), we have the explicit testimony of credible writers that in more than one instance a fish, of the species called *carcharias*, or dog-fish, has been taken in the Mediterranean, in whose belly was found the body of a soldier armed *cap-à-pie*. In Linnæus's System of Nature, by Müller, a fact is mentioned which may be considered as illustrating the miracle of Jonah. At the close of the last century, during a storm in the Mediterranean, a sailor fell overboard, and was instantly received into the throat of a *carcharias*. An officer on deck, having a gun at hand, fired instantly at the monster's head, and, the shot taking effect, the creature disgorged the sailor, comparatively speaking, uninjured. This 'great fish' was subsequently captured, and found to weigh 4000 pounds. We have therefore good reason to believe in the miracle recorded in the book of Jonah; but we have no reason to credit 'the mythical theories' of the rationalistic school in general, and of essayists in particular, who seek to bring the miracles of Scripture down to the level of their own finite understandings." (pp. 44—47.)

It is not a little remarkable that even the best men, when infected with that admiration of human intellect, which is the characteristic of the Bunsen and Essayist party, become perfect drivellers in their estimates of each other. Men of profound sagacity write like babies. Dr. Arnold was, in many respects, a wise and, with all his crotchets, a good man, but we doubt if the silliest boy at Rugby ever wrote anything more extravagant than his own childish eulogy of his friend Bunsen. We cannot refrain from quoting it:—

"I could not," says Arnold, "express my sense of what Bunsen is, without seeming to be exaggerating; but I think if you could hear and see him, even for one half-hour, you would understand my feelings towards him. He is a man in whom God's graces and gifts are more united than in any person I ever saw. I have seen men as holy, as amiable, as able, but I never knew one who was all one in so extraordinary a degree, and combined with a knowledge of things new and old, sacred and profane, so accurate, so profound, that I never knew it equalled or approached by any man." (Life, vol. ii. p. 140.)

Mr. Saville quotes the passage, and follows it up with a very sensible observation, with which our brief notice must conclude:—

"It would be well if those who are apt to have their minds swayed by the character and estimable qualities of such men as Bunsen and Arnold, instead of reasoning as they unconsciously do, 'If such learned persons did not own the authenticity of Daniel, they must have had good grounds for rejecting it,' were to consider what those *grounds* are really worth. When an opinion is broadly stated, *without any reason being assigned*, it carries far greater weight with the unthinking class than if *reasons* were given: in the latter case, the reasons for the opinion are judged; in the former, the opinion rests on some ground of unknown and undefined importance." (p. 25.)

The Distressed Queen; or, Triumphs of Grief. By G. Rochfort Clarke. London: J. H. & J. Parker, 377 Strand. 1862.—A few pages of good poetry, and deep and tender feeling, containing indeed many passages of great beauty, clothed in natural and fitting words, and lighted up with imagery bold and fresh. Such a tribute from one whose life has been spent in legal pursuits, shows how the true spirit of poetry, and, we may add, the spirit of true piety, may be cherished in connexion with what are generally considered uncongenial studies. We have heard that Mr. Rochfort Clarke's little volume has been received with pleasure by *her* whose sorrow it commemorates, and for whose solace it was meant. None will be surprised who read his lines, so full of tenderness, respect, and sympathy. We must transcribe a page in which the character of the departed prince is briefly drawn :—

"How strange! how true! that when our hearts are torn,
We choose to talk of things that make us mourn!
So thou, perchance, altho' thine eye may swell
With sleepless tears, yet on that theme wilt dwell.
His goodness, beauty, gentleness, and truth,
As first rejoicing in his early youth;
The same continued thro' the life-long day,
Such as he came, the same he passed away.
No eye hath seen him do the tyrant's deed,
For pity, peace, and mercy, were his creed.
He rather thought of comfort for the poor;
To fit, and fashion chambers to their door;
Improve their tillage, and increase their food,
In any other way to do them good:
And when they gathered oxen in their pen,
He stooped, and brought his own like other men.
He called mankind from envy, strife, and rage,
And took the book of earth, and turned the page,
And as they brought their heaps of merchandize,
He gently wrote for each a friendly prize;
There let me write thy name:—Albert the wise!
A fit companion, such a heart to fill,
'Twas Albert held that hand, 'tis Albert's still;
He led, assisted, comforted, restored;
He followed, worshipped, lawfully adored."

Brief Memorials of the late Rev. Charles Green, M.A., of Worcester College, Oxford, Missionary and Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. London: Rivingtons. 1862.—Brief memorials, indeed, of a loving disciple who had scarcely entered on his work when he was called to his great reward. He was born at Iver, of which his excellent father, now rector of Steeple Barton, Oxon, was then curate. He was designed for business, but felt himself called to do the work of an evangelist; and this he did for three years as one of the curates of Folkestone, and for the same period in the parish of Lambeth, where he had the Episcopal chapel, known as Verulam Chapel, under his charge; in each place his loving character and ardent zeal shone brightly. But he was anxious for missionary work, and in 1860 sailed for Bombay, to take the charge of a missionary establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in the diocese over which his uncle, Dr. Harding, has now for ten years presided. After ten short months' work he was taken to his rest in 1861. We would that the Propagation Society had many

more such missionaries—men who will live and preach Christ crucified, and know nothing else. There are a few passages, and but a few, which we look at with some regret. We cannot affect any satisfaction from learning by his diary that he read Pusey's sermons on "'Abide with Us,' together with 'Colonel Gardiner's Life,'" though he adds, "the High Churchman's sermon agrees well with the Low Churchman's life." The fearful amount of misery and mischief inflicted by Dr. Pusey on the Church of England is not in our opinion condoned by a volume of sermons of sentimental piety; but a youthful disciple is easily misled, and sees no danger. To himself perhaps there was none, for his heart seems to have been full of love to Christ, and of the bitter controversies of the last thirty years he knew but little yet. In a speech made at Bombay, he says, "Let us pray for *unity*. We know that

> "'Satan trembles when he sees
> The weakest saint upon his knees.'

Much more, I trust, he will tremble to-night, when he sees many of us assembled in church, praying for the overthrow of his kingdom. We expect he will try to plant roots of bitterness that, springing up, may trouble us. Already he suggests that our society is a rival of the Church Missionary Society. I am most thankful for what has been said by the other speakers to-day on this point. I can only say, if I had thought that my coming out here would interfere, for one moment, with the work of the Church Missionary Society, I should never have left England; for I have loved that society from my boyhood, and hope I shall love it to the end of my life."

The touching story of his last days is from the pen of his uncle, the bishop of Bombay, who watched over him with parental solicitude to the last, and then committed "his dear remains to their resting place."

The Foes of our Faith, and how to Defeat them; or the Weapons of our Warfare with Modern Infidelity. By a well-known Author. London: Darton and Hodge. 1862.—The predominant temptation of the present day being a modified and concealed infidelity, we may, we suppose, reckon upon a constant supply, for some time to come, of works in defence of the Christian faith. And, in truth, so many and so various are the disguises which the enemy assumes, that we do unquestionably need some new books which shall track and follow him in all his devices for concealment. First one set of writers, professedly Churchmen, come forward with an air of frankness and seriousness, advising us to give up some parts of Scripture in order to save the rest! Then another set of writers undertake to refute the first; and, under the guidance of Mr. Maurice and Mr. Hughes, suggest that the case may not be quite so indefensible as it may seem, and that, probably, the truth lies somewhere about *half way* between believing the Bible to be God's word, and believing it to be a mere collection of old Hebrew legends. The effort seems to be to fine down the thin end of the wedge with all possible perseverance and ingenuity, knowing that, if it can be inserted at all, the rest of the destructive engine will probably follow.

The present volume appears without a name, and without any clue to the author. Yet we have a very decided belief that we know the writer, and that we recognise in him, as the preface states, "one of the most successful authors of the day." Why he chooses to remain concealed, we cannot divine, but assuredly he need entertain no fear that the present volume will detract from his reputation. The book may, and probably will, suffer something from the absence of his name, but his name would suffer nothing by being connected with the book. Still, as he apparently desires to remain in the back ground, we shall do no violence to his feelings by attempting to bring him forward.

Another hindrance to the sale of the book might be a supposition that it was a sixth or seventh reply to the volume which has for eighteen months past created such a ferment in the Church, and the very name of which is now become tiresome. We hasten, therefore, to explain that the book now before us is not an answer to the "Essays and Reviews," the greater part of which volume is not even noticed by it. The main topic of the work is the defence of the supernatural, against those who desire to accept only so much of the Bible as they can reconcile with "the immutable laws of Nature."

It commences with the two great facts of the Creation and the Deluge. On the first of these subjects the writer leans, we think, too much to the Hugh Miller theory; but he has the candour to state, also, the case in favour of a literal interpretation of Genesis i., leaving his readers to make their own choice. He then proceeds to the Deluge, which he maintains, in the plain meaning of Moses's narrative, with great clearness and efficiency. In passing, we must suggest one query, which is this: The followers of Hugh Miller, when they read the first chapter of Genesis, argued most strenuously that "a day" in that narrative does not mean a natural day, but "some indefinite period of time;" but when they turn over the leaf, and read the story of the Deluge, at once their theory is forgotten, and "seven days" means seven days, and "forty days" means forty days, in spite of all the passages they had got together to prove that "a day" may mean a prolonged and indefinite period of time. So evident is it that Miller himself only did this violence to Scripture, because he deemed himself "compelled" to do it. And that supposition, as we recently showed, was itself founded on an error or oversight.

The next two hundred pages are given to the subjects of the Passover, the passage of the Red Sea, and the remainder of the history of Moses. This topic of the Pentateuch forms, in fact, the central and main portion of the volume; and it is handled with warmth and convincing earnestness. Thus, on the personal character and veracity of Moses, it is well remarked that—

"The whole tenor of his teaching shows that he regarded Jehovah with holy awe and veneration, and that his mind was profoundly impressed with a sense of the majesty and glory of God to a degree which it is impossible for us to realize. This may be accounted for from the fact that he had been privileged to witness more striking visible manifestations of the majesty and glory of God than ever had been accorded to any other human being. Who, then, who gives these considerations their due weight, can allow the belief to take possession of his mind that Moses should, not once or twice, but hundreds of times, have solemnly and explicitly affirmed that he spake by the express command and special inspiration of God, if such had not been the case?" (p. 225.)

This is an argument which cannot be met, and which has seldom been pressed to its legitimate results. Many sceptics, like Rousseau and Theodore Parker, will expatiate, in glowing and eloquent terms, on the majesty and purity of the character of Christ, or on the earnest enthusiasm of St. Paul; and yet, in the next breath, they put aside, as wholly untrue and unworthy of attention, the plainest words of Christ himself, or the most emphatic declarations of the great apostle! Thus, in their view, two of the greatest and noblest men whom the earth ever saw, were also two of the falsest and most unreliable. Or if we allow them to put forward the excuse that they do not accept the testimony of the Evangelists, and do not believe that Christ ever uttered the words ascribed to Him, then what follows but that they vastly admire what they take to be only a fiction, and worship a portrait which they hold to have had no original? This part of the rationalist's system we have always felt to be peculiarly irrational.

A couple of chapters are then given to the question of miracles in general, and the volume closes with an earnest appeal to men's hearts and consciences on the moral and spiritual power of Christianity. It is here especially that we recognise a pen which has already given to the Christian public several volumes which have been highly appreciated. Why the present work should have been disconnected from its valued predecessors, we are at a loss to imagine. If it should fail to obtain a large sale, the author must attribute the circumstance mainly to this cause, but partly, perhaps, to the abundance of anti-infidel publications which are coming forth at the present moment. As to its intrinsic merits, we need not say more than that it is a worthy companion and co-equal of the popular volumes by which it has been preceded.

Sunday at Home.—The Leisure Hour, (*Part* 108, *Dec.* 1860).—*Good Words*, (*May*, 1862).—*The Quiver*, (*Part* 6, *May*, 1862).—We bring under the notice of our readers this list of periodicals, we suppose we must call them, rather with a view to call attention to the *two* last-named, having formerly spoken, in terms of commendation, of those published by the Religious Tract Society.

It is a work of no light difficulty to cater for the public in the department of cheap periodical literature, and it is not with any other feeling than that of kindly sympathy, that we express apprehension that some of these very low-priced publications are like to fall through, partly from their numbers and comparative competition, and partly from the longing after variety; dwindling down to very common-place story-telling, and, in fact, falling into a vapid matter-of-course tittle-tattle, which soon ceases to please, and at no distant day will be voted intolerable. The Sunday at Home rather illustrates our meaning; and the Leisure Hour is not the same instructive thing it once was. It may be the fault is with ourselves.

The two last named, Good Words and The Quiver, claim our more immediate attention. The former is very instructive and well managed. It really contains abundance of "good words," though there are those who find fault with its too great secularity of tone and subject. At times it has been fairly open to this criticism, and our eyes have fallen on modes of thought and expression which we

would rather have found wanting. This is, however, counterbalanced by the amount of real, moral, intellectual good. A work, edited by Dr. Norman Macleod, countenanced by Dr. Guthrie and Principal Tulloch (all of whom contribute to its pages), claims at our hands a conviction that, in the main, we may safely confide in its adaptation to amuse and instruct the rising intellect of our domestic circle. The number for the present month (May) is a truly readable book, and contains, from the pen of Dr. Norman Macleod, one of the most cogent and useful articles on Missions which has ever been submitted to an inquisitive and somewhat suspicious and incredulous public. If published, and judiciously circulated in the form of a tract, we think it would dissipate much delusion, and prove to many a cold yet perhaps honest mind, that the work of Christian missions is a work owned of God, and reflecting honour on the Church, such as the most sanguine advocates half a century since would not have thought within the range of reasonable probability.

Professor Tulloch gives a specimen of "Church Scandal" in Rome in the third century, and we think the narrative well adapted to cool the ardour of earnest zealots who see nothing lovely or of good report save in what they are pleased to call "the primitive church." The more serious "readings" are, in fact, brief sermons, and, for the most part, are useful commentaries, amenable, here and there, to the charge of being more systematic than *the Word;* but this peculiarity of Knoxism does not so much exhibit a violation of charity as of a rigid adherence to the exclusiveness of human systems.

The Quiver is from the painstaking energetic armoury of Mr. Cassell, whose desire to give to "the million" pure literature is beyond all praise. Whether the desire has been uniformly successful, either as remunerative to this enterprising publisher, or to the attainment of the object aimed at, we cannot stop to inquire. This new periodical has been seeking public support for about nine or ten months, and having watched it with interest, we are bound to say it deserves support. The fiction-writers have done their part, thus far, with singular success; and it is no small attraction that a series of papers on Butler's Analogy, by the late Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the Right Honourable Joseph Napier, are among the contributions, and are well worthy of perusal. This new claimant on public patronage is, professedly, of a highly religious caste. We sincerely hope it may avoid being the vehicle to circulate the vapouring, exciting, and, as we think, miscalled Christian exhibitions of truth, too prevalent in this day of apparent zeal, which is more mindful of the crude conceits of a weak, ill-informed, and morbid exclusiveness, than of that charity which edifieth.

We wish we could speak with equal approbation of *Cassell's History of England.* The latest numbers are the best, and the history of the American War of Independence and of the French Revolution is very fairly told. But there runs throughout the earlier numbers a democratic tone, which is often very unfair to royalty, and sometimes calculated to bring all monarchic government into contempt. So it would be at least in ordinary times. Just now, the next newspaper a discontented democrat may read will cure him, if he ever felt the malady, of any further wish to copy, either in

theory or practice, the example even of the greatest, and, we verily believe, the best republic the world ever knew. A good working-man's history of England would have been beyond all price.

And now that we are on the subject of cheap periodical literature, we would mention *The Christian Advocate, published by Wertheim, and Edited by Clergymen of the Church of England;* and we are the more anxious to do so, because we are glad to remove an impression which exists in some quarters, that we regard them as rivals. No such feeling ever existed on our part, nor, we believe, on theirs. We are happy to see fresh labourers in the field, which is quite wide enough for both us and them. The Christian Advocate is conducted on evangelical principles; and as long as it adheres to these, it shall have our best wishes for its success.

Many books come beneath our notice which well deserve attention, though it is not easy to make them the subject of a formal review. Such, for instance, is a *Latin-English Dictionary, by the Rev. J. T. White and the late Rev. J. E. Riddle, published by Longman and Co.* The price is two guineas; but an abridgment for the use of schools is, we are told, in the course of preparation. We cannot enlarge upon its great merit and particular excellencies; but it appears to us to possess some peculiarities which we have met with nowhere else, especially in the way in which the original and proper meaning of words is traced out, and the language, as it were, pursued to its earliest haunts. The work is founded on Dr. Freund's Wörterbuch der Lateinischen Sprache. It is, truly, a philosophical work in the highest sense, and will no doubt supersede all other Latin dictionaries.

But perhaps the month of June may be thought more favourable to a lighter kind of literature. Here, then, are the *School-Days of Eminent Men* (*Lockwood and Co.*), which a school-boy may read with pleasure and without fatigue on the hottest summer day; and the *Story of Martin Luther, by Miss Whateley* (*Shaw and Co.*): a book, she says, "for young persons;" and for old ones too, we take leave to add, if they have arrived at that pitch of wisdom, unknown to pedants, which teaches that it is not from ponderous volumes only, but from the well-wrought and happily depicted sketches of those who blend amusement with instruction, that much profit may be gained.

Very similar in character is the last work (alas! that we should have to call it so, in every sense) of the lamented *John Hampden Gurney: Chapters from French History: St. Louis, Joan of Arc, Henry IV. Longman.* 1862. It was written with his usual vigour, in the autumn of last year, during his annual vacation. *Miss Whateley's Luther*, and *Hampden Gurney's Biographies*, will furnish, even to educated readers, all the information they will care to possess, and far more than most educated persons do possess, on the subjects on which they treat, in the most agreeable manner.

The Rev. E. Cassalis, lately an African Missionary, publishes an interesting volume on *The Basutos* (*Nisbet and Co.*), an African tribe, amongst whom he laboured for many years. It should find a place in every missionary library; and if there be any so unfortunate as to take no interest in missions, they will still find enough in this small volume to reward them for a careful perusal, in its descriptions of

African scenes and characters, its natural history, and its short but useful philological discussions. And lastly, we must notice *A Sunday-school Hymn-book, by the Rev. J. C. Miller, D.D.*, containing about three hundred hymns, adapted to the services of our church, and arranged accordingly. Its value is enhanced by a Litany for Sunday-schools, and by a few short explanations such as to make the prayer-book quite intelligible to a child. It supplies a want generally felt, and the price (fourpence, or sixpence bound) brings it within the reach of most children of the class to be found in our Sunday-schools.

Eighteen Years of a Clerical Meeting; being the Minutes of the Alcester Clerical Association, &c. Rivingtons. 1862.—The clergymen who compose the Alcester Association are of the High Church, or, as they would prefer to be termed, the Anglican school; and the views of that party are candidly and moderately expressed in these discussions. A few years since, archdeacon Pratt published the minutes of a similar clerical association of Evangelical clergymen, which met for many years in the vestry of St. John's, Bedford Row; the notes being those of his revered father, the first Clerical Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, and in later years rector of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street. No two volumes could more correctly express, or rather photograph, the likenesses of the two parties; and if each would read the minutes of the other in a candid spirit, it might be to the advantage of both. Evangelical men would see much to respect in these high-church men; candour, learning, and apparently an indifference to the world and its opinions, such as sincerity begets. But with this their approbation would end; and they would be obliged to lay down the volume with the feeling that, in these almost sacred seasons of ministerial intercourse, it is rather with the circumstantials of religion than its realities that the Alcester Clerical Meeting has concerned itself. They discuss the rubrics and the offertory, confession and absolution, church politics and parochial statistics, provincial synods, the law of divorce, and simony, education bills, and the Eastern churches. If this were all, perhaps it would be well. We could agree with or differ from them without any painful feeling; but they discuss more important matters—private confession, absolution, revivals, the authority of the Lord's-day, and the right mode of using it; conversion and spiritual gifts; and here we are made to feel that the rent often goes to the foundation. The least we can say is, that they have need of some one to take them by the hand and "expound to them the way of the Lord more perfectly." If they will take up archdeacon Pratt's volume of Notes, they will see, and may they be led to feel, the difference between themselves and their Evangelical brethren. It is another atmosphere, almost another world. At Bedford Row, Church matters are incidentally discussed, and always with the respect which is justly due to them; but their strength lies where their own lives "lay hid," namely, with Christ in God." How to save themselves and those that heard them; how to draw down more and more of the influence of the Holy Spirit upon their families, their souls, their conferences, and their congregations; how to detect the wiles of Satan in their own hearts, and his insidious attacks both upon themselves and their people; how to learn cheerfully to bear the cross and to lead others both to bear and glory in it,—

such were their uppermost thoughts, such their deepest meditations. And before the Church of England can really be at unity with itself, to their standard, and in the main to their doctrines, must the Church conform itself. *Coldness* and *duty* might be inscribed on one of these volumes; *joy* and *privilege* on the other. We say nothing of errors in doctrine, of which, however, the Alcester volume contains, in our opinion, not a few. The basis is, of course, sacramental efficacy, and the priestly office as necessary thereto as well as consequent thereupon. Each of these we consider to be departures from the faith once delivered to the Saints.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

It is the fashion, we hear, to complain of the dulness of parliament. There are, it is true, no party struggles of the slightest interest; indeed, in the present state of public feeling, no party strife could interest us. The question with which the people of England now concern themselves is not, Who shall be in power? but, What measures shall be pursued? And the old party warfare becomes insipid. But matters of the greatest importance have been discussed, and to a few of these we must direct our attention.

First of all, the amended Educational Code has been set at rest by a mutual compromise. Grants are to be made partly on the old system and partly by the results of an annual examination. An ill-managed school, or one in which, for various reasons, the progress of the children has been unsatisfactory, will not be deprived of all assistance; but a well-conducted and successful one will meet with the encouragement it deserves. Schools of humbler pretensions will not, as hitherto, be contemptuously passed by. Education will be made simpler, and therefore more general, and at the same time more real. We are not so sure that the economy of the State is equally wise with regard to masters and pupil-teachers. The difficulty here is great. We want good masters and mistresses; for a smatterer or a pedant is worse than useless. But a well-educated teacher knows his worth, and expects a liberal stipend; and with a liberal stipend he himself feels—or, if not, others feel for him—that he is in a false position. National education in England is at present an experiment. We are *in transitu*. A year or two hence, this amended code will have to be again amended, as we see our way more clearly. All that we can say at present is, that it deserves to be fairly put upon its trial.

Sir J. Trelawney's bill for the abolition of church rates has, we rejoice to say, been rejected by a majority of one, in a very full house of more than five hundred and sixty members. The same night, the Commons voted, by a majority of sixteen, that it was not expedient to abolish church rates until some other method should be devised for the repair and support of our parish churches. We wish we could add, that any feasible plan had been suggested; but the ministry have none to bring forward, and nothing has been yet proposed that is likely to succeed.

Lord Ebury brought forward a bill, allowing considerable licence, on

the part of the officiating minister, in conducting public worship, by the omission of parts of the stated prayers, and otherwise. This he has withdrawn, and wisely; for at present he had no prospect of success. He has since brought forward a bill for amending the Acts of Uniformity, the chief point in which is, that it dispenses with the declaration of unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer. To this we cannot feel any objection. It seems enough that the clergy must still subscribe to the declaration that they will conform to the Liturgy of the United Church of England and Ireland as it is now by law established, subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, and promise canonical obedience. The "assent and consent to all and everything," &c., is just one of those obligations which answer no good purpose, while, at the same time, they keep up a constant irritation in a fretful conscience. Construed strictly, it is a declaration which no thoughtful man would wish to be compelled to make with regard to any composition, every part of which was not divinely inspired. And it is useless, too. The Essayists and their party, the Tractarians, and all the Ultra-sacramentarian theologians, give this unfeigned assent and consent: and it seems, at present, there is no authority forbidding them to do so. Such a subscription, then, may safely be dispensed with. We believe that it has hindered many excellent men from taking orders in our church. We see that it is no protection against the most extravagant errors in those who choose to remain within her pale. The Church of England, in her brightest days, had no such safeguard; and we have not so mean an opinion of her principles, or of her hold on the affections of England, as to believe that her security would be in the least affected by the repeal of an enactment which dates no further back than the 14th of Charles II.

In Ireland, assassinations are again the order of the day, and the county of Tipperary is the chief scene of these atrocious crimes. When the Queen, accompanied by the lamented Prince Consort, visited Ireland three years ago, amid shouts of welcome and fulsome professions of loyalty, we ventured to express our misgivings. We believed that all was hollow; and subsequent events have shown that we were right. Not that we pride ourselves on great foresight or much sagacity. An Irish priest is the creature of the Pope, the subject of a foreign potentate; and his professions of loyalty to any other sovereign, especially when that sovereign is a heretic, are not worth a straw. We do not say that the priests either suggest the murders, or, indeed, are cognizant of them; but they have encouraged the system out of which they grow. They have made it their business to preach up resistance to the law, and hatred against the government; and these are the fruits. We entirely agree with *The Record*, that the concourse of Roman Catholic clergy who said mass over the remains of the murdered M. Thiebault, could, if they would, have prevented his untimely death. They possess, in the confessional, an instrument through which they may discover, if they please, the members of the Riband lodges, if not the very men who commit the murders; and had they been really in earnest in their crusade against the Riband system, it would have perished long ago. Lord Derby was much abused for threatening ejection to all his tenants in a township in which one of these agrarian

outrages took place; but if every Irish landlord would act with the same decision, and carry his threats into execution, he would confer the greatest boon upon Ireland, and prevent many a scene of horrors, such as the last few weeks have witnessed.

The distress in the manufacturing districts increases, and is, we fear, likely to increase. The stocks of cotton are almost exhausted, and, owing to the supineness of those most interested, fresh supplies from new sources are not forthcoming. Neither India nor Africa have sent as much of late, as during the corresponding periods of last year. From Jamaica the experiment of growing cotton is highly satisfactory, but at present it is only an experiment. Thus the prospect of immediate relief is hopeless. The subject has been discussed in both houses of parliament, and great sympathy expressed for the suffering weavers and spinners. But no relief was promised. The poor-rate, it was said, assisted by private charity, is sufficient; we can only say, that, so far, these sources have proved entirely insufficient. We think it a shameful thing, a national disgrace, that thousands of the most deserving of the industrial classes should be at this moment consigned to the mercies of the poor-law, in consequence of no fault of theirs, but of the wickedness and madness of America. It is a painful reflection, that relief is bestowed more freely to the clamorous than to the patient sufferer. Had Manchester been what Manchester was twenty years ago, relief would have been profusely given; fear would have done the work which neither a sense of justice nor a feeling of humanity has yet accomplished. Private subscriptions have been set on foot; a few individuals have given nobly and generously, but the whole amount subscribed is insignificant. Meanwhile our brother perishes in the sight of plenty.

The first scene in the dismal tragedy in America seems drawing to a close; Beaufort, Norfolk, and above all, New Orleans, are in the hands of the Federalists. They have driven in the Confederates at almost every point where they have met them. The Mississippi, the great high-way of traffic through the centre of the Southern States, is probably by this time entirely in their power. Despairing of their navy, the Confederates have destroyed the Merrimac, and burned their shipping and dockyard at Norfolk and Plymouth. They have two great armies yet unconquered, and two great battles are impending; these may turn the tide of victory, and if so, the contest may be protracted perhaps till another year: if not, we are entering upon the second stage; and now the question presents itself, how to deal with a subjugated country nearly as large as continental Europe. We, in England, have all along utterly disbelieved both in the policy and possibility of holding such a conquest, still less of restoring it to the Union on terms of independence. The determination of the South is something terrible; it is desperation on a gigantic scale. Before quitting New Orleans they destroyed cotton and shipping to the value of two millions sterling. Wherever the Federal fleet or army comes, it finds a desert. The inhabitants retire as they approach, first burning and destroying all that might have been of use to the invader. It is a fearful page in history, and there are few so dark;

yet, as it now begins to be apparent, negro slavery is receiving its death-blow. The cabinet at Washington has entered into a treaty with Great Britain, each conceding the right of search within certain boundaries on the coast of Africa and round the island of Cuba. Thus we may, at last, believe that the accursed slave-trade, with all its unutterable crimes and horrors, is coming to an end. The last telegraph announces that the Federal house of Representatives has passed a vote for the extinction of slavery throughout the Union; but of course it remains to be seen whether the other house will adopt the measure; and if so, whether it can be carried into effect. This can only be done if the South shall be reunited, and the Union restored.

In the midst of these melancholy scenes, Bishop Meade, of Virginia, has passed away. He was a good man, known and respected in England by many of the warmest friends of evangelical religion; many of them received him into their pulpits, and the impression he left amongst us was a very favourable one. He inherited a number of slaves, and to all of them he gave their freedom more than twenty years ago; yet he was very sensitive of English interference, and wrote to remonstrate with the Christian Observer for the part we took in protesting against American slavery three years since, when Brown and his associates were executed. And on his death-bed we are told that he encouraged those around him to persevere in the cause; that is, the assertion of their independence; assuring them of the blessing of heaven. If such was the dying testimony of a Christian bishop, in other respects eminent for piety, we may suppose that others, of lower attainments, yet really sincere, find it difficult to persuade themselves of the sinfulness of slavery. This entitles them to forbearance, though it does not in the least affect the merits of the case. The fact, ever since the war began, has been so evident, that the Federalists, with the exception of the anti-slavery party, are either indifferent to the subject, or actually involved in slave-holding or the slave trade, that we have learned to regard both parties as equally criminal; with this difference, that there is at least less hypocrisy in the South.

ERRATUM.

In our last Number, p. 357, last line but two, instead of "the Mission of Dr Duff and of Henry Martyn," read "Mission of the Duff and of Henry Martyn." The Duff was the vessel in which the first missionaries for the Tahitan Missio sailed in 1796.

THE

CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

NEW SERIES. } No. 295. JULY. [1862.

THE GOSPEL LABOURS OF STEPHEN GRELLET.

Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Stephen Grellet. Edited by Benjamin Seebohm. Second Edition, 2 vols., post 8vo. London: Burnett. 1861.

SEVEN years ago we reviewed the memoirs of that eminent servant of God, Joseph John Gurney, proposing to ourselves in great measure to contemplate in him the Christian rather than the member of that particular denomination to which he belonged.

Another member of the Society of Friends, a very remarkable man, has gained our attention by means of these volumes, and has secured a place in our esteem; and we anticipate that many, who have no more sympathy than ourselves with the ecclesiastical system of that religious body, with their rejection of Christ's sacraments, and with some of their tenets, would yet read these memoirs with interest and advantage. We also hope that others, who may not meet with the work which we review, will not judge the time spent in the perusal of these our pages to have been unprofitably bestowed.

Considering who and what he was, his life, especially between his youth and middle age, appears to have been unusually distinguished by perilous adventures. We say that it appears to have been so, because one so closely observant of all the ways of God's providence towards him would note many more incidents, and with greater particularity, than most others; and might easily represent to himself the hazards from which he was delivered in their fullest magnitude, or even beyond it. He crossed the Atlantic several times between Europe and America, and his journeys by land extended over

thousands upon thousands of miles, and occupied months and years at a time. In both cases, such were the perils which he had to encounter, that by the time we have reached the middle of the first volume we have learned to expect that, whenever he sets forth again, we shall soon hear of more hairbreadth escapes from threatening calamities. Tempestuous weather, fogs, sandbanks, springing a leak, being washed out of his berth or almost floating in it, privateers, pirates,—such were his dangers by sea. And hence, when we next follow him on a voyage, and find the air becoming colder and colder, we anticipate that icebergs are at hand, and lo! in a day or two we see him hemmed in by packs of ice, cracking and crushing together and squeezing the ship, so that we should tremble for our friend's safety did not the remaining hundreds of pages of his journal suffice to assure us that he lived to continue them for many a year more. By land, also, he had many trials and remarkable escapes. He travelled through the plantations in South America, and visited the settlers in the West, and likewise in Canada, with benevolent intentions; and his experiences were very peculiar. He was reduced to a hard crust and water, had to sleep in the open air, drove into a river at a fordable place in a four-wheeled carriage, and came out on the other side with only two wheels, the body being left in the mud, to be recovered next day. An unmanageable horse gallops with a carriage, containing his wife and another lady, down a hill, dashes into the millpool at the bottom, and scatters the travellers about the deep pond, all to be rescued, and all uninjured. Once his horse was poisoned. Once he had to travel through a burning forest, the fiery branches falling upon him and his companions as they galloped for their lives. He was ill in bed of a fever, in a wretched habitation, and a night of tropical rain drenched his bed in torrents; yet he recovered. Most singular adventure of all, and not without peril, in Ireland, where he and his friends were sometimes threatened and ill-treated, a stone on one occasion struck his hat, and spun it round, without injury to his head, seemingly without uncovering it. He may have exercised less of caution and prudence than many others; and certainly, when he believed any duty he was undertaking to be clearly the will of God, he was undaunted, and went on trustfully, resting on the Divine goodness and protection; but his adventures were very remarkable: and not only so, for it is instructive to contemplate his perseverance in the work which he felt it his duty to do, his Christian courage and fortitude in the most trying situations, his confidence in the Lord's faithfulness, and his loving gratitude for the mercy and grace with which he was sustained through every danger, and through various other trials.

His phraseology is a real misfortune, disturbing the gravity

of the reader; unless indeed it may prove a relief in the midst of the mournful strains which pervade the earlier portion of the journals, and which suggest that a smile could rarely have been seen upon his saddened countenance, until we are taken by surprise by the editor's remarks upon the cheerfulness of his disposition. We had previously dwelt with some relief on the fact that once he was "amused" by the peculiarities of a post-boy. In place of humour we have the odd combination of words. It is not English, though he writes generally with ease and tolerable correctness. It is not an adaptation of scriptural expressions. We do not know whether to regard it as the style of Friends, or the style of Stephen Grellet alone. But we must admit that, uncommon as the expressions are, his meaning is generally intelligible. Such are, "a preciously visited state of mind," a "contrited" mind, a "tribulated" mind, "a precious visited seed," a "great load of exercise," "opportunities solemn and tendering," "deep plungings and baptisms" of the mind, "a tender but tribulated state," "a tendering time." When regarding himself as called to visit Russia, this is the way in which he expresses himself: "My spirit was brought very low under the weight and magnitude of the concern upon me for this vast empire of Russia." When he sees that his labours ought to be prolonged, he says, "The weight of the service which the Lord calls for from me in Europe becomes heavier and heavier; my whole mind is at seasons absorbed by it."

But this grotesque phraseology is, after all, of little moment, and it must be admitted that such peculiarity has a sort of appropriateness in so uncommon a history.

Although not brought up in the system of the Society of Friends, as we shall presently show, he was thorough in his adherence to it, always standing firmly with those of the sect who maintained the foundation truths of the Christian religion, and being himself a resolute (though we are sure a charitable) advocate of those truths, in the controversies which for a long time agitated the Friends in England, and in the United States. Everywhere he commended what he called their "testimonies." In all respects he approved of them. He appears never to have wavered, or to have been conscious of misgivings. This seems to us, in his case, in that of J. J. Gurney, and in those of all the Friends who have professed to submit their minds in all respects to the word of God, to be very remarkable; especially in the rejection of the sacraments, and in the resolution of the Lord's words, when instituting those means of grace, into mere figures of speech. We can see no trace of a scruple in his mind, but we see much to satisfy us that he felt no difficulties on these or any other points. While repudiating creeds, he never hesitated to have a creed

of his own, which he urgently called upon others to accept, and the danger of rejecting which was strongly impressed upon his own mind, and vividly exhibited to others. The difference between us was, that our creeds are in carefully selected words, his might vary in its expressions. On the most important points of doctrine the substance appears to have been the same. The strongest link of what he calls his "unity" with the Friends, appears to us to have been his full belief in sensible communications of the divine will to individual men. It is not quite clear, from the language which he sometimes uses, that he did not consider himself occasionally to have received the directions of an audible voice, or that he had any doubt of others being favoured with the like perceptible guidance. But certainly he ascribed to impulses which could not be misinterpreted, each of his numerous journeys, and every one of its stages and turns, his going to one place, and his omitting to visit another. Comfort Collins and Sarah Barney were on their way to England "on religious service" in a leaky ship; before they knew of their peril, after "sitting in solemn silence before the Lord, Comfort said to Sarah, 'The Lord has accepted my free-will offering to His divine will to go to Europe, and now He relcases me from this service, and as a proof of it, He will bring us back again to the American shores.'" And accordingly the ship, not seaworthy, returned to port. So, in his own experience, he believed that he received distinct directions, respecting the source of which he could not be mistaken.

He mentions places, "Rome, Naples, &c.," for which he had felt in time past "with an apprehension that he should be required to visit them in gospel love." At another time, when he was in England, his mind, he says, was "led towards the people of high rank and the nobility in the west-end of London." Towards a place called Jeremie, in America, he had "felt some drawing further on;" "but," he writes, "the Lord has been pleased to excuse me from service there." At Port au Prince, when slowly recovering from severe sickness, he decided, "I am entirely released from the apprehension I had that I might be required to go to the other side of the island:" this was his inference from the feebleness of his health and his view of the divine mercy; but it shows that he had expected to be "required" to go thither. In that very illness his mind had borne a "great weight of service" for many of the European nations; and when he was at the lowest, as he expresses it, "the language was proclaimed in my ear, 'Thou shalt indeed visit these nations; the days of thy earthly race are not yet ccomplished.'" Soon after he writes, "the weight of service which the Lord calls for from me in Europe becomes heavier and heavier;" and he adds, what we also feel, "I

greatly wonder that services of this kind should be laid upon me, in nations whose language I understand not, where I do not know that there is even a practicability to travel, and where numerous difficulties and great perils must necessarily attend me." He did not give way to such reasonings, but committed himself to "the divine requirings." These expressions are mostly culled within the compass of a very few pages, but they exemplify the general tone of all his journals. He sought, and he believed that he experienced, sensible leadings and directions of the Comforter, which he could not misunderstand, and which he would not disobey. Sometimes he felt that he was thus sent to a place, at a distance of many miles' journey, to which accordingly he went, but only to sit in silence in the religious meeting. But he went away perfectly content, believing that the occasion had been blessed, and that the divine purposes for which he was sent had been fulfilled. At other times the work was fulfilled with great agony of mind (described, perhaps, in his peculiar language, as a "deep baptism," or a "sore baptism"), but still he did not shrink from the path which he believed that he was appointed to take. Besides examples, he avows, as being most precious to him, the doctrine of an inward light, an immediate divine direction, distinctly discernible as a communication of God to the mind of the individual man.

We quote one passage, to which some reference has already been made, as showing very distinctly what were his views on this point.

"During my tarriance at Genoa, I was introduced into very close exercise of mind and trial of faith. Deep had been my concern on account of various parts of Italy, Rome, Naples, &c., places that I had felt for in years past, with an apprehension that I should be required to visit them in Gospel love. I thought that the time had come for me to engage in that service, especially as I was then in Italy. Finding, however, that it would be impracticable to go by land to Rome, on account of the numerous bands of robbers that attacked travellers even when escorted by large companies of soldiers, I concluded to try to go there by sea by way of Leghorn. As I was going to engage my passage for that port, my mind was introduced into unutterable darkness—gross darkness seemed to be before me, whilst a bright stream of light was behind; I stood still for awhile, and found I could not go forward. I returned to my lodgings, and in my chamber poured forth my soul unto the Lord, entreating Him to direct me aright. He knew it was in obedience to His divine will that I had come to these nations, and that to His divine guidance and almighty protection I had wholly committed myself and my all. He very graciously condescended to be near to me in my distress, and to hear the voice of my supplication. He gave me to see, and strongly to feel, that to Rome, Naples, &c., I should indeed go, that I had baptisms there to be baptised with, but that the time for it had

not yet come, and the language of the Spirit was to pr[illegible] speed for Geneva and Switzerland. My soul was greatly [illegible] and tendered before the Lord, who thus condescended to instruct His poor servant, and to direct him in the way which He would have him to go. I remembered with awful reverence and gratitude the gracious promise made me before I left America, when, contemplating the extent and magnitude of the Lord's work, my soul was dismayed: 'I will teach thee and instruct thee in the way in which thou goest; I will guide thee with mine eye.' Now I saw how wonderfully my blessed Lord and Redeemer fulfilled His divine word, and He also renewed a little faith in the safety of His guidance and almighty protection." (vol. i. pp. 202, 203.)

It is certainly most remarkable that he should have felt himself called to traverse many lands, the languages of whose people were unknown to him, to fulfil a work which pre-eminently required the intercourse of mind with mind. He was surprised at this himself, as we have seen; but he did not doubt of his being commissioned to the work by a Divine voice; and it is very wonderful to observe what efficient interpreters were always forthcoming at the right moment.

Believing that he was sent on a mission in all his journeys, and that he could know beforehand what countries, and even villages, he should visit, he entered upon his work as a matter of simple obedience, which it would be a sin not to render. He devoted himself entirely to the labours of religion and charity to which he felt himself called, neither turning aside to inspect the works of man, nor yet to enjoy the contemplation of the Creator's beneficence in the beautiful scenery which might lie a little out of his track. He sought interviews with the highest and noblest in the lands which he visited, and delivered to them what he calls his "testimonies;" he had interviews with archbishops and bishops, and even with the pope, declaring to them his views of divine truth, and the necessity of a simple faith in the Lord Jesus, and beseeching them to think of their souls; he visited prisons and taught their unhappy inmates, then went before rulers and magistrates and remonstrated against the inhumanity with which he saw that the prisoners were treated. The attention which he gained is remarkable, and not less so the success of his benevolent efforts. For instance, the emperor Alexander both instituted reforms in the prisons of St. Petersburg, on his urgent representation of their wretched condition, and also charged him to report to him on the wants of any other prisons which he might visit in his long journey through Russia. His heart overflowed with benevolence, and the greatest sorrows which befel him in life arose out of his contemplation of the sufferings and the sins of his fellow-men.

His journals, in the form in which they are printed, are not

pleasant to the eye, with their small type and their long closely-packed lines, and yet it is not easy to omit any part of them; and the perusal of them produces more and more of reverence for the man, admiration of his simple self-dedication to the work of God, and wonder at the remarkable way in which doors were opened everywhere for his useful and beneficent labours, and at the success which marked his progress. A brief outline of his peculiar history, and a few anecdotes of general interest, will not, we are sure, be unwelcome to any of our readers.

He who for sixty years was known in the United States, and for many years in England, as Stephen Grellet, was, during the first twenty years of his life, Etienne de Grellet du Mabillier, a native of Limoges in France. He was born on the 2nd of November, 1773. His parents were wealthy and of high rank, Roman Catholics, who brought up their children in that faith. In his youth he was sometimes under the influence of strong religious emotions, sometimes almost an infidel, but never able to accept the whole doctrine of the church of Rome. Towards the close of 1791 he joined the Royalist army at Coblentz, saw some service, though he was never actually in battle; and when, at the close of 1792, that army was disbanded, he went with a brother to Amsterdam and embarked for Demerara, intending to proceed thence to America, there to await instructions from his parents. After a short stay in New York, the brothers retired to Long Island. There Stephen met with the works of William Penn, at the house of an American officer, and, reading them at a time when his mind was in much perturbation, in consequence of being "suddenly arrested by what seemed to be an awful voice, proclaiming the words, Eternity! Eternity! Eternity!" a process began within him which issued in his becoming a member of the Society of Friends. This was in 1795, his 22nd year. "It was on the 20th of 1st month, 1796, the third day of the week, that" he "first opened" his "mouth in the ministry." From that time forward till 1805 he made seven or eight extensive circuits in the States (one of them including an excursion into Canada), attending the meetings of Friends, sometimes preaching and sometimes in silence, but also frequently preaching to any assemblage of persons who could be gathered together, and seeking to mitigate the severities which slavery brought upon its victims.

He married in 1804. We were for a long time surprised and amused to observe how readily he left his wife for the fulfilment of these missions, and how speedily such circuits followed one upon another. We also watched for some intimation that he really cared for her. But the history, as it proceeds, shows that he held her in tender affection, and

likewise that they both regarded these journeys as acts of obedience to a divine call.

In 1807 he believed "that the time was fully come to resign himself to the Lord's requiring," by visiting Europe. Accordingly he set forth, and spent six months in France. Returning to his home, he remained upwards of two years in America, often travelling for what he calls "religious service;" but again he felt that he was called to Europe, in 1811. His tour this time was on a larger scale, extending over England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland. It lasted four years and a few months. In London, in 1813, his occupations may be inferred from the contents of the eighteenth chapter, as follows:—"Meeting with Spitalfields weavers. Meeting with the nobility. Meeting with the Jews. Meeting with thieves, &c. Prisons, Newgate. Elizabeth Fry."

With the latter name Stephen Grellet stands in a relation which will be interesting to many of our readers. At the Friends' meeting-house in St. Martin's Lane were assembled, by invitation, multitudes of the thieves, and others of the degraded and vicious, in that part of London. Stephen Grellet had requested that an effort might be made to gather them together, in order that he might address them as one who cared for their souls. A great effect appears to have been produced upon that singular congregation. The chief magistrate of Bow Street offered to provide for similar assemblies being collected in other parts of London. Grellet declined the proposal, but embraced the opportunity of asking that access might be granted to him to the metropolitan prisons. His visits to the Compter and to Newgate resulted in his giving to Elizabeth Fry so touching an account of all that he had seen and heard, as to induce her to commence those visits to Newgate upon which God's blessing so remarkably rested. Returning to America, he embarked once more in business, and spent a year or upwards in attending to it; but again he felt impelled to make a religious visit to Hayti, where he employed several months in his one chief pursuit, fell ill, and once more returned home. But again, in June, 1818, under the same solemn impression that the Lord called him, he was on his voyage to Europe, and after an absence of less than four years he landed in Liverpool. A month was spent in England; then followed a visit to Norway and Sweden, a winter in St. Petersburg, with most interesting incidents, a journey across the empire to the Crimea, where he visited Sebastopol and other places, much known to us of late in connexion with less peaceable operations. Turkey, Greece, and the Ionian Islands, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, France, and England, again

occupied him till the middle of 1820 in fulfilling what he believed to be his mission. He had interviews with the great and powerful, and spoke to them plainly of the things of God; he sought out all who had any sense of the value of religion, whatever their professed system might be; he visited hospitals and prisons, spoke of the one thing needful to their inmates, and represented in proper quarters the miseries of which he was an eye-witness, with a view to their amelioration.

He returned again to America, and now spent more than ten years on the western side of the Atlantic, but not in the quietude of a settled home, nor altogether in peace and satisfaction. Hickes and his disciples were now disturbing the whole community of Friends by their false doctrine; and Stephen Grellet stood up faithfully to maintain the truth. Both to help those whose faith was assailed, and for the other objects to which his life had hitherto been devoted, his circuits were frequent, and he still appears before the reader as one who took no rest.

Once more he visited Europe in 1831, arriving in Liverpool about midsummer, at which port he also embarked on his return to New York, when three years were nearly completed, in June, 1834. His religious tour, this time, took him to various places in the following countries; in all he had the same objects in view:—England, Holland, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, the Piedmontese Valleys, France, Spain, and France again on his way back to England.

All these tours are the more remarkable, considering the object at which he aimed, when it is remembered that English and French were the only languages he could speak, and that for the most part his means of communication with those with whom he sought intercourse were the services of such interpreters as offered themselves at the moment when they were required.

So ended his labours in Britain and on the continent of Europe; but not by many years his life. His chief work appears to have been accomplished, so far as it lay at a distance from home. His mind, in the latter days of his life, is chiefly made known to us by a selection from his letters, which are rich in beautiful and elevating thoughts, coming forth out of the abundance of a devout and charitable heart. As his strength declined, his labours were more circumscribed until, full of years, a happy and a holy servant of God, he peacefully fell asleep in Jesus on the 15th of November, 1855, in his eighty-second year.

His biographer thus sets forth some features of his character, beyond what his journal could supply. "The warmth and ardour of his affections, his truly Christian cheerfulness, blended with a quiet, unaffected, unassuming dignity of man-

ner, at once humble and self-possessed, gave the impression of no ordinary person. A true Frenchman in politeness, he was quite a model of the courteous and affable, without the fawning flattery of the world. Christian simplicity, sincerity, and truthfulness marked his words and actions; 'his look was love, his salutation peace.'"

Two or three characteristic and interesting anecdotes, and we shall part from Stephen Grellet, honouring his memory, and thankful for our acquaintance with him as afforded by these journals.

In his first visit to Europe, which was confined to France (1808), he was distressed at witnessing the miserable consequences of war in the country of his birth. "The oppressive system of the conscription" had "brought obvious desolation and distress over the face of the country." He speaks, as an eye-witness, as follows:—

"In many places comparatively few men, besides those in public offices, are to be seen, except those maimed by war, or the aged, so that females have to perform, out of doors, a great part of the laborious work that generally devolves upon men. My heart is also often made sad in beholding the bands of young conscripts marching towards the army now preparing to invade Spain. Here, in Bordeaux, is a large number of handsome young men from Poland, of the first families of that nation, training for the new war. I have been with some of these young people, who appear to have received a religious guarded education. How must their parents' hearts bleed to have them now thus circumstanced!"

Could he do anything in mitigation of these evils? His subsequent conduct in other countries proves that he would have remonstrated with the mighty Napoleon, if he could have contrived to obtain a hearing. He proceeds:—

"Day and night my mind is turned towards Buonaparte. O could I plead with him! could I bring him to feel and see, as I do, the horror and misery he is accumulating upon man, and the vices and immoralities he causes poor unwary youth to be involved in! I have made several trials to procure passports to go to Paris, but cannot obtain them, yet I have not told anybody the concern I feel for the Emperor. If this is a service that the Lord has for me, He is all-powerful to open a door for it; into His hands I commit myself." (vol. i. p. 105.)

The opportunity did not present itself; but it is curious to picture to oneself the interview which might have taken place between the Emperor and the Friend.

We pass on to his third visit to Europe, and see him actually in the company of another crowned head, in 1818. He was in Stockholm, on the eve of finishing his "labours" in Sweden; the king, Bernadotte, knew of the arrival of himself and his two

companions, and desired to see them. They asked for a private interview, and "felt pretty low" on finding themselves standing in their "plain simple garb, our hats on," in a grand reception room, amongst great men in full dress. They met with no discourtesy, but rather with respectful notice. After a while they were conducted to a private apartment, in which they had an audience with the king; his majesty received them with kindness, showed much interest in the objects which brought them into his dominions, promised to afford them every facility in his power for seeing anything further which they might desire, and requested them to inform him of any matters in which they thought that he could exercise his authority for good, adding, "but you know that the king's name, which implies power, is not always attended with it; on the contrary, I feel very often my impotency." He requested them to see him once again, before their departure from the country.

At the second visit to the king none were present besides themselves, excepting the minister of state who introduced them, who had also taken much interest in their operations. The king received them with kindness, and bade them take their seats by his side. They were encouraged to open their minds fully, and they pleaded earnestly for liberty of conscience in that kingdom, and particularly for the relief of some who who were of their own principles, and who suffered for their adherence to them. The king assured them that he had acquainted himself with their system, knew that they were a peaceable people, judged them worthy of his protection, and would extend it over them to the utmost of his power. He spoke of the sense he felt of the responsibility attaching to his high office, and amongst other subjects declared his pity for the Jews, whom the laws excluded from his dominions, contrary to his wishes.

"We were almost two hours together; and on our parting the king held us by the hand, and, embracing us, seemed as if he could hardly let us go, following us with his eyes and uplifted hands till we were out of sight." (vol. i. p. 289.)

Next morning the king told his minister to give to these Friends an account of his disposal of his time, and of his methods of acquainting himself with the state of things throughout his dominions.

Stephen Grellet's intercourse with the emperor Alexander and with the royal family of Russia was still more interesting and fruitful. Being in London in 1814, he wrote in his journal, on the 30th of May:—

"I was brought under deep exercise for suffering humanity on

account of the cruel scourge of war, such as I have so awfully beheld during my late engagement in France and Germany; my soul was poured forth with supplication to the Lord, that He might open a door for me to plead with the kings and rulers of the nations, that, if possible, a return of such a calamity might be averted. Whilst I was bowed under this exercise, I heard that there was an expectation that the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and others perhaps now in Paris, would come to London; on this information I felt as if the prayer of my soul might be heard, and that an opportunity was about to be given to plead before some of these crowned heads for the kingdom of righteousness and peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, which, if not now embraced, might never be offered again." (vol. i. p. 241.)

He laid the matter before the assembled Friends at their yearly meeting in London, and it was agreed that the opportunity, should it occur, ought to be used in pleading for peace before the rulers of the nations. A few days after, the duchess of Oldenburg, sister of the emperor Alexander, attended a Friends' meeting; so did the young king of Würtemberg. Soon after, the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia arrived in London. A deputation of four Friends waited on the king, and presented to him an address from their body, deprecating war. The king replied, expressing his desire that peace might prevail, and lamenting the sufferings which war had inflicted on Europe for several years.

On the 21st of June, Stephen Grellet and two other Friends went, by appointment, to the emperor of Russia, at the Pultney hotel. "He came to meet us at the door of his apartment, took us by the hand in a kind manner, and said that for a length of time he had wished for an opportunity to be with us." He listened with marked interest to their account of their religious principles, and said several times, "These are my own sentiments also."

"He made several very pertinent remarks on these various subjects, particularly on prayer; respecting worship, he said that God, who knoweth our hearts, cannot be pleased with nor be acceptably worshipped by the observance of outward forms and ceremonies, or the repetition of words which the wicked and the hypocrite could use, though continuing in their sinful practices; but that a worship in spirit and in truth is the most acceptable to God, who is a Spirit, and that before Him our spirit must be reverently prostrated. Respecting prayer he said, 'I pray every day, not in a form of words, but as the Lord, by his Spirit, convincing me of my wants, enables me to do.'" (vol. i. p. 244.)

In this interview Grellet's heart was full, and he spoke accordingly of the emperor's trials and responsibilities. Alexander, with tears, took hold of his hand, held it intently for awhile, and said, "These your words are a sweet cordial to my soul, they will long remain engraven on my heart." At parting, he

took each of his visitors by the hand and said, "I part from you as from friends and brethren; feelings which I hope will ever remain with me."

During his stay in London, the emperor subsequently attended the Friends' meeting-house in Westminster.

When, in 1818-19, Stephen Grellet spent some months in St. Petersburg, it was to be expected that the emperor should again desire to see him. William Allen, who had been one of the deputation to the emperor in London, was now, as on many other occasions, his companion in travel. The emperor sent for them to his palace, and said that he welcomed them as "old friends."

"He made us sit down on a sofa on each side of him, and recurred feelingly to the visit we paid him in London, by which he said his mind was encouraged and strengthened under the trying circumstances then attending him. He made many inquiries of a religious character, which evince his concern to obtain a saving knowledge of the blessed truth; he has a good understanding of the Scriptures, and clear views of that salvation which is through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, in whose grace and merits alone he trusts. The influence of the Holy Spirit is a subject on which he appears to delight to dwell, being, as he calls it, one of the corner stones of the Christian religion; for if a man has not the spirit of Christ, he is none of His; and if the things of God can only be known by the Spirit of God, then what hope of salvation can a man have who is destitute of, or disregards, that Spirit?" (vol. i. p. 316.)

They conversed on poor-houses, prisons, and education; and the emperor, thanking them for some suggestions which they had offered for the introduction of Scripture lessons into the schools, assured them that it was his earnest desire that the education of his people should be turned into an instrument for the promotion of the kingdom of Christ. After discussing other subjects, the emperor said, "Before we separate for the present, let us spend a short time in religious retirement together." They knelt side by side, and prayed in silence. So concluded a visit which had lasted two hours.

Three weeks after, the emperor appointed another visit from these Friends, at which he requested that during their tour through Russia they would write to him on the state of the prisons, or on any other subjects which they would like to bring under his notice.

About a week later, they had a third and final interview, in which the emperor gave them an interesting account of his childhood, telling them that he had been brought up in formalism, but that at times he had been impelled, by a sense of his sins and wants, to earnest prayer for pardon and grace; that afterwards the world gained dominion over him; but that in 1812 he was led, under peculiar circumstances (which are related

a few pages afterwards, and are very interesting) to read the Scriptures with devout attention, appearing not to have possessed a copy of them before. Stephen Grellet's account of this whole conversation is well worthy of perusal (vol. i. pp. 321, 322), but we must forbear to say more than that it ended in tears and solemn prayer.

In the same part of his journal are also reminiscences of the visits of the two Friends to the empress and the empress mother, to the metropolitan of the Greek church, to the archbishop, and to prince Alexander Galitzin, that friend of the emperor who, in 1812, had led him to the diligent and prayerful study of the Holy Scriptures.

The Friends wrote to the emperor in the summer, when they were about to quit his dominions in the south, giving him an account of the prisons, lamenting the sufferings brought upon many religious persons by the intolerance of the government, and renewing the assurances of their solicitude for his soul's welfare.

In December of the same year (1819) Stephen Grellet had an interview with the pope. A priest was appointed to conduct him into the presence of Pius VII. He describes the scene as follows:—

"One (a priest) dressed like a cardinal, but who is the pope's valet de chambre, opened the door of his cabinet, and said in Italian, 'The Quaker has come;' when the pope said, 'Let him come in;' on which the priest who was to act as interpreter led me in, no one else being present. As I was entering the door, some one behind me gently but quickly took off my hat, and before I could look for it the door was quickly closed upon us three. The pope is an old man, very thin, of a mild serious countenance; the whole of his apartment is very plain; he was sitting before a table, his dress was a long robe of fine white worsted, and a small cap of the same (the cardinals have it red); he had a few papers and books before him; he rose from his seat when I came in, but as he is but feeble he soon sat down again."

Stephen Grellet introduced the subject of the prisons, of burning the Scriptures by papal missionaries, of the inquisition, of the vices of priests and monks, and of the constitution of Christ's church. The pope appears to have made occasional remarks, but to have left the chief talking to his visitor. One thing which he said was, "Men think that a pope has plenitude of power in his hands, but they are much mistaken; my hands are greatly tied in many things."

The close of the interview witnessed the Quaker preaching to the pope, and the pope listening with attention:—

"Finally, as I felt the love of Christ flowing in my heart towards him, I particularly addressed him. I alluded to the various sufferings

he underwent from the hands of Napoleon, the deliverance granted him from the Lord, and queried whether his days were not lengthened out to enable him to glorify God and exalt the name of the Lord our Redeemer Jesus Christ as the only Head of the church, the only Saviour to whom alone every knee is to bow, and every tongue is to confess; that such a confession from him in his old age would do more towards the advancement of Christ's kingdom and the promotion of His glory than the authority of all the popes, his predecessors, was ever able to do; moreover, that thereby his sun, now near setting, would go down with brightness, and his portion in eternity would be with the sanctified ones in the joys of his salvation. The pope, whilst I thus addressed him, kept his head inclined and appeared tender; then rising from his seat, in a kind and respectful manner, he expressed a desire that 'the Lord would bless and protect me wherever I go,' on which I left him." (vol. ii. p. 62.)

These anecdotes must suffice; and in bringing our review to a close we must remark, that our habitual readers, should they take up these volumes, will encounter some phases of doctrine which they cannot accept, and will have to pass over with self-control some occasional hard hits at forms of prayer, a "hireling ministry," and episcopacy. They will also wonder to see how Christ's sacraments can be melted away into mere phraseology, and become metaphors and nothing more. But such things do not occupy a prominent place in these journals; and we believe that every reader who, in taking up a book, desires that God would bless it to him, will rise from the perusal of those pages, through God's grace, a wiser and a better man.

ON THE TRANSFIGURATION.

In the battles of the ancients, conflicts of the fiercest kind were often waged over the body of some prostrate chief. That deadly strife would indicate to every observer the superior rank and importance of the fallen man. It would seem that, in our day, the rank and importance of the Gospel narrative are to be attested in the same manner. The battle rages over them. They are vigorously assailed by the would-be "colossal men" of our generation; and, to some minds, they may seem to be in danger from their "verifying faculty" and their "free handling." They are, however, not slain; nor, even should they be taken captive to the hostile camp, as the ark of God once was, will they be subdued. The divinity within would vindicate itself, to the humiliation of those who should boast of so dangerous a victory. We have no fear, however, of such an issue;

yet it is our duty to be valiant for the truth, and, for the comfort of those who believe, to defend those narratives against such attempts.

Or, changing the figure, we might compare the Gospel narratives to a wall of fortification thrown around the dominion of revealed truth. In such defences there are bastions and strong towers connecting the whole, and furnishing points from which assailants may be more effectually repulsed. In like manner, there may be found among these narratives some which present evidences of divine inspiration so strong as to defy hostile criticism, or to cover it with shame. Yet their strength is sometimes unknown until hostile attempts have revealed it both to friends and foes. Among these we should be disposed to place the narrative of our Lord's transfiguration. Possibly many Christians, well acquainted with this and other facts of the New Testament, are too little aware of its force and importance as a matter of evidence in favour of Christian truth. This may, in some measure, arise from the artlessness and simplicity of the narrative itself. Unlike what we find in ordinary writings, it is introduced by no statement, and followed by no comment, calling attention to its value as a piece of evidence, or to its relative importance in the Gospel history. This is left for the exercise of our own minds to discover under the promised teaching of the Spirit. "The works of the Lord are great: *sought out* of all them that have pleasure therein." (Ps. cxi. 2.)

The mode of assault adopted by the scepticism of our day is somewhat insidious. The narratives are not denied. "The verifying faculty" has not yet pronounced them falsehoods, but only *myths*. They shall be, if you please, allegorical, parabolical, or ideal in some sense. You shall regard them as beautiful fictions, drawn out with the purest intentions for teaching and illustrating spiritual truths, and for educating the world in right principles; but not as simple narratives of what actually took place.

Now happily we have, in connexion with the narrative before us, a remarkable passage of Scripture bearing on this point, a passage which places it in the position of one of those strong towers for the defence of the Gospel story just referred to. One of the persons who were then eye-witnesses of the transfiguration, when, thirty years after, writing to the Christian converts for the confirmation of their faith, distinctly refers to the incident as a real historical fact. Nay, he adduces it as an unquestionable evidence, because resting upon the testimony of eye and ear witnesses, for the reality of that series of facts which he and other disciples had proclaimed to the world. "We have not," says the apostle Peter (i. 16—18) "followed *cunningly* devised fables, when we made known unto you the

power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were *eye-witnesses* of His majesty, when there came such a voice to Him from the heavenly glory: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And this voice, which came from heaven, *we heard* when we were with Him in the holy mount."

Could any affirmation be more distinct and decisive? Could words more clearly state that this whole scene was not an ideal but a literal fact, presented, like all other literal facts, to the eyes and ears of living witnesses. But there is a further peculiarity to be noticed. The expression which the apostle selects, in order that he may deny its correctness in regard to the narratives, is very remarkable; so remarkable, indeed, that it suggests the inquiry, whether or not some Jewish or pagan opponents of that day had already started the ideological theory which in our times boasts itself as the product of high intellectual advancement. And on the supposition that it was not so, we are constrained to believe that He who, knowing the end from the beginning, foresaw what would be the favourite theory of later days for undermining His revealed truth, put into Peter's mouth by anticipation the very word which modern scepticism has chosen as its talisman for dissolving the faith of nineteen centuries. For what is the word now used for this purpose? The narratives are not, as before observed, denied as false, but accepted as MYTHS. And what says the apostle? "We have not followed *myths*." Our translators very properly rendered the word "*fables*," but the apostle wrote *myths* (μύθοις). Now if any of the Gospel narratives were open to the suspicion of being mythical, surely it would be the one before us, taking place as it did in the night, and being, as it confessedly was, a vision. The apostle, however, affirms that it was not a myth, but a reality attested by the senses of living waking men. And if this were no myth, much less were the other astounding facts of the Gospel history, seen in broad daylight, by friends and foes, day after day, by hundreds of spectators. Surely, then, we are entitled to ask, whether the apostle, had he known what would be the precise line of argument and the favourite tactics of those who are now endeavouring to elaborate, partly from the Holy Scriptures, partly from the philosophies of the past, and partly from the discoveries of science in modern times, a new and more spiritual form of religion which shall be more congenial to the rationalistic temperament of the age, could possibly have placed on record a stronger protest against their attempts,—whether he could possibly have hurled from a stronger tower a deadlier weapon against them?

This remarkable incident in our Lord's earthly life is worthy of our most careful study. Under the investigation of divines and commentators it has disclosed the choicest beauties. Nor

is it only interesting to the student; it abounds also with practical suggestions for the humble believer, full of encouragement and comfort.

Let us first notice its position and importance in the Gospel history.

The public ministry of the Saviour, reckoning from the baptism to the crucifixion, is believed to have lasted three years and a half. Commentators agree in placing the transfiguration at the commencement of the last twelvemonth. About this time Jesus had begun to break to His apostles the unwelcome information that He would ultimately be rejected by the ecclesiastical authorities, and put to a violent death. The expression, "after six days," or, according to St. Luke, "eight days," with which the narrative commences, refers to a conversation of this kind, in which he so distinctly foretold this result, that Peter took Him to task for even contemplating so great a calamity. The connexion, then, of this transaction with the crucifixion and resurrection is evident; so evident, that Dean Alford has appropriately designated it as "the solemn installation to His sufferings and their results." We may as justly regard it in this light as we regard his baptism as the installation to His public ministry. To use a somewhat trite expression, it was "the beginning of the end." And it is manifestly one of those facts in our Lord's career which stand out in solemn grandeur to awe the mind, and impress it with strong convictions as to the dignity of His person and the glory of His work.

Let us next notice the incident itself, as gathered from the several accounts given in the three gospels which record it—Matthew xvii. 1; Mark ix. 1; Luke ix. 28.

After a long and fatiguing course of labour, Jesus had retired with His disciples to the northern limits of the land of Canaan, to the hilly country bordering on the south of Lebanon. There he made to them that disclosure of his sufferings and death which has just been mentioned, and warned them against those worldly expectations which they so fondly cherished. About a week afterwards he selects three of them, the same three whom he had on other occasions chosen as special witnesses—Peter, James, and John,—and with them ascends a lofty mountain in the neighbourhood (not now thought to be Tabor), leaving the other nine in the place where they lodged. It appears to have been evening when they ascended; and we are distinctly told that they went thither "to pray." St. Luke also mentions that the disciples were at first "heavy with sleep," and that they had "awaked" from it when they beheld what followed. Jesus, however, was still praying. It would seem, therefore, that He had spent a portion of the night in devotion, during which they, exhausted, had fallen into a

slumber. At length, refreshed by this natural rest, they were awaked by a glorious vision, which made the deeper impression upon their minds as their faculties had just been invigorated by repose. It was not, then, a dream, but an actual occurrence, seen and heard like other facts by men in the full possession and exercise of their senses.

And what did they see? They beheld their Lord and Master (as they had often seen Him) in the act of prayer, but how changed! He whose ordinary appearance was so humble that even women and children approached Him without fear, now stands before them in a blaze of glory. "His face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light." The sorrowful look they had so often seen was gone. "The fashion of his countenance was altered." They perceive, too, that He is no longer alone; Moses and Elijah are talking with Him. They know them, for they mention their names. What an irresistible proof have they now before their eyes of the soul's immortality! There is the man who, fourteen hundred years before, died on Mount Nebo; and there the prophet who, nine centuries ago, was translated without death—two inhabitants of earth whom a hundred generations have spoken of as men of the past, standing before them, and conversing with their Master. They hear also the subject of their discourse. It is the same which Jesus himself had recently made known to them. "They spake of his decease, which he should accomplish at Jerusalem."

And now these glorious personages are gliding away. The apostles, unwilling to part from such company, propose to detain them. In the bewilderment of their delight they propose to make three tabernacles for their constant abode with Him. When bewildered we are apt to betray thoughts that are uppermost or most deeply fixed in the mind. Peter liked the glory better than the predicted sufferings of his Master; it was more in accordance with his views of the kingdom of God, for he still "savoured the things that be of men, rather than those that be of God." He probably thought that such glory and such personages would do more to conciliate the Scribes and Pharisees than anything as yet had done. He therefore becomes the ready spokesman of the party, and asks that the vision may last. But it was not to last. A bright cloud overshadows them as he speaks, and Moses and Elias are gone. To their feeling of delight now succeeds one of dread. And this feeling is soon deepened into one of solemn awe by what they hear. A voice from the cloud in which they are enveloped penetrates their ears and hearts. Is it the voice of Moses or of Elijah, as they recede? No; for it proclaims, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear ye Him." He who says,

This is my Son, must be the Father. No wonder, then, that at His voice the disciples "fall on their faces and are sore afraid," even as Moses had done at the burning bush. But they are soon relieved and reassured by another voice, well known and dear to their souls; for Jesus now addresses them, "Arise, and be not afraid." In Him the voice of the Almighty Father is divested of all terror. It is the voice of their Father also. They now look up and "see no man save Jesus only."

After the morning's dawn, "the next day," as they descend to the plain, the vision naturally formed the subject of conversation, when the disciples were charged not to mention the vision till He had risen from the dead. That their minds were full of it, is indicated by their question concerning the objection urged against Jesus from the non-appearance of Elijah, according to the prophecy of Malachi; and that His mind also was dwelling on it, seems evident from the remark which he added to His answer, explaining that the person and ministry of John the Baptist was the fulfilment of that prediction. "Likewise also shall the Son of man suffer of them." And if we mistake not, He made another reference to the voice which was heard in this vision shortly afterward, when he checked Peter (Matt. xvii. 24—27), who took it as a matter of course that his Master would pay the temple tax. "Then are the children free." His argument is allowed to be, that the sons of kings do not pay tribute to their father, and that Himself, as God's Son, whom Peter had recently heard proclaimed as such by God's own voice, might claim exemption from paying taxes to His Father's temple, were it advisable to do so. He did not wish Peter to talk of the vision, but He wished him to keep it in mind.

Let us now inquire into the object of this vision, and the lessons to be gathered from it. Perhaps we shall neither err nor exhaust the subject if we regard it in a fourfold aspect.

First, it was intended to confirm the divine commission of Jesus as the predicted Messiah; and in this point of view it may be classed with the Nativity, the Baptism, and the Resurrection.

Jesus had claimed to be the Messiah; His disciples had acknowledged this claim, but their faith was about to be subjected to the severest test. They were to see Him more than ever hated and persecuted by the ecclesiastical rulers, and finally rejected by the nation. They were, moreover, to see Him submit unresistingly to their violent proceedings, and die the victim of their malice and scorn. Far otherwise, however, were their thoughts and anticipations. They were looking for an increase of popularity, and for the worldly success of His cause.

They cherished the hope that by His miracles, His patient perseverance, and His favour among the people, the scribes and pharisees might yet be won over or silenced. When the terrible disappointment therefore should come, how were they to be convinced, and how were we in after times to be assured that there was no mistake in this life of poverty, this career of suffering, this national rejection, this cruel and disgraceful death? How might they, and we, be satisfied that this man of sorrows, despised and rejected and slain, was nevertheless the true Messiah? Here is the proof, one worthy to be ranked with the many others. They beheld this lowly person, at whom "the many were astonished, his visage was so marred, more than any man," all at once in a blaze of heavenly glory. They beheld that face outshine the lustre which had illumined the face of Moses (Exod. xxxiv.), and in the depth of night surpass the brilliance of the sun. They now perceived how soon He could, if needful, lay aside that humble guise, and display the glories of Messiah.

But again, why should Moses and Elijah appear in that glory and converse with Him? Was there any special design in this? any lesson to be drawn from it? And why should these two personages out of the generations of the past be chosen? Turn to Malachi iv., and the reason will appear. There we find that the last persons mentioned in the Old Testament are these two. The canon of inspiration was about to close, and a long interval without prophet or miracle was to succeed. And the last words of revelation enjoin a firm adherence to Moses and his divinely-inspired writings, and an expectation of Elijah's return. "Remember ye the law of Moses my servant." Hold fast by him till the greater than he shall come. "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet." What, then, are we to infer from this but that the Messiah, when He should come, would have the testimony of Moses, the founder of the Jewish law and institutions, and the testimony of Elijah, the restorer of the law, and the representative of the prophets of later date? And here on the holy mount that testimony is given. These two witnesses themselves appear to Jesus in the presence of His disciples, and testify that He was the very Messiah of whom they spoke. They recognise in His approaching death at Jerusalem the fulfilment of those types and prophecies which foreshadowed a suffering, dying Redeemer. There was no mistake in His humiliation, rejection, and death; for these formed the great *exodus* which He was to accomplish at Jerusalem. The word translated *decease* is in the original *exodus*, *i.e.* departure (ἔλεγον τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ); and this word upon the lips of Moses must be allowed to be highly significant. Does it not accord with the view that the exodus from

Egypt was but a type of that redemption of the soul, which "Christ our passover" effected, when "by death He destroyed him that had the power of death," and as "the Lamb of God bore away the sin of the world"? Here, then, were Moses and the prophets first bearing witness to the claims of Jesus as the Messiah, contemplating His death as the accomplishment of the Old Testament predictions concerning Him, and identifying themselves with Him by participating in His glory; and then, as the representatives of the Jewish dispensation, passing away while He remained to teach the will of God and to fulfil His mediatorial work. Thus manifestly was the Old Testament linked with the New, the Jewish with the Christian church, in the person of Jesus the attested Christ, and all doubt removed as to His divine commission.

But, secondly, this transaction was intended as a still higher testimony to a still greater truth.

After Moses and Elias had disappeared, why came that bright cloud? and why that voice that issued from it? that same voice which spake to Jesus and to John at the baptism, and now in the ears of three other living men? We have already seen that its testimony was infinitely greater than that of Moses and Elijah, for it was the voice of God Himself. When Peter, a week before, had confessed his belief that Jesus was the Son of God, Jesus told him that the Father had revealed to him this secret. That revelation we may suppose to have been made by the ordinary mode of operating upon the human understanding; but now he and his fellow disciples hear it from the mouth of God Himself in human language: "This is my beloved Son." And as the Testifier Himself was greater than the other witnesses, so was the truth He declared greater than that which they testified. It has been ably contended, both by ancient and modern writers, that the Jews generally, of our Lord's time, did not expect the Messiah to be the Son of God; and hence their exceeding bitterness against Jesus of Nazareth, because He claimed not merely to be the Messiah, but the Son of God also—in short, claimed equality with God Himself: "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God." (John xix. 7.) This reiterated testimony of the Father to the deity of Jesus stamps the fact of the transfiguration with a dignity and an importance beyond all compute.

Nor must we overlook the command connected with this testimony of the Father, "Hear ye Him." Can we hesitate to connect it with the appearance and disappearance of Moses on this occasion? When by divine inspiration he foretold the coming of the prophet like unto himself, whom the Lord would raise up (Deut. xviii. 15), he added the words, "Unto Him shall ye hearken;" and he further announced the displeasure

of God against any who should not hearken to His words (v. 19.) What inference can we draw from these words but that Israel was to hold fast the laws and institutions of Moses until that prophet should come, and that thenceforward their reverence and allegiance were to be transferred to Him? Here, then, we have the voice of God the Father following up the testimony of Moses to Jesus as the predicted Prophet, by commanding that transfer from Moses his servant to Jesus his Son: "Hear ye Him." How wonderful, how glorious, then, were the testimonies thus given to Him in whom we trust as the Saviour of the world! With what solemn convictions as to the divine nature and commission of their Master must these privileged disciples have descended the holy mount! And how powerfully must that conviction have sustained their minds when they witnessed His sorrows in Gethsemane, and when they mourned over His death upon the cross, and His silence in the tomb! Would not the remembrance of this scene suggest to their drooping minds in that dark season that Moses and Elias could not have been mistaken, and that the voice from the cloud had not spoken in vain? And may we not learn from it, a profound reverence for the person and authority of Christ? We are not to despair under disappointments, not to surrender our hope in perplexities, not to form hasty conclusions when all things seem arrayed against us; but to remember the indications of divine favour, the assurances of divine love to us in the past, and to be patient. We cannot always remain on the mount of spiritual enjoyment, however good it may be to be there. We have to descend again to the stern realities of life, to the strife with indwelling sin, and, it may be, to many griefs and tears; but we may carry down with us the remembrance of visions seen and heard by faith, and felt in seasons of happy experience, to cheer and sustain the soul till the present gloom and fear have passed away.

Thirdly. May we not proceed a step further in this direction, and regard this vision as having occurred for the solace and support of our Lord's own mind under His approaching sufferings and death?

We must never forget that this glorious person, pronounced by the Father's voice to be the Son of God, was yet truly man. He stood there, not in the mere form and semblance of human nature, as angels had sometimes done, but in human nature itself. He was born, He grew, He learned, He perceived, remembered, felt, wanted, desired, anticipated—just as we do. All that touches us touched Him; and touched Him the more deeply, inasmuch as He was perfect in all that pertained to humanity, while our perceptions are blunted by moral evil. If so, he would need those considerations to be presented to

His human mind which are found to be needful for ours under the varying circumstances and occurrences of life. It follows, then, that in those deep sorrows, that distressing agony, those accumulated indignities, those bitter provocations, those cruel torments, that intense and protracted suffering which He endured at the season of which Moses and Elias spoke upon the mount, and especially in that dark and fearful moment when He cried out that He was forsaken of God, He needed such solace and support as we suffering mortals require under trials similar to these. And can we not, from our own experience under trials and sorrows, understand what a source of consolation and hope to His human spirit, under these burdens, the memory of this vision may have been? When His head was crowned with thorns, and when His face, suffused with blood, grew pale in the faintness of death, may we not believe that He remembered the night when it shone as the brightness of the sun, and was reminded by that token of the future day when, crowned with glory, it should be the joy or terror of an assembled world? And when, in that moment of desertion, His human spirit felt its darkest, deepest woe, would not that voice, "This is my beloved Son," whisper within His soul that all was well? And who shall say that His last words were not the response to such a whisper as this, "FATHER, into Thy hands I commend my spirit"? Who shall ever fathom the depths of this "great mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh"?

And if He, as man, sinless and perfect, needed and experienced that support and consolation which flow from the consciousness of God's unfailing love towards us, from the assurance of His presence and care even unto death, how shall we who are so sinful, and by nature so imperfectly renewed, so ignorant, and so weak, ever be able to dispense with such supports? How shall we be strong enough to resist the temptations, to sustain the trials, and to bear up under the sorrows of life, without such consolations? And when flesh and heart are failing, and the faintness of death is overspreading the soul, what shall be our encouragement and comfort, if we shall then be unable to look to God as our reconciled Father, to Jesus as His beloved Son, in whom He is well pleased; not then to be sought and approached for the first time, but as our God and Saviour in times past, whose pardoning mercy we have tasted, whose transforming power we have felt, whose tender mercies we can remember in seasons of heavenly communion, whose promises we can plead in continuance, on the ground of their fulfilment hitherto? We must unquestionably need all that Jesus needed in His course of obedience and suffering as our Redeemer and Exemplar; let us then notice what was bestowed upon Him, and seek it for ourselves.

Lastly, this incident has been justly regarded as a type and pledge of His resurrection glory.

That we are justified in this view of the transfiguration seems clear from the words which introduce the narrative. In each of the three Gospels we read that, at the close of the conversation between our Lord and His disciples, before referred to, in which He foretold His rejection and violent death, and warned them so solemnly against worldly expectations and the danger of being ashamed of Him, He foretold His second coming in glorious majesty, and added this intimation: "Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power." He was referring them to some manifestation of His final triumph, which should take place before the eyes, not of all, but of *some* then standing before Him; some demonstration of His power and glory which should form a fitting emblem of that grand consummation when "He should come in the glory of the Father and the holy angels." Immediately upon this follows the narrative of the transfiguration; and the incident itself, we are told, occurred only six or eight days later. It may also be remarked that St. Peter, in the Epistle, appears to have the two events so closely identified in his mind, that we can hardly say whether he is referring to the transfiguration or to the final glory, when, introducing the former, he says, "When we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." The inference generally adopted, that the transfiguration was the manifestation intimated, seems unquestionable; and we have only therefore to inquire in what particulars the transfiguration of Christ was a type and pledge of His final glory. Let us ascend the holy mount once more, and with reverence inquire.

What, then, do we behold? Jesus, "in the glory of the Father, His countenance shining as the sun, His raiment white as the light." And can we behold this without remembering the description given in the Apocalypse of His personal appearance when, sitting on the great white throne, He shall come again, "from whose face the heaven and the earth fled away"? (Rev. xx. 11.) Behold, again, at His side, and radian with the heavenly glory, Moses and Elias, fitting representatives of those departed saints who rest with Him till His second coming, and of the holy angels to whom they are equal, and with whom they dwell and worship before the throne of God. (Rev. vii.; 1 Thess. iv. 14.) Look once more. There, upon the solid earth, are three living saints, the fitting representatives of those who "shall be alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord"—the millions of living believers dwelling upon the face of the whole earth, prepared to "be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air." Then

like as Moses and Elias were associated with the living Three in the presence and glory of their common Redeemer, so shall all the generations of the past, raised from the dead, mingle with those still living and awaiting their Lord's return, and all be glorified together with Him. And may we not further suggest, that this inconceivably great and glorious manifestation of the power and majesty of heaven shall be a fitting, a magnificent antitype of that proclamation of the Father to which the apostles listened with holy awe? Will not the assembled worlds, the universe of God's intelligent creatures, recognise, in this demonstration of the Father's glory, the never more to be disputed fact, that this is His beloved Son, in whom He is well pleased? O blissful scene to those who know and love His name! Who that believes it can rest without knowing that this glory shall be his? Who will not labour to say for himself as says the apostle: "When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall we also appear with Him in glory"?

May these meditations serve to impress upon our minds a stronger conviction of the evidence upon which the Gospel of Christ is founded! May they assist in forming clearer perceptions of the person and glory of Christ as the incarnate Son of God; of the blessedness of His saints, whether sleeping in Him, or still living in His service upon earth; and of that final consummation which His kingdom, now progressing, shall attain when He shall come again!

G. P.

ROME AND THE CATACOMBS.

Letters from Rome to Friends in England. By the Rev. John W. Burgon, M.A. London: John Murray. 1862.

Impressions of Rome, Florence, and Turin. By the Author of "Amy Herbert." Longman & Co. 1862.

EACH of these volumes appears to have been written for the gratification of friends, though not without the hope, so dear to authors, of their being read by a much wider circle. We may say of both, that they are easy and natural; that they may be read with pleasure; and that they convey much useful information. Mr. Burgon treats on a variety of matters, some of which have but a remote connexion with a residence at Rome. Of twenty letters, the first contains an account of his journey; two more give an account of the famous Vatican Codex; and the last three, introduced apparently to make out a volume, are addressed "to an unknown correspondent" of the Romanizing party, in defence of the Church of

England. These, however, contain nothing new. Mr. Burgon is a much more exalted churchman than we profess to be; besides that Apostolical descent and Catholic tradition are, to our mind, but a weak foundation on which to rest the claims of the Church of England, whether we combat Romanizers or free-thinkers. In dealing with the church of Rome, we are much less concerned to relieve ourselves from the charge of schism, than to bring home to her the far heavier guilt of idolatry and utter apostacy from the truth of the gospel.

The author of "Amy Herbert" writes, of course; in a clever style, and her reader may, with a little effort of the imagination, almost persuade himself that he has travelled by the same route, sat in the same voiture, and seen the same sights he hears so well described. But it is not with Rome classical, or Rome papal, that we feel concerned at present. Of the former, we have had a surfeit long ago; of the latter, it is uncertain from day to day whether it must be spoken of as still existing, or as a thing of the past. Each of the travellers visited the Catacombs; into the Catacombs we wish to attend them, and it is with this view that we have introduced them to the notice of the reader. They give us the latest gleanings from these rich fields of Christian antiquities. The Catacombs at Rome are destined to shed the same light upon the character and peculiarities of the western church in the third and fourth centuries, which the discoveries at Nineveh shed upon the Old Testament prophets, or Pompeii on the domestic habits of the Romans of the first century.

The origin and history of the Catacombs is a question which, as Mr. Burgon reminds us, has been strangely obscured by the prejudices both of Protestants and Roman Catholics. The truth is, the testimony they give is not quite satisfactory to either party. It is chiefly of a negative character. There is the utter absence of everything which a Roman Catholic would like to see; but there is, at the same time, a scarcely less marked absence of many things which a Protestant is anxious to discover. The disappointment of the latter is removed, to a great extent, when the history of the Catacombs is understood; but to the Romanist it only increases the perplexity. The Catacombs, then, tell us nothing of the state of Roman Christianity during the apostolic age, or of that which immediately succeeded it. The earliest inscriptions are those of Christians of the third or fourth generation; and this is enough to explain the absence of that information as to the character of the primitive Christians, properly so designated, which a Protestant anxiously looks for. While to the Roman Catholic the fact that, even at this comparatively recent date (two hundred and fifty to four hundred years after Christ), one and all of the peculiar doctrines of the church of Rome were utterly unknown, must be even more vexatious

than if the inscriptions had all been of an earlier period. He might then have argued (on Romish principles) that Christianity was not fully developed; as it is, no such plea avails him.

Some of the Catacombs of Rome were probably, in the first instance, huge subterranean quarries, from whence sand-stone was obtained for architectural and other purposes. Others seem to have been hewn out for sepulchres, whether Pagan or Christian does not appear. They were probably used for the purposes of sepulture by the pagan Romans in common with the Christians. We know that they buried their dead in costly sepulchres, many of which, indeed, exist to this day; for the practice of burning the dead, and preserving their ashes only, was not introduced till a late period of the Roman empire. Mr. Burgon argues that the custom of burying in a catacomb was, in the first instance, neither heathen nor Christian, but Jewish. From the days of Abraham this had been their custom. A grave hewn in the rock, and covered with a stone, was still their method of interment at Jerusalem at the Christian era. The first converts to the faith of Christ were Jews. A great number of their race dwelt at Rome when it was visited by St. Paul; and amongst the first converts many of them would no doubt be found. And thus their customs would naturally be adopted by the Gentile Christians. It is an interesting fact, that within the last ten years several Jewish catacombs have been discovered in various parts of Italy. Murray's Handbook mentions one discovered at Venosa in 1853, and another at Oria in 1854. Like the Christian tombs, they are cells or niches, covered with slabs or large tiles well cemented. Many of them have Hebrew inscriptions, which generally consist of a prayer, or perhaps the expression of a devout hope for the repose of the deceased. On many of them the holy candlestick, with its seven branches, is rudely carved; and Mr. Burgon gives us a sketch of several of these, exactly resembling that which may still be traced on the arch of Titus. One small catacomb at first sufficed for the Jewish settlers at Rome; it is now closed, and almost forgotten. It was situated somewhere near the Porta Portese. The Catacombs which Mr. Burgon visited are, for the most part, a few miles distant from the city. They are of vast extent, and, generally speaking, so much alike, that the description of one will serve for all. The most celebrated, and the largest of them, is the catacomb of Callistus, the entrance into which was recently discovered by Cav. De Rossi. Passing from the Via Appia into a mean vineyard by an obscure gateway, you perceive a small opening in the sand-rock; by this you enter, and descend a long flight of steps. You now find yourself at the mouth of a dark subterranean passage or gallery, seven or eight feet in height, and broad enough to allow a person to walk freely with extended arms. These passages, in the Roman Catacombs, are for the

most part circuitous, and somewhat irregular in their construction; transverse passages, cutting these main subterranean streets at right angles, constantly recur, greatly to the hazard of the careless straggler who does not keep close to the guide and his party, each of whom carries a lighted torch. Here and there, there are steps or stairs leading to a lower gallery. For, in fact, these cities of the dead are constructed one above another. On each side, the *tufa*, a sandstone of volcanic formation, is cut away, so as to form thousands of graves, each large enough to admit a human body. These cells are excavated in tiers, one above another; and the appearance reminded Mr. Burgon more of five or six berths in a cabin, than of anything which is witnessed in an English vault. In this way, about five or six bodies were buried, one above the other; and this is the arrangement on each side of the passage. In the space of a foot or so, a fresh series begins, extending once more from the ground to the surface. There is, of course, no attention paid to the bodies lying east and west, according to a much later practice; nor, we may here step out of our way to observe, is there in the ancient Roman basilicas, or churches, the slightest regard paid to that orientation of which our Tractarian church-builders make so much.

The graves are of all sizes, because their occupants were of all ages. Hundreds of them—thousands rather—were evidently for very little children; many for mere babes:—

"Originally, every such 'loculus,' or recess in the wall, was securely sealed. A long heavy tile, or a slighter slab of marble (according to the rank of the occupant), fitted closely over the front of every grave, being secured in its place by cement. Still oftener, I think, in the case of full-grown persons, there were three or more tiles, or as many slabs of marble, disposed along the front of the loculus. One of these slabs bore the inscription—a feature of prime interest in connexion with the history of the Catacombs, concerning which more shall be said hereafter. If the grave was covered by a tile, the name of the occupant was rudely scratched or traced upon it with some pigment; but an immense number of slabs and tiles are uninscribed. Whether of tile or of marble, however, these coverings of the graves (as they may be called) have been invariably removed from their places. The exceptions are so exceedingly few (one, perhaps, in five or ten thousand), that they are not worth mentioning. It is an accurate description of a catacomb to say that every loculus has been despoiled of the sepulchral slab which once covered it, and that the bones of the dead have been disturbed.... Such, then, is the strange and mournful spectacle which he who lingers behind his party sees everywhere around him. He perceives he is treading a labyrinth of ransacked sepulchres. He thrusts his taper this way, and that way,—above, below, round the corner,—but it is still the same sad sight which meets him everywhere; rifled graves whithersoever he turns his eye! The exception is, to observe a few of the bones remaining, or rather

the heap of pale damp dust which was once a human being. A profane hand has generally disturbed the deposit, which lies together in a confused heap, not stretched out at length. If you sorrowfully lift from its place a tibia, it yields to the pressure of your finger and thumb, and falls into white flakes to the ground. Only here and there does one see a solid bone, or part of a skull." (*Burgon*, p. 122.)

The earliest notice which has reached us of the existence of the Catacombs, is about the middle of the fourth century. Jerome mentions them in his Commentary on Ezekiel, A.D. 380: "When I was a boy receiving my education at Rome, I and my school-fellows used on Sundays to make the circuit of the sepulchres of the Apostles and Martyrs. Many a time, too, did we go down into the Catacombs. These are excavated deep in the earth, and contain, on either hand as you enter, the bodies of the dead, buried in the wall." They ceased to be used as places of Christian sepulture in the fifth century, when Rome began to rise from her ashes, after the Gothic invasion and the days of Alaric and Attila. The darkest night of superstition now set in; the Catacombs became the resort of devotees from every part of Christendom, and the bishops of Rome began to despoil them for the sake of their relics. Tombs were rifled without shame or decency, and the bodies of real or supposed martyrs were distributed, or perhaps sold, wherever the influence of Rome extended. The demand continued for ages, and the work of spoliation seems to have gone forward on the most gigantic scale, till at length, robbed of their treasures, the Catacombs ceased to interest; they were seldom visited, and at length forgotten. Our accomplished countryman, John Evelyn, paid them a visit in 1645, and describes them just as they are to be seen at present, only that "many of the bodies, or rather bones—for there appeared nothing else—lay as entire as if placed by the art of the chirurgeon, being only touched, fell all to dust. We wandered two or three miles in this subterranean meander [the Catacomb of Callistus, no doubt], and were glad to return, almost blind, and choked with the smoke of the torches. It was reported that a French bishop and his retinue, once adventuring too far in these dens, their lights going out, were never heard of more." Bishop Burnet visited them in 1685, and the names scratched here and there upon the walls show that the great Necropolis was visited to so recent a date as 1730. From that time the Catacombs were all of them deserted, and at last their existence dropped out of memory.

Mr. Burgon was fortunate in being accompanied in one of his descents by the celebrated De Rossi, who is at the head of a commission for the preservation of monuments of Christian art. He induced the present Pope to purchase the vineyard

in which he himself afterwards discovered the long-lost entrance into the Catacomb of Callistus, and his researches have invested the Catacombs with fresh interest. A new day appears to be dawning on these extraordinary monuments of antiquity; and it is to be attributed to the learning and enterprise of the Cav. de Rossi, under the patronage of the Pope.

So far we have taken Mr. Burgon as our guide. The author of "Amy Herbert," with fewer details and less learning, gives a similar account of her own visit to the most important of these cities of the dead—the Catacombs of Callistus and St. Agnese. But now for the moral which they teach. The ancient classic authors make, we believe, no reference to them. The first interments, so far as we can gather with any certainty, were not earlier than about the middle of the third century. There is an inscription to Anteros, bishop of Rome, A.D. 235; another to Fabian, who succeeded him, bishop and martyr, in 236; these are the earliest; and the inscriptions contain nothing more than the names of the deceased in Greek letters, and their titles, *bishop* in the one case, *bishop and martyr* in the other. But Mr. Burgon does not believe that either these, or three others, in memory of Lucius, Eutychianus, and Cornelius (the correspondent of Cyprian), all bishops of Rome in the third century, and the last a martyr, are really the original epitaphs. His reasons appear to us conclusive; and they bear out his theory, namely, that some later Roman bishop set up the inscriptions when the age of persecution had gone by, and it was thought a pious work to honour the men who slept in unknown or dishonoured graves, or probably in *none*. The names of four, it is to be noted, are expressed in Greek letters, which were all apparently incised at the same time. It seems incredible that four original inscriptions would all have been worded so exactly alike, or that on the graves of eminent men inscriptions so curt and unceremonious would have been set up by their contemporaries. In the case of Cornelius, the name is written in Roman characters, and is evidently of a much later date. Photographic copies of the five are given, and the reader may judge for himself. These, however, are the earliest inscriptions. They were discovered in 1854.

Thus, then, we have no information from the Catacombs on those deeply-interesting questions,—What was the character of the Christian church in its private life and every-day pursuits in that primitive age in which apostles taught and workers of miracles abounded? Above all, what hold had the Christians of those days, or their children, upon Christian doctrine? And how was the church at Rome influenced by that most wonderful of all his writings, St. Paul's own Epistle to the Romans? The Catacombs are silent here. Their dull echo returns only

the indistinct voices of a much later age,—an age of feeble and degenerate Christianity. We make allowance for the difference of time and nation. It would be preposterous to set up an English churchyard, with its texts and pious hymns, as a standard for other churches. Still we cannot but feel surprised, and, were we disposed to bow down before the shrine of antiquity, we should feel disappointed, too, at the meagreness and vagueness of Catacomb theology. It leads to the conclusion that, in the third and fourth centuries at least, the light had grown dim. The tree was beginning to decay, though the fungus had not yet grown upon the trunk, nor the worm eaten its way underneath the bark.

Mr. Burgon has made a large collection of inscriptions. Some of these he places before us in photograph, so that the reader may judge of the probable correctness of his interpretations, for they abound in contractions; the spelling would often satisfy the most ardent disciple of the phonetic school, and the rules of syntax are set at naught with an audacity which might infuse courage into the dullest boy on the lowest form at Eton. We have no texts of Scripture, which, indeed, never occur in the epitaphs of the early Christians. Mr. Burgon asks, "When did the usage first come in?" We think not before the Reformation. But neither have we, however expressed, any testimony very clearly conveyed as to the nature of their faith, or the ground of their hope of salvation. The usual formula is: Such an one "sleeps in peace," or simply, "in peace." Once, we observe, a brother "departed in faith" (recessit in fidem). The sister is interred beneath or beside him, and of both it is added, "they departed in peace." The monogram of Christ frequently occurs, as well as the Greek letters Alpha and Omega, showing without a doubt in whom they believed; but beyond this we have little to guide us. The dove frequently appears; in general it carries the olive branch; if this be the emblem of the Holy Spirit, it shows the purity of their creed on the great question of the Trinity: but it may refer to the story of the Deluge. Mr. Burgon's remark is equally just and painful:—

"The record 'in pace,' has quite gone out with us. On the other hand, allusions to the hope of the resurrection abound on English grave-stones, *which seldom or never appear on those of ancient Christendom. Peace*, in short, is the predominating idea in their epitaphs, *Hope* in ours. *They retain the legal image*, we have adopted the evangelical. The *present* is their subject of contemplation, ours is the *future*."

We can hardly believe that the word of God dwelt in the Roman Christians of those days in all wisdom, or that Paul's epistles were much read, or, if read, were generally under-

stood. And when, at length, we gain from these inscriptions some little insight into the character of the Christianity then prevalent at Rome, we find its piety to be nothing more than the piety of a well-trained infant school. We meet with nothing unscriptural; but it is all conversant with the simplest elements. The decorations on the walls—for there are traces of many such—are precisely those which adorn the walls of an infant school. Jesus, the Good Shepherd, occurs, with a crook in His hand, and a lamb upon His shoulders. Noah's ark is there, with the dove and olive branch; but with a frequent addition of a fish or fishes swimming in the water. This emblem was peculiar to the early church; and we must explain, for the benefit of those who are not versed in ecclesiastical antiquities, that it was what the cross or crucifix became in after times, before superstition had defiled it,—the emblem of allegiance to Christ. It was formed out of the initial letters of the following words: Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour—which form in Greek the word ἰχθύς, a fish. We may also add, that the cross, or crucifix, never once appears in the Catacombs, though Evelyn says he saw it there. Mr. Burgon says expressly, "I saw no crosses;" and he explains the mistake of our accomplished countryman: "What he saw was evidently the monogram ☧, or *Christ*. However, it is delightful to learn that, if the Christianity of Rome in the fourth century was feeble, it was not impure. "If," says Miss Sewell, "the Catacombs prove anything of the religious system of primitive Christianity, they prove that we are able to identify ourselves with it without any straining or effort. The frescoes and inscriptions might belong to an English church; and in no place could the words of mingled sorrow and hope of the English burial service fall more fitly or soothingly on the ear than in these early Christian resting-places."

It is by their silence the Catacombs speak emphatically on the Romish controversy. The contrast between Rome under ground and Rome above ground is complete. There is not a dogma of modern Rome which is not contradicted by the silence of her own Catacombs; and here silence is conclusive. It proves that the doctrines which claim the authority of a primitive antiquity were unknown even to the church of the third century; there is not one of those doctrines which Rome lays claim to in proof of her exclusive apostolicity, which receives the slightest countenance from the Catacombs. Her bishops, down to the fourth century, are simply bishops, and not popes. There are no traces of prayers for the dead; no worship of the blessed Virgin; no allusions to purgatory; no notice whatever of St. Peter, and therefore no reference to his exclusive possession of the keys. Allusions are found to the

two sacraments, and to two only; but there are hints that the cup was received by the laity, and abundant evidence that the clergy were married men, and that their wives were had in estimation in the church. In short, to quote from Mr. Burgon:—

"The remains of early Christian art, like the most venerable of the patristic writings, are one loud protest against the corruptions of modern Romanism. The favourite appeal to the Christians of the Catacombs is absolutely fatal. If those primitive believers could revisit the earth, they would walk away with horror from the column of the Piazza di Spagna, which commemorates 'the new dogma.' How shocked would they be to find the Blessed Virgin everywhere, and her adorable SON scarcely anywhere at all! They would be impatient of the many human objects of worship which keep HIM so nearly out of sight. Those huge statues under the dome of St. Peter's, of Veronica, Helena, and Longinus, would confound them. The bronze figure of the Saint (especially if he had his smart robes on) would fill them with consternation. What would they say, when they saw his foot well-nigh kissed away by his many devotees,—the Bishop of Rome himself setting the example? . . . They would inquire what the inscription over every church door ('Indulgentia plenaria pro vivis et mortuis') meant; and when they were told, they would reject the evidence of their senses. How would they testify their indignation at the promise of deliverance to any believer's soul out of purgatorial pain, for whom mass should be celebrated at one particular altar!" (p. 257.)

The Catacombs afford another lesson. They show us by what steps corruption steals into the church of Christ. The first symptom, no doubt, is the want of love, but this is to be traced in private life rather than in public monuments. Then follows the neglect of Scripture, and soon afterwards we trace the absence of a sound and vigorous theology. Doctrines even the most important are dropped out of sight; dogmatic teaching falls into disfavour, it is accounted harsh and dry; and while the conduct is correct, the creed is held to be of slight importance. A church thus weak and languishing invites the enemy. He comes in "like a flood," and bears down all before him. The Christians of the Catacombs were evidently not the men to cope with the giant corruptions which were soon to gather upon the church of Rome. They were men of sincere but feeble piety. Thus, after all, the greatest lesson which these venerable monuments teach seems to be addressed, in our own day, to those evangelical Christians who are in danger of being misled by the fashionable indifference to evangelical doctrines. The voice echoes from the Catacombs, "Hold fast that thou hast, that no man take thy crown:" "Keep the commandment without spot unrebukable, until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ."

ALFORD ON THE REVELATION.

The Greek Testament, with a Critically Revised Text, &c. By Henry Alford, D.D. Vol. IV. Part 2. THE REVELATION. *Rivingtons.* 1861.

LITTLE attraction as expositions of the Apocalypse have for the generality of readers, it may reasonably be expected that there are few who will be indisposed to make themselves acquainted with the views adopted by so distinguished a writer and scholar as Dr. Alford. And therefore, without thinking it necessary to offer any apology or justification for so doing, we will proceed to lay before our readers the main features of his exposition.

The general impression that we have received from an attentive perusal of this portion of Dr. Alford's great work is, that it is just such a production as might be expected from the pen of an able divine who, with little previous acquaintance with the Revelation, and little time to digest and mature his views, has found it necessary, in order to complete a work which he had taken in hand, to apply himself to a task by no means congenial to his taste, and one which he would never voluntarily have undertaken. Dr. Alford appears to have "crammed" up or consulted, as he proceeded, a great number of works (chiefly German); and he has summarised the various views in his usual clear and concise way. But, if our impression be well founded, it is scarcely to be expected that he should, in the course of perhaps not more than a few months, have unveiled a mystery which many men as able as himself have failed to penetrate in ten or twenty years, nay, in life-long labours. Indeed, it will not be at all surprising if his views should prove to be extremely crude and palpably erroneous.

But, without dwelling on this *à priori* presumption, we will proceed to examine some of the details in the order in which they occur.

1. Dr. Alford asserts that the angel by whom it is declared, in chap. i. 1, that the revelation was communicated, "first appears in chap. xvii.;" and that the voice which John heard behind him (i. 10) did not proceed from the High Priest. These assertions have an important bearing on the scheme of interpretation, and hence it will be worth while to examine them; and they are so intimately connected with one another, that they will most conveniently be taken together. Now, the introductory title or description of the book sets forth that the work contains "a revelation of Jesus which God gave to Him; and that He, sending by His angel, communicated by symbols to John whatsoever He saw." "Whatsoever He saw," must manifestly comprehend the whole; and is clearly inconsistent with

the revealing angel's making his first appearance when two-thirds of the symbolizations have been described. The statement requires that we should find in the book some angelic being, who is a symbol or representative of Jesus, and who holds a permanent position as the symbolical agent in the whole revelation. And this requirement will be satisfied, if we make good our refutation of Dr. Alford's second assertion above quoted, but not otherwise. To it, then, we proceed.

John says, in chap. i. 10, "I heard behind me a great voice as of a trumpet." And, on turning round, he sees a person whom he proceeds to describe. Now it seems so evident that the voice must have proceeded from this person, that we should not have thought it possible that two opinions could have been held on the point. Yet Dr. Alford denies that the voice proceeded from this personage; though it does not appear that he has anything to allege in support of his opinion that amounts to more than this, namely, that it *may* not have done so, because there are other instances of voices being introduced without any mention being made of the parties from whom they proceeded. But there is no instance in which *a voice* is introduced without some descriptive addition serving to identify it; and that is the case here. The voice proceeded from some one who was "behind" John. And, on the other hand, the action of the seer, the words which the voice spake, their connexion with the words subsequently uttered by the High Priest,—all go to show that the voice proceeded from that glorious personage. Does not the action of the seer, in turning round to see from whom came a voice which he heard behind him, necessarily imply that the person whom he thereupon saw, being the only other person present, must have been the speaker? From whom could the words which the voice spoke, "I am the Alpha and the Omega," &c., have proceeded, or who could have given a commission to write to the churches, but the Lord Jesus, of whom the personage subsequently described is undeniably a symbol? Or, if we connect the words subsequently spoken by the High Priest with those uttered by the voice, leaving out the intermediate episodical portion—so as to read, "What thou seest write in a book, and send, &c.—write, then, respecting the things that thou hast seen, and the things that are, and the things that are about to happen after these"—is it possible to doubt that the two proceeded from the same speaker? We are able, moreover, to adduce a confirmation of our view which will, we think, be deemed to be conclusive. The Revelation is divided into two parts, which may be designated respectively as "the mystery of the seven churches," and "the mystery of the seven-sealed book;" and these parts are connected together by the circumstance of their being exhibited by the same hierophant. We make this state-

ment on the ground of chap. iv. 1, where the seer says:—"The first (or the former) voice, which I heard as of a trumpet speaking with me, said, Come up hither, and I will show thee things which must happen after these." The description of this voice (as well as the circumstance that no other voice had been mentioned) identifies this with the voice of chap. i. 10. And hence it is evident that the two mysteries have one and the same revealing angel or messenger. And such being the case, when the question is, whether that messenger is a nameless hierophant, or the Lord Jesus, the Mediator and Head of the Churches, can any doubt be felt as to which is the true view, more especially if it be considered that the adoption of the latter alternative is required to make the revelation answer to the description given of it in its title?

2. A verse, which we have had occasion to quote above, is interpreted by Dr. Alford thus:—"Write the things which thou sawest (just now, verses 12—16), and what things they signify, and those about to happen after these." The question touching the right construction of this verse is a most important one; for the entire sentence may be regarded as furnishing a key to the interpretation of the whole book. But it is a question which does not admit of being satisfactorily considered within the space which we can devote to it. We can do no more than offer a few brief remarks, which may suffice, however, for the refutation of Dr. Alford's view. (i.) On his interpretation, this instruction to write would naturally have come in before verses 12—16. (2.) The significations of the things in verses 12—16 are *not* given, that of the principal figure not at all, and those of the stars and candlesticks not in literal terms, nor adequately. (3.) Chapters ii.—v. find no place in the instruction on this view of it. (4.) Both the first mystery (ii., iii.) and the second (iv.—xx.) contain "things which have been, and which are, and which shall be." Consequently, to be adapted to them, the instruction ought to be read in this threefold form. (5.) It may be asked, Why should the seer be instructed to state the significations of the few and obvious things which he had already seen, but not those of the far more numerous and obscure things which he was about to see?

3. In reference to the opening of the book with seven seals, Dr. Alford makes an assertion which is no less paradoxical and palpably erroneous than his view in respect to the hierophantic voice. He says: "The roll was not unfolded; nor are the separate visions identical with separate portions of the roll. The visions are merely symbolical representations of the progress of God's manifestation of the purpose of His will. What is *in* the book shall not be known but (Eph. iii. 10) by the glorified spirits hereafter. The *opening* of the seals is entirely distinct from the *reading* of the book." Now, this is a point,

like those above noticed, which is of fundamental importance in the interpretation of the book; for if the several scenes be separated from the symbol, the very object in the introduction of which was to give them coherence, and to mark out the chronological connexion and relation of each one with the rest, the whole is made to float in utter uncertainty, and the expositor is left at liberty to break up the revelation into as many portions as may suit his preconceived opinions, and to interpret it according to the dictates of his own unbridled fancy. And hence, in point of fact, it has happened that so many widely-diverging schemes have been possible. On account, then, of the importance of the point, we will state our reasons for dissenting from Dr. Alford's view. (1.) We cannot see that Dr. Alford has any ground for the assertion he makes; Eph. iii. 10 is clearly irrelevant; in truth, the view is so little in accordance with the obvious meaning of the text, that we cannot doubt its being a reflection from the particular scheme of interpretation which Dr. Alford has adopted. To this it is almost indispensably necessary, as will appear presently; and, consequently, the refutation of it will go far towards the subversion of his scheme. (2.) In chap. v. 3, 4, it is stated that "no one was found worthy to open nor *to read* the book;" verses 5, 9, in which it is said that "the Lamb was found worthy to take and to open the book, and to loose its seals," are plainly intended to be co-extensive, on the affirmative side, with verse 4 on the negative—the omission of the phrase, *to read*, arising merely from variety of expression. Indeed, *to open* implies *to read;* for what object or use is there in opening a book but to read it? It appears, then, to us to be clearly implied that the Lamb, in opening the seals, made known also the contents of the book. (3.) What can the procession of symbolic *tableaux* from each seal on its opening be but the reading in a symbolic way of each leaf of the book as it is opened? Or how can the various scenes of each seal be appropriately connected with, or follow from, the mere breaking of a seal, without the opening of any part of the book? (4.) If the book was not opened and read, it would seem to remain, for every practical purpose, as much a sealed book after every seal was opened as before one was, and that which is the symbol of the revelation will turn out to be the only thing which makes no revelation! (5.) "The Lamb conquered to open the book and its seven seals; because he was slain, and redeemed us to God by his blood out of every nation." And this book occupies the greater part of a professed revelation of Jesus Christ (i. 1) to his redeemed on earth. Yet, on Dr. Alford's view, the Lamb does not open it until man has ceased to need the knowledge of it on earth. (6.) The sealed book is still made, on his view, to serve every purpose in

respect of symbolization, that it does on the received view. The only difference is, that after the seals are opened, the book is said to be still unopened, and to be reserved—for what purpose? To be put, as it were, on the shelf until after the consummation of all things. The seven-seal book would seem, then, to have itself, properly speaking, no place in the Apocalypse. And yet Dr. Alford does make out a partial and primary opening (see Introd. to chap. vi. and p. 611), reserving the full opening for the state of glory. This second opening or reading is, however, a pure invention of his own, which does not receive an iota of countenance from the Apocalypse.

7. Hitherto we have argued on the hypothesis of those who think that the book is intended to be regarded as being read in a proper sense; but we at the least doubt whether this is the case. We are rather inclined to think that the sole object in the introduction of the book was to mark out the portion of the Apocalypse which is devoted to the second mystery,—to make this, as it were, a chapter by itself,—and to distinguish between its chronological divisions and subdivisions by means of the seals and trumpets, and this in strictly consecutive order. If this view be correct, Dr. Alford's must be erroneous from beginning to end.

4. We come next to Dr. Alford's scheme of interpretation of the book with seven seals. It is just such an one as might be expected from an expositor who, without any patient investigation of the structure of the book, or careful consideration of its contents from different points of view, had seized upon the points which struck him at first sight, and, without due examination of their relative bearings, had set them up as landmarks to guide him in mapping out the whole. By no work in existence, perhaps, will the superficial investigator be more likely to be misled by *primâ facie* appearances than by the Apocalypse. For at certain places, to wit, at the end of chap. vi. or of vii., of chap. xi., of chap. xiv., of chap. xvi., of chap. xx., the symbolizations appear so strongly to indicate that an end has been reached, that any one who does not carefully analyse the structure will be very likely to be led astray. This has been the case with Dr. Alford. Following the example of many others, he has broken the book up into portions more or less chronologically parallel, and, as a matter of course, he has wholly missed the true interpretation, and has added another to the many expositions which are utterly worthless as helps to a knowledge of the true meaning of the Apocalypse. For, without going into any details of exposition, and without assuming the truth of any scheme of interpretation, præterist, præsentist, or futurist, we do not hesitate to say that it has been clearly demonstrated that the seventh seal includes the seven trumpets and the seventh trumpet (chaps.

xii.—xx. 10); and consequently that the book with seven seals extends to the judgment of the white throne. And this view of the book involves the substantial chronological consecutiveness of its several portions; for the particular symbolical distribution and arrangement of these, some within and measuring others, and the emphatically marked successiveness of the seals and trumpets respectively, can have had no other object than to indicate the orderly succession of the larger portions *inter se*, and the similar orderly succession of the smaller included within one of the larger. And any theory of interpretation which does not recognize this synthetical construction of the book, and adopt it as the basis of exposition, must needs wander wide of the mark. To exhibit the proof of this within our limits, is obviously impracticable; nor is it necessary that we should do so, for it has been done in many works, though in none (as far as we are aware) so fully and with so strict an adherence to Mede's principle of "without supposal of any particular scheme of interpretation," as in "A Guide to the Apocalypse." (Rivingtons.)

Dr. Alford's adoption of an erroneous basis of exposition has necessarily been fruitful in ill results. His interpretation of many parts is so loose as to admit of application to any period. For example: in his exposition of the seals, there is nothing that can be deemed distinctive in or characteristic of a period; for the same state of things which he describes has always existed, and is likely always to exist. "All *limitations* as to time or events," he says, "are wrong." Now such a principle is alone sufficient to set the whole floating in a sea of uncertainty. Then the whole book is interpreted from the expositor's standing point, instead of from that of the author and his contemporaries; and this, again, is sufficient to throw everything wrong. Moreover, there is an utterly incongruous admixture of the symbolical and the literal throughout the exposition.* This, indeed, was inevitable; for when an expositor has taken up a wrong fundamental position, he will be sure to find it impracticable to adhere to any consistent principle of interpretation. An exposition will become possible to him only by assuming a licence to attribute to each phrase or passage as much or as little of a figurative character as he may find convenient. Hence all is done at haphazard, and is

* To give a few examples as specimens. The angels are in some places said to be symbolical; in others, literal angels. Speaking of the rider on the white horse, Dr. Alford says: "In chap. xix. 11, Jesus is *present*, but here (vi. 2) the rider is not Himself, but only a symbol of His victorious power." And so in chap. xiv. 14, "The son of man" is said to be Christ *in propriâ personâ*, though He is addressed by a symbolic angel, and is seen in an ecstatic vision, which purports (i. 1) to represent everything that the seer beholds by symbols. "The earth" and "the sea" are interpreted literally, but the heavenly bodies symbolically.

perfectly arbitrary. And of results so obtained, we cannot deem it to be worth while to bring before our readers more than a few as examples.

5. In his exposition of the first six seals, Dr. Alford takes our Lord's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem as a parallel passage. Now we hold that there is not a single reference in the two passages to the same event, nor any parallelism whatever between them but what is purely external and accidental, arising from similar catastrophes being had in view in both, and depicted by means of symbols drawn from the same source, namely, from the Old Testament.

6. Dr. Alford asserts that "the four horses and riders (vi. 1—8) are the aspects of the divine dispensations which should come upon the earth preparatory to the Lord's coming." Thus he makes the sealed book to begin near the end of time; yet he is far from being a consistent futurist. In the very middle of the book he makes the symbolizations regress to the Christian era.

7. "The trumpets," he says, "take up the world-wide vision of the seals at the point where it was said, in chap. vi. 11, that the souls should rest, and the judgments of the trumpets occur during the time of waiting." So that he makes all the trumpets to be chronologically parallel with, *i.e.* to be virtually included in, the fifth seal; whereas the author has placed them under the seventh, as even Dr. Alford has been led incidentally to admit, when he says, "The preparation of the seven angels to sound is evolved out of the seventh seal." Again, "in the trumpets," he says, "no especial people is designated as the subject: all is general." Yet by almost universal consent it is allowed that the trumpets are more or less specific, and designed to apply to a particular people or peoples; and there are details in them which are as plainly personal as it is possible for symbolizations to be. See, *e.g.*, viii. 11; ix. 1, 11, 14; xii. 5; xiii. 5; xvii. 12. On account alone of this erroneous view, we are not surprised to meet with the admission,—"in the details there are many particulars which I cannot interpret." "The evolution of the courses of visions out of one another," says Dr. Alford, "does not legitimately lead to the conclusion that *the events represented by them* are consecutive in order of *time*." Will he, then, show what else can be the object of such an evolution; and how chronological consecutiveness of portions of time, to be at the same time marked out as distinct periods, or as relating to different series of events, could be symbolically indicated in any other way? The marks of correspondence between the seals, trumpets, and vials, from which he infers (p. 662) that the three series are resumptive, not continuous, are best accounted for by the circumstance, that the seventh

trumpet includes the vials, and the seventh seal the trumpets, viii. 1—5 being a syllabus of the seventh seal, and xi. 15—19 of the seventh trumpet. "It is essential," Dr. Alford says, "to a right interpretation, that it take into account the difference between the first four and the last three trumpets." He then proceeds to make the difference consist in the three having "separate and independent details," but the four being "connected and interdependent, their common feature being destruction and corruption." Now, chap. viii. 13 shows that the design of the author was to make the last three trumpets homogeneous; and this has been so universally recognised, that they are commonly designated "the woe trumpets." And in accordance with that design, we find that while the symbolical objects of the plagues of the first four trumpets are diverse,—the earth, the sea, the rivers and fountains, the heavenly bodies,—those of the last three are the same, *viz.*, men. The first four, then, are heterogeneous, and the last three homogeneous. And hence Dr. Alford's interpretation cannot, on his own showing, be right; for he has interpreted on an inverted view of the author's plan.

8. In chap. xii. 5, "the words leave no possibility of doubt who is here intended. The man-child is Jesus Christ, *and none other.*" Granting that the woman and her child are symbols of Mary and Jesus, still as the symbolic details require (as is generally, and even by Dr. Alford, allowed) that the woman have also a corporate signification, so in congruity must the child. The view, that the woman's two flights represent one event, arises purely from the inability of the expositor to give an account of two. The different circumstances indicate different flights. "Michael is not to be identified with Christ any more than any other of the great angels in this book." Surely the circumstance that Michael has *his* angels, is a sufficient indication that he is a symbol of Christ.

9. Speaking of the beast's names of blasphemy (chaps. xiii. and xvii.) Dr. Alford says: "The heathen world had but its Divi in the Cæsars, but Christendom has . . . . . its 'defenders of the faith,' such as Charles II. and James II. . . . . new names of blasphemy, with which the woman (the Church) has invested the beast." We wonder that he did not mention as one of these names, "most religious . . . . Queen"! He has another passage, too, which surprises no less than the foregoing. "It is universally acknowledged that our prophecy is a taking up and continuation of that of Daniel." Dr. Alford could not but know that this is *not* "universally acknowledged;" very far from it.

10. Chap. xvii. 10, "The seven heads have a reference to the woman who sits upon the beasts to whom they belong; and, as far as *this reference* is concerned, they are *hills on which*

she sits. But they have also another reference,—to the beast of which they are the heads; and as far as this other reference is concerned, they are *kings*. Not, be it noticed, kings over the woman, nor kings of the city symbolized by her; but kings in a totally different relation, *viz.*, that to the beast of which they are heads. So that, to interpret these things as *emperors of Rome*, or as *successive forms of government over Rome*, is to miss the propriety of the symbolization, and to introduce utter confusion. They belong to the beast, which is not Rome, nor the Roman empire, but a general symbol of secular anti-Christian power." Perhaps there is not a more interesting or important point in Apocalyptic interpretation than that which is here raised; and we will, therefore, in this instance, state our reasons for differing from Dr. Alford more fully than we have done in others. Admitting the validity of his premises as to the relation of the heads to the woman and the beast respectively, we consider that he fails to make good his argument in three respects. 1st, It does not follow, because the relation of the heads, as denoting kings, is to the beast and not to the woman, that those kings are not kings of the city symbolized by her. It may be, and we hold that it is the case, that the woman and the beast symbolize for substance the same power. And if so, the kings symbolized by the beast's heads will be the "kings of the city symbolized by the woman." 2nd, It may be, and ver. 10 (we think) shows—and Dr. Alford's interpretation of the heads implies that it is the fact—that the object of the prominence given to the heads is not to exhibit their relation to the beast as kings over the power symbolized by him, but to mark out that power by indicating its duration. Even if the relation of the heads to the beast as denoting kings were the salient point, it would be no reason (as Dr. Alford implies that it is) for not interpreting "these kings as emperors of Rome, &c." How much less, when the point is only a secondary and incidental one! 3rdly, The whole argument, however, turns on the question, What does the beast symbolize? On the negative side, Dr. Alford says, "Not Rome." But he gives us nothing more than his word for it, and that does not suffice to convince us. And even he must admit, that, if our view be correct, it is not his opponents, but himself, that "misses the propriety of the symbolization and introduces utter confusion," when he interprets the heads as meaning seven successive kingdoms from Egypt to Christian Rome, only two of which had any connexion with Rome. With regard to the affirmative side of his statement, his case is even worse; for he refutes himself. How can the beast be "a general symbol of anti-Christian power," when five out of the seven kingdoms which constitute the beast were ante-Christian according to his showing?

11. Chap. xvii. 11. "The eighth is not represented as any one of the beast's heads, but as being *the beast himself* in actual embodiment. He is ἐκ των ἑπτα,—not 'one of the seven,' but the successor and result of the seven, following and springing out of them . . . . . the ultimate anti-Christian power prefigured by the little horn in Daniel, and announced in 2 Thess. ii. 3." We hold that the following will be found to be the true version of the above statement: "The eighth is not represented as one of the beast's heads, nor as being the beast himself in any other sense than as each reigning head in succession becomes the beast *pro tem.* Αὐτὸς ὄγδοός ἐστι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά ἐστι. 'He is an eighth *king*, and is one out of the number of the seven kings.' (cf. Gk. of xiii. 3; ii. 7, 10; iii. 9; v. 5; vi. 1; xvii. 1, *et al.*) Consequently he is the successor, though not the result of the seven; 'a resuscitated or restored king.' As to his being "the ultimate anti-Christian power, &c.," this is purely a matter of private interpretation, dependent on the expositor's own scheme, and having nothing in the text to support it.

The following are a few specimens of the many positive assertions which are made without proof, and are incapable of being proved, and the truth of which we unhesitatingly deny. (Our selection is made chiefly with a view to show what are Dr. Alford's opinions on the points of chief interest and importance.) "The roll of chap. v. 1 was the great roll of God's purposes. The little roll of chap. x. 2 represents the mystery of God,—the subject of the remainder of the Apocalyptic prophecies." "The city of chap. xi. 2 cannot be the same as the city of xi. 8." "The prophecy of chap. xi. 1—13 is a summary of the larger one which follows." "The altar of chap. xi. 1 is the altar of incense." "The temple can bear only one meaning, viz., that of the church of the elect saints of God." "The Gentiles are those over whom the millennial reign will be exercised." "Of all prophecies the present is the one which least satisfactorily admits of a literal interpretation of the half-week periods and its consequences." "No solution at all approaching to a satisfactory one has ever yet been given of any one of these periods." The beast of chap. xiii. represents, "not the Roman empire merely, but the aggregate of the empires of the world as opposed to Christ and his kingdom." "Chap. xiii. 4, 'who is like to the beast,' &c. These words represent to us the relapse into all the substantial blasphemies of paganism under the resuscitated (Christian) empire of Rome, and the retention of pagan titles and forms. Nothing in these words finds any representative in the history of the times of the pagan empire." The second beast of chap. xiii. is "the sacerdotal persecuting power, pagan and Christian." Chap. xiv. "The

144,000, and the harpers, are not identical." "Vv. 6—13 form the text, and the compendium of the rest of the book." Chap. xvii. 9, "The seven heads are Egypt, Nineveh, Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome, Christian-Rome." Chap. xvii. 12, "The ten horns are ten kings;" "not necessarily personal kings, but kingdoms regarded as summed up in their kings"—"ten European powers, which, in the last time, in concert with and subjection to the anti-Christian power, shall make war against Christ." Chap. xx. 9, "'The beloved city' is Jerusalem, which is destined yet to play so glorious a part in the latter days." Chap. xxi. 1, "All the rest of the book describes things subsequent to the general judgment, and is descriptive of the consummation of the triumph and bliss of Christ's people with him in the eternal kingdom of God. This eternal kingdom is situated on the purified and renewed earth, become the habitation of God with His glorified people."

Having now extended our notice to a greater length than we had contemplated, we will only add one sentence more. We can recommend this commentary to our readers as a critical work, for conciseness and clearness of style, and for a summary of the views of many German writers not generally known in this country; but, while we commit ourselves absolutely to no system of interpretation, we feel bound to say that any one who follows its guidance will be led into error on many points of importance.

LORD STANHOPE'S LIFE OF PITT.

The Life of the Right Hon. William Pitt. By Earl Stanhope, &c. &c. Four vols. John Murray. 1862.

The life of Pitt has been repeatedly written, but he has not been fortunate in his biographers. It was essayed by Gifford in a heavy book of many volumes; and it was begun, but not completed, by Tomline, bishop of Winchester, who had been his tutor at college, and retained his friendship, and something of his confidence, through life. Both failed egregiously, the bishop's being the greater failure of the two. They wrote in the days when the memory of Pitt was had in worship, all but idolatrous, by his followers, and pursued with positive rancour by those who dissented from his political creed. Politics in those days were steeped in a fanaticism of their own. Lord Macaulay, a Whig, and politically adverse to the policy of the great war

minister of George III., wrote in a calmer age; and he has given us, in a brilliant essay, a far juster character of Pitt than either of the early panegyrists. More critical, and severely independent, it is at the same time more favourable to his reputation. We rise from Macaulay's essay with a much higher opinion of Pitt, both as a statesman and a man, than that with which his own laureates had impressed us. Adulation is, in fact, the dullest of all literature. Except in an epitaph, it is intolerable. The bishop attempted it in a quarto volume; but even in those days the public taste was nauseated, and the work remains unfinished. Gifford's was a political, not a personal, biography; a defence of Pitt's policy by a blind admirer of it, and therefore interesting only to his party and his personal friends. Of biographers of lesser note we are not called upon to speak.

There was quite room enough for Lord Stanhope's biography of his great relation. He has brought to the work many advantages, and on the whole has done it well—so well, that it is not likely to be attempted again. He has had access to Mr. Pitt's private papers, and he has been able to collect from members of his own family, and other surviving friends, many interesting facts, and to make some important corrections of mis-statements long current in the world. Though a warm admirer, he is not a blind, obsequious one. He thinks Mr. Pitt "equal to the greatest of his predecessors, and superior to all who have followed him," but he can see faults both in his policy and his character. He lives near enough to the days of the great statesman to possess almost all the advantages which a personal acquaintance would have given, and yet remote enough to be free from the heat and passion which disturbed the judgment of the best men in the fiery days of the great French war, and the Jacobin revolution of Marat and Robespierre. His lordship is known already as an author and a historian. He writes with great clearness and almost too much simplicity. He is the Wordsworth of English prose; and, like Wordsworth, is sometimes in danger of puerility. But in this age of grandiloquent periods and German inflation, this is a fault we can readily excuse.

At five-and-twenty Pitt was prime minister of England, and for seventeen years he retained the post without interruption. Then came a change of ministry. But in less than two years he was reinstated in office, and held it for the rest of his life. Few men ever wielded so much real power; certainly no English subject, perhaps no English king. Few men ever attained to such an elevation at so early an age, or possessed it for such a length of time. These are considerations never to be lost sight of when we attempt to estimate either the

moral or political character of Mr. Pitt. We do not always admire his policy, nor is it difficult to discover the faults of the man. But we cannot deny him the praise of real greatness, both as a man and a minister; a greatness to be measured by the temptations he withstood, as much as by the triumphs he achieved.

He was scarcely of age when he found himself seated in the House of Commons; the ambitious son of the greatest minister who had held the reins of government since the revolution of 1688. Young as he was, his fame had gone before him. Much was expected from the son of such a father, but all expectations were soon eclipsed. He was opposed by a formidable band of great orators and statesmen who had come to be regarded as rather invincible than powerful. Their sway seemed absolute, and their popularity with the country corresponded with their influence in parliament. Yet the stripling senator at once attacked them. His own friends were amazed at what seemed to be audacity; it was, in fact, nothing more than the calm consciousness of power. The proof that he had not overrated himself was not long wanting. At a period of the utmost difficulty, he was called by George III. to form an administration, with himself at its head; he did so, and his long tenure of office, through the most stormy period of modern English or European history, proves that he was equal to his own ambition. To soar so early, and to sustain a flight so lofty and so long, through skies vexed with unceasing tempests, is given to those only who sail with an eagle's wing.

That such a man should be accused of reserve and hauteur is not surprising. The reserve was necessary to his office, the hauteur was partly natural. But the wonder is, that his pride and self-will should not have been intolerable. And yet he does not betray these infirmities. Imperious as he seemed in public and in the House of Commons, his friends agree in representing him as gentle and amiable in private life. The possession of power did not seem to have inflated him with pride; the sudden loss of it, after so long a tenure, did not seem either to embitter or depress him. We have the testimony of Wilberforce, to which Lord Stanhope frequently refers as that of one of his most intimate friends, that he was by no means positive and unyielding in matters of business, but always willing to listen to the suggestions and even the remonstrances of his friends. We have the same testimony that in hours of relaxation he was always gentle, often playful and affectionate. Lord Stanhope has given us many letters to his mother, and to other members of his family, in which he sustains this character. Self seems lost. When sick, he makes little of his

sickness; and even when sick at heart, which he often was, we find no sourness, no taciturnity, no complaining. He was not a man to display emotion; but there were times when his lips quivered and his voice faltered, even in the House of Commons. When his friend and subordinate in the ministry, Henry Dundas, Lord Melville, was charged with a misappropriation of public money, his feelings overcame him. On the motion for impeachment, the numbers were found to be exactly equal. Amongst those who voted for it was Mr. Wilberforce, in general an ardent supporter of the Minister. After pausing for ten minutes, the Speaker gave his casting vote on the same side, and the opposition hailed their hard-won triumph with a shout of tumultuous joy. "I sat wedged close to Pitt myself," says Lord Fitz Harris, "the night we were 216 to 216, and the Speaker Abbot gave the casting vote against us. Pitt immediately put on the little cocked hat that he was in the habit of wearing when dressed for the evening, and jammed it deeply over his forehead, and I distinctly saw the tears trickling down his cheeks." His temper, indeed, seems to have been of the same refined and delicate mould with his high talents. He was scarcely ever heard to say a bitter thing of his political opponents. Fox's private letters are disgraced with sentiments of actual malice against Pitt. Nothing of the kind appears in all the correspondence of Pitt, even under the most provoking circumstances. His opponents always knew the worst he thought of them; they had it from his own lips in the House of Commons. In their absence they were always spoken of with courtesy, and, when they were not unworthy of it, with respect. His friends all agree as to the benignity of his temper. "Pitt," says Lord Malmesbury, "was the most easy and forgiving of men." "Pitt," writes Wilberforce, "is the most upright political character I ever knew or heard of." "With respect to Mr. Pitt," says Mr. Rose, "I can say with the sincerest truth, that in an intercourse almost uninterrupted during more than twenty years, I never once saw him out of temper." To his inferiors his kindness was great. Lord Stanhope admits that to his domestics "his indulgence was carried to a most faulty extreme, since he did not, as he ought to have done, control their expenses or review their accounts." To the poor families around him in the country, he was always ready to stretch forth his helping hand. "God bless him!" said an old carter of his, who was alive last year, a cheery old man of eighty-two, "he was ever doing us some good thing. If goodness would keep people alive, Mr. Pitt would be alive now." "He could never abide," said the same old man, "to see any of us poor folks stand with bare heads before him. His word always was, 'Put on your hat,

my friend.'" Another cottager on his estate, an old woman now, remembers that her uncle was drawn for a soldier, and was very unwilling to serve; Mr. Pitt purchased his release. "Mind," said the bailiff, "you are not to go and thank Master; he does not want to be thanked: if you thank him too much, he will never do anything else for you." These simple stories would mark high qualities in any man of wealth. They show a goodness of heart rare indeed in one who, from his youth up, had been in possession of almost boundless power—who had drained the cup of all that most intoxicates. It is wonderful that he felt so few of its ill effects. His self-command, which Lord Macaulay describes as more properly "a majestic self-possession," was not natural but acquired. When he was a child, his mother calls him "eager Master William;" and his impetuous nature broke out in his public speaking. His action was very vehement. Lord Lyndhurst, who had often heard him, says that in his eagerness he bent forward sometimes so that his head almost touched the table. Of Fox and Pitt another eye-witness has remarked, "the one saws the air with his hand, the other with his whole body." But it was the body only that refused control. Pitt is scarcely known to have uttered a rash sentence which he had afterwards to recal. One day, at the dinner table, the conversation turned upon the quality most necessary for a minister. Eloquence, knowledge, toil, had each their advocates. "No," said Mr. Pitt, "*patience*." It is Lord Brougham who relates the anecdote.

But nothing impresses us more strongly with the real benevolence of a character usually thought to be austere, than his reply, when asked by Lord Eldon, not long before his death, whether, upon the whole, he thought that men were governed by reasonably honourable principles or corrupt motives? His answer was, that he had a favourable opinion of mankind upon the whole, and that he believed the majority was really actuated by fair meaning and intention. And yet he had seen the worst side of human nature; and unhappily he had seen it, too, as every dispenser of patronage is condemned to see it, in the most sacred of all professions.

No one now affects to doubt either the disinterestedness or the patriotism of this great minister. The wisdom of his policy is still a question upon which the wisest men and the soundest politicians take the most opposite views. By some he is regarded as the saviour of the constitution; by others as the minister who inflicted the deepest wounds and exposed it to the most frightful hazards. We have not the vanity to suppose that we can reconcile these discordant views, or decide which of them is nearest to the truth; for both, we think, are overcharged. He began his public life when the great revolutionary

tempest was bursting. America had broken loose from England. France was preparing that frantic outburst of atheism and anarchy which shook the civilized world. We have now become familiar with revolutions, and have learned to look on them with some composure. We can scarcely bring ourselves to understand the state of public feeling in England during the time that Pitt was Premier. The frequent consternation, the violent passions, the political animosity which pervaded all classes—all alike violent, some for a revolution like that in France, but the vast majority on the side of the ancient constitution; these have disappeared so long that even their memory is discredited. Fear is always rash and often cruel, and many of Pitt's supporters were dreadfully afraid. They appear to have thought that severity at home and war abroad were the only means to be employed for the safety of the nation, or, indeed, for its existence. Pitt did not share in these alarms, and is, therefore, the more culpable for having permitted the violence which he felt to be unnecessary. When Burke was once declaiming, in private, on the theme which in his later days haunted him day and night, the spread of Jacobin principles, and their danger to England—"I have no fear for England," exclaimed Mr. Pitt; "England will stand till the day of judgment." These were his real sentiments, no doubt, and they afford the strongest argument to those who condemn his foreign policy as too warlike and his home policy as too severe. His great law advisers were not men of capacious minds and extensive views; they were learned in the law, and that was all. They planned no wise reforms; their wisdom consisted in resisting every change, and repressing every outbreak of popular feeling; and this they did with little regard to the real crime of the presumed delinquent. Thus we read, with shame for our judges and courts of justice, that a man who, when rudely ordered to stand aside in a crowd and make way for the king's constable, replied, with a profane expression, that he cared for neither king nor constable, was actually sentenced to five years' imprisonment. The trials of Hardy, and Horne Tooke for sedition, and those of the Scotch Reformers at Edinburgh, are facts of history too notorious to be repeated here. Sometimes the juries refused to find a verdict of Guilty. When a verdict was gained, the foolish democrat was raised to be a martyr, and the king's government suffered more from their triumph than even from their defeats. The political prosecutions were the disgrace of Pitt's administration. It is long since these proceedings ceased to have an advocate. They now scarcely meet with an apologist. If, however, a defence is wanted, a melancholy one is offered within the last few months. America has shown a contempt for the

rights of her subjects, and for the liberty of her press, which throws into the shade the worst proceedings of the worst judges during the darkest years of Mr. Pitt.

His war policy can be justified only if it were essential to the national safety. Pitt himself placed it upon this basis. When challenged unexpectedly in parliament "to state in one sentence what was the object of the war," he replied, "The honourable gentleman defies me to state in a single *sentence* the object of the war. Sir, I will do so in a single *word*. The object, I tell him, is *security*, security against the greatest danger that ever threatened the world, a danger such as never appeared in any past period of society." This, it is true, was said in 1800, when the war had raged eight years. But this must be his justification for the war throughout; as indeed it must be for every war under whatever circumstances. But the war mania was at its height in England when it first broke out. The threats and insults of France, the atrocities committed there, and her proclamation inviting all nations, and England especially, to destroy her king and government, and join with her in the mad crusade for liberty, equality, and the rights of man, had excited the spirit of our countrymen to a pitch which it had never reached before, and which it may surely be desired it may never reach again.

This zeal was shown not merely by addresses and enthusiastic professions of loyalty, but by a severer test. They gave a cheerful reception to the most enormous scheme of taxation, aided by loans still more enormous, which England had ever known. If anything could exceed the facility with which these measures were adopted by the House of Commons, in the face, no doubt, of a most able and never ceasing opposition on the part of Mr. Fox and his adherents, it was the enthusiasm with which they were accepted by the country. Indeed, the country went before the minister, and taxed itself to make up the deficiencies of Mr. Pitt's exchequer.

"A practical suggestion had been thrown out by the speaker. He was confident, he said, that many persons of affluent fortune, sensible of the delicacy which forbore from searching too minutely into capital, would be willing to come forward with free contributions beyond the rate of their assessment, and he advised a clause to give such persons the opportunity. The minister availed himself of the idea, and during the months of February and March, 1798, such contributions rapidly flowed in. To receive them, hustings, as though for an election, had been raised beneath one of the piazzas of the Royal Exchange. There came crowding by hundreds, merchants and tradesmen, of all ranks, and with divers gifts, varying from one guinea to £3000. On the first day the subscriptions exceeded £46,000. Nor did that generous spirit decline. Mr. Robert Peel, father of the celebrated statesman, and at that time in partnership with Mr. Yates

as a manufacturer of calicoes at Bury in Lancashire, paid in, from a loyal impulse, no less than £10,000. As I have heard the story told, Mr. Peel having subscribed this large sum on the spur of the moment, and without consulting his senior partner, travelled back to Bury in some anxiety as to that partner's assent. But Mr. Yates had a spirit as loyal as his own. On being told by Mr. Peel what he had done, he merely turned round and said, 'You might as well have made it £20,000 while you were about it.'

"Contributions were received from public bodies also. The city of London subscribed £10,000, and the Bank of England £200,000. On the whole, these free-will offerings, exclusive of £300,000, which subsequently came from India, amounted to no less a sum than two millions sterling."

The war, while it continued, absorbed not only all our national powers, but all our highest intellectual energies. The twenty years of Mr. Pitt's administration were almost lost not only to arts and literature, but to all useful reforms and all improvements in the internal economy of the state. Even the abilities of Pitt, if not overpowered, were at least engrossed; and if we ask what he did to educate the people; to renovate the decaying institutions which age had dilapidated or corruption undermined; to raise the morals of the poor, or contribute to their health and comfort; to mitigate the dreadful severity of our penal code; to reward literary merit; to promote men of piety or men of learning to the episcopate, or to make the church efficient; his warmest admirers would find it difficult to point out a solitary instance or a single act of parliament proceeding from so great a minister at all worthy of his name. True, the ship of the state was in foul weather, and he, as Mr. Canning sung, was "the pilot that weathered the storm." Perhaps this was all that he could have done; perhaps he was raised up for this only purpose; and if so, his fame must rest on the single basis to which it seems to be narrowing down at last; he was the great war minister of George III. Nelson and Wellington were the great captains on the sea and in the field, and Pitt was the great war captain of the cabinet.

The religious character of Mr. Pitt is a painful subject. His youth was virtuous; and, according to the standard of the times, his whole life was exemplary; but the influences which surrounded him were unfavourable to real piety, to the power of which he seems to have been a stranger. Dr. Pretyman, afterwards Tomline, bishop of Winchester, was his college tutor, his spiritual guide, so far as he cared for one, through life, and his attendant minister when death prematurely snatched him from those political turmoils and triumphs to which his soul had been but too ardently devoted. The bishop relates an anecdote which shows that Pitt was not

unacquainted with his Bible: "In the year 1797 I was reading with him in manuscript my Exposition of the First of the Thirty-nine Articles, which I afterwards published in the Elements of Christian Theology. There were several quotations from Scripture, all of which he remembered, and made no observation upon them. At last we came upon a quotation at which he stopped, and said, 'I do not recollect that passage in the Bible, and it does not sound like Scripture.' It was a quotation from the Apocrypha, which he had not read."

But his duel with Mr. Tierney, fought on a Sunday, is a painful comment on his knowledge of the Bible. The distress it occasioned his friend Mr. Wilberforce is well known. He would have brought the subject before the House of Commons, if he had not been satisfied that the consequences would just then have been disastrous to the country. That it ever gave Pitt himself a moment's penitential sorrow, does not appear. It was the fashion with men of honour in his day to fight, and he simply went with the stream. It is the fashion now to connive at pugilistic combats amongst boys in our public schools. Fifty years hence, this will seem as strange to another generation, as it now seems to us, that Pitt should have fought his Sunday duel, and that bishop Tomline should have made no solemn remonstrance, such as Nathan made with David. But, indeed, the bishop's influence, and his example too, were bad. When Wilberforce reasoned with Pitt on the reality and the importance of that great change of heart which, and which only, enables a man "to see the kingdom of God," Pitt thought it sufficient to reply that Tomline thought differently. No doubt he did; for he describes the premier, in his life, as a sincere, and even exemplary, Christian. It must have required a powerful exercise of divine grace to have made Pitt other than what he was. The men to whom he would naturally look up as guides in religion were far beneath him in the virtues which he could appreciate, and in which he himself excelled. Nothing could exceed the meanness with which Cornwallis, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, clamoured for the deanery of St. Paul's. Scarcely better was Tomline's secularity and selfishness, as displayed on several occasions; one of which was, when the archbishopric of Canterbury was likely to be vacant. Honour and preferment must have seemed to the acute mind of Pitt to be the gods whom the courtly clergy and bishops of his day worshipped. The true disciples of Christ he seldom met with, and never patronized. They were sad days for the church of England, and we revert to them with shame and sorrow. Engrossed with politics, Pitt does not appear to have thought much on religion, even as a matter of interesting

speculation. His well-known remark to Wilberforce, that Butler's Analogy had raised in his mind more doubts than it had solved, we take to be a proof of this. The doubts it naturally does suggest come quickly to the surface. There are, says Butler, the same kind of difficulties in the constitution of nature that we find in revealed religion; it is therefore probable that both proceed from the same hand. Hold, says the doubting reader; the existence of these very difficulties in the constitution of nature is either an argument against the existence of a God at all, or at least against His omnipotence and His benevolence. So far, Mr. Pitt seems to have argued the matter with himself; that is just as far as a Cambridge undergraduate in his first term, and no further. He was thrown back on the difficulty which runs into atheism on the one side, but involves no greater perplexity than that of acknowledging the unfathomable mysteriousness of many things in the divine proceedings, whether in providence or grace, on the other. If Mr. Pitt went no further, it was because, like an idle student, he threw up the problem when it began to require a little close attention. Death came at last, and found him unprepared. Bishop Tomline would have administered the sacrament, but Mr. Pitt declined; alleging his unworthiness to receive it, according to one account; another states that he declined because he had not strength to go through the service. The bishop then desired to pray with him; the answer was a mournful one, "I have, as I fear is the case with many others, neglected prayer too much to allow me to hope it can be very efficacious now." What follows is more cheering. "But rising in his bed as he spoke, and clasping his hands fervently together, he said, 'I throw myself *entirely* upon the mercy of God through the merits of Christ.'" His mind soon after began to wander, but his natural benevolence broke through the gloom. "His niece, Hester Stanhope, ventured, though forbidden, into his chamber during the physician's momentary absence. Though even then wandering a little, he immediately recollected her, and with his usual angelic mildness wished her future happiness, and gave her a most solemn blessing and affectionate farewell. His physician expressed regret that he was obliged to give him pain in swallowing, owing to the thrush in his throat; he mildly replied, 'I never take anything unkind that is meant for my good.'" "He seemed to be dying when he exclaimed," says the Honourable Mr. Stanhope, who heard the words, "in a tone which I never shall forget, 'Oh! my country; how I love my country.'" From that time he never spoke or moved, and shortly afterwards expired. The expression is so unlike his usual character, that it has been doubted if he ever used it; but it must be

remembered that his mind wandered; and death probably unsealed those fountains of lofty taciturnity which had never yet through life been broken open.

Thus died one of England's greatest men. If anything could add to his renown, it would be that he died poor, though he lived with the utmost simplicity, and had the treasury of England at his disposal. All that we could now desire to add is, that to the disinterested patriot he had joined the nobler character of a Christian statesman; that he had sought the glory of a heavenly Master as earnestly as that of the king and people to whose service he sacrificed his life.

THE EVANGELICAL HISTORY OF THE BIRTH AND INFANCY OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

Synoptische Erklärung der drei ersten Evangelien, von Friedrich Bleek. Erster Band. London: Williams and Norgate. 1862.

We have placed this book at the head of the present article not with any design of reviewing it, but because it treats, from a foreign point of view, a question which, largely discussed in the apologetic and theological literature of France and Germany, has attracted attention in our own country, and is one of some considerable interest to English Christians and Churchmen. The question is that of the historical character of the evangelical narrative of the birth and infancy of our Lord. Those who are acquainted with the course of modern thought and critical inquiry, both on the continent and at home, are well aware that no portion of the Gospels (excepting, perhaps, the history of the Resurrection,) has been more steadily impugned than the narrative contained in the early chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke, not only by rationalists, but even by biblical critics of the moderate school, whose works are in many other respects worthy of attention.* The historical character of this portion of the Gospels has, on the other hand, found able defenders; and among others, Bleek, of whose posthumous lectures on the Gospels we have given the title. Unfortunately, however, the popular rationalistic or semi-infidel literature of our own country seems better acquainted with the assault than the vindication, or at least finds it convenient to ignore the strength of the defensive arguments. It is quietly assumed that, whatever may be the state of the case in regard to the period of our

* *E.g.* Meyer. See his Komment. über das Evang. des Matthäus, S. 54. (4te Auflage.)

Lord's ministry, the narrative of the birth and infancy is wholly destitute of historical foundation. We cannot allow such assumptions to pass unchallenged. In this paper we shall endeavour to set forth the grounds of our belief in the perfect veracity and accuracy of the history of this earlier period.

The objections urged against the historical character of this section of the Gospels may be broadly stated in a very few words. They are—the silence of the other evangelists, and the absence of all allusions to the miraculous events narrated in it, in particular the silence of St. John;—the alleged discrepancies of the two narratives, and the impossibility of harmonising them;—the poetical colouring of the incidents themselves, and the character and application of the citations from the Old Testament by St. Matthew. We do not mention the objection of the thorough pantheist, that the miraculous conception is incredible in itself, as involving a physiological and moral impossibility, because all argument is at an end with men who have adopted the πρῶτον ψεῦδος that a miracle is impossible.

One word on this point, however, is admissible. When we try to gather "the mind of the Spirit" from this history which He inspired, we may be permitted reverently to say that His design in these records was to show how unique and exceptional was the entrance of the Lord into this world. The history of this early stage of that Divine life appears to exist chiefly, if not exclusively, for the sake of the miraculous conception. And it may be remarked, that wherever the Catholic truth of the essential Deity of our Lord is firmly held, the evangelical account of his birth is felt to be so harmoniously and consistently credible, that any mere naturalistic narrative would, on the contrary, be totally incredible. In fact, were the historical evidence far less weighty and conclusive than it actually is, the believer whose faith is grounded upon the whole manifestation of the Christ of God, would accept without difficulty, or indeed would find it difficult not to accept, the history of His birth and infancy as we have it. "If Jesus," it has been justly said, "be the Incarnation of Divinity, it is no longer hard to believe that both His entrance into the world and His departure from it were supernatural." So far from being anomalous, this is altogether necessary and natural. Anything else would not have been in keeping with the history. His virgin-mother is a simple and beautiful reality. It would have been incongruous, even offensive, had *He* not been thus physically separated from *all* mankind.* We are, of course, aware that it is the fashion with the school of critics that dissects the Gospels, not to reconstruct, but to destroy, to decry

* J. Young, The Christ of History, p. 264, a little book worthy of the praise of Professor Mansel, Limits of Religious Thought, p. 414, *note*.

this mode of reasoning as illogical. We are not entitled, they affirm, to conclude the verity of the early chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke, because other sections of their narrative are historically credible; and still less are we entitled to argue back from the Divine Personality of Christ, and the character of Christianity as a whole, to the credibility of any particular fact, which must rest upon its own specific evidence. But we are convinced that this objection is destitute of force. That the Bible is to be interpreted like any other book is, an axiom with a certain school of foreign and English critics. We do not admit it to be an axiom; and hold, on the contrary, that the recognition of the deep, underlying unity which pervades the whole body of the Holy Scriptures is essential to the interpretation of every part. In the case which we are discussing we must decline to treat the Gospels as we might fairly enough treat any ordinary history. There is no real parallel even for the purpose of simple historical inquiry between St. Matthew or St. Luke and such historians as Thucydides and Livy. The high character which Thucydides deservedly bears as an honest and accurate narrator of the events of his own time, by no means compels us to accept all his statements in regard to events beyond the range of personal or contemporary testimony. We may accept Livy as a tolerably competent guide through the labyrinth of Roman history, where he is evidently following trustworthy documents, without being bound to believe all the myths and legends which fill his earlier decades. But there is no history in the world analogous to that of the Bible. "Nec viget quidquam simile aut secundum." There is no book, and no collection of books, so interlaced and interwoven one with another; in which one part lends strength and light to another; and, above all, none which culminates in a Person whose place in history, as it stands in all the recorded essential features of his Life, Death, and Resurrection, defies the assaults of hostile criticism. The authority of such a person cannot be excluded from the discussion of the character of the Scriptures. And in particular his own promise of inspiration cannot be excluded from the discussion of the character of the Gospels. If we give any credence to the Evangelists at all—if we accept as trustworthy their general portraiture of the Lord and their record of his words—(and this cannot be denied without the most flagrant historical scepticism, which in any other case, as, for example, that of Thucydides, would provoke the scorn of every competent judge)—then the inspiration of the Evangelists becomes at once an element in the determination of their credibility in those portions of their narrative which may be beyond the reach of ordinary historical criticism. We might not be able to indicate the sources from which the Evangelists derived

their accounts of our Lord's temptation, and of the events of His birth and infancy; and yet we should be justified in implicitly accepting them on the ground of the inspiration of the narrative, and the congruity of the facts themselves with the person and history of Jesus. Such a belief is as consistent with a truly philosophical spirit, that embraces the entire range of the phenomena presented by the Gospels, as it is grateful to every sentiment of religious reverence.

But, in truth, it is scarcely necessary to take this high ground. We may descend from it to the ground of ordinary historical evidence. Regarding St. Matthew and St. Luke simply as biographers, what reason have we to reject or suspect their testimony to the events of the history of our Lord's childhood? It is true that their testimony is second-hand. Neither were eye-witnesses of the facts which they record in connection with this period. But notwithstanding this, their accounts have all the trustworthiness of contemporary history, and were unquestionably derived from authentic sources, written or oral, embodying the testimony of eye-witnesses of the facts, or of the actors in them. Joseph, the reputed father of Jesus, was, in all probability, dead long before St. Matthew or St. Luke wrote their Gospels; probably even before our Lord began His public ministry. But the mother of Jesus was living when the disciples were assembled in an upper chamber awaiting the effusion of the Holy Ghost, and so also were "the brethren of Jesus." (Acts i. 14.) We do not know how long Mary lived after the day of Pentecost, though during the remainder of her life she was, no doubt, under the protection and in the home of St. John. Of the brethren of the Lord, one at least, James, lived, according to Hegesippus, almost to the period of the destruction of Jerusalem; being flung down from the pinnacle of the Temple by the Jews A. D. 69; a tradition which only a hypercritical school of historical inquirers will call into question. Surely it is no unfair assumption that the evangelists drew their narrative of the birth and childhood of the Lord Jesus from these proximate sources of information, from the oral testimony of Mary, James, and the other relatives of Jesus, and from documents in their possession, or in possession of the relatives of St. John the Baptist; the narrative of St. Luke especially having all the vividness and minute dramatic touches which belong only to personal testimony. The original κήρυγμα of the Apostles began, probably, like the Gospel of St. Mark, with the public ministry of Christ; but when the substance of this preaching was committed to writing, what was more natural than that the "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word" (Luke i. 2) should seek from the mother and brethren of their Lord information concerning the facts which were beyond the range of *their own personal* testimony?

Of course, rationalistic critics affirm that this is conjecture merely, and amounts to nothing. We are perfectly aware that conjecture is not proof. From the very nature of the case, positive proof fails. But conjecture is, at least, valid in opposition to conjecture. The assertion of destructive critics, that the narrative of the infancy of Jesus is legendary and semi-mythical, may be fairly met by showing the high probability that the evangelists had authentic sources of information within their reach, and that they used them. A sober-minded critic, having this high probability in view, would pause before he charged the evangelists, whose accuracy in other sections of "the great biography" has been so amply vindicated, with such inexcusable negligence as the admission of legendary matter into their narrative, with trustworthy sources of information within their reach. But, indeed, this charge must be made in the very teeth of the express declaration of one of themselves. St. Luke, as every biblical scholar knows, has proved himself, in all points in which he can be checked—in all matters archæological, political, geographical, and historical—to be painstaking, accurate, thoroughly well-informed; and his accuracy, in even the minutest particulars, has been repeatedly verified, so that even Jost, the Jewish historian—not likely to be biassed by prepossession in favour of a *Christian* evangelist—very fairly admits his claim to high historical credibility. Now St. Luke expressly declares that he derived the materials of his history from those who were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word, and that, moreover, he had investigated or traced down this whole history from the very first accurately. The meaning of this statement is not doubtful. Distinguishing himself from those who begin their history with the official life of Jesus, St. Luke begins from the birth and its antecedents, bringing out into view the very earliest germs of this new phenomenon; and he declares that he has based an accurate narrative on investigations ascending to the earliest sources.* Why is this declaration of St. Luke to be doubted?

* There are some difficulties of grammatical construction in the preface to St. Luke's Gospel, which we cannot discuss in a brief paper like the present; but we believe that it will be acknowledged that the statement is fairly represented in the text; viz., that St. Luke virtually *classes himself* among those who derived the materials of their narratives of "the things which are most surely believed among us," from the authentic testimony of "eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word," as having possessed and used the same trustworthy sources of first-hand information, and that he *distinguishes himself* from these narrators by having carried his researches and so commenced his history *farther back* (ἄνωθεν). It is quite clear that by the πολλοί St. Luke does not mean the other canonical evangelists, since (to say nothing of the chronological question) two of the canonical gospels were actually composed by "eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word;" but neither does he refer to apocryphal or heretical writers whose matter is positively untrue, and whose sources of information, if they had *any*, were utterly untrustworthy. On the contrary, he speaks of these διήγησεις in terms of praise, as being founded on

or why are researches, conducted in a manner so conformable with the true spirit of historical inquiry, based avowedly on testimony at first-hand, to be regarded as issuing in a series of poetical legends? Thucydides, in language very similar to St. Luke's, describes himself as "*παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον δυνατὸν ἀκριβείᾳ περὶ ἑκάστου ἐπεξελθών*" (lib. ii. c. 22. 2.), scrupulously weighing and examining the testimony of others; yet who thinks of questioning the substantial accuracy of his narrative, even where he is compelled to rely upon these secondary sources of knowledge, sometimes, perhaps, at two or three removes from original personal testimony? Why is St. Luke to be placed at a greater disadvantage than Thucydides? Mr. Grote, who frequently dissents from the *opinions* of Thucydides, and Bishop Thirlwall, very rarely question his *facts*. Why is St. Luke to have harder measure than Thucydides? If it be because the Athenian historian deals only with events which belong to the category of ordinary mundane experience, whereas St. Luke records supernatural events, let this be frankly avowed. The avowal will not at all surprise us; and we shall understand perfectly the sort of foe with whom we have to deal. The avowal, of course, rests upon the assumption that a miracle is impossible, and, therefore, flatly incredible. The assumption itself must be met upon other grounds, and is powerless to weaken the force of such historical testimony as St. Luke's with all who, upon other grounds, believe the assumption most unwarrantable, and are antecedently convinced of the possibility of miracles, and of the high probability of a supernatural and miraculous element in the territory of sacred history.

And what, after all, are the objections which are urged against the credibility of a narrative so undeniably founded upon testimony at first-hand—undeniably, that is, unless we accuse St. Luke of stating what he knew to be false? We are ourselves no great believers in merely negative considerations, when weighed in the balance with fair positive proof. There may be insoluble difficulties in an historical narrative where much is withheld and much but succinctly told, and yet, unless these difficulties consist of palpable contradictions, the narrative be true and credible notwithstanding. Now, let our readers recall the positive considerations which have been briefly sug-

authentic testimony, for so we take the *καθὼς παρέδοσαν*. The remark of Von Gerlach, that in St. Luke's statement, "ein leiser Tadel derer liegt, welche ohne Beruf vom heiligen Geiste an das Beschreiben der evangelischen Geschichte gegangen sind," has certainly no foundation in St. Luke's own words; but we may adopt the cautious inference of Bengel—"Lucas agnoscit majorem suam auctoritatem, quam eorum ex quibus antea audierat Theophilus." At all events, it is clear that St. Luke claims for himself a thorough and accurate acquaintance with our Lord's history from the very beginning, grounded upon authentic first-hand testimony.

gested in this article. The evangelical history of the birth and childhood of our Lord is congruous with his entire manifestation, the general history of which is sustained by evidence which no sophistry of criticism has ever been able to overthrow. The inspiration of the evangelists, although, no doubt, a more weighty argument with the believing than with the sceptical mind, is still an element in the consideration of their credibility, which no candid inquirer, who admits at all the general trustworthiness of the Gospels, can refuse to take into account. It is an undeniable fact that there were living eye-witnesses of these events, and actors in them, from whom the evangelists *might* have derived their information; and it is an equally undeniable fact, that one of them, at least, whose character as an historian stands high with unbiassed minds, did actually use, if we are to believe his own express statement, such sources of information from first to last. It needs much stronger arguments than even the keenest negative criticism has ever yet produced to invalidate such positive proofs as these.

What, for example, can be more precarious than the *argumentum e silentio*, when urged in opposition to positive proof? It was not to be expected that there should be any very marked reference to the miraculous conception in the later periods of the evangelic narrative. From the very nature of the case, the knowledge of the fact would be confined to a few; and any attempt to disabuse the popular mind of a very natural impression (St. Matt. xv. 55) would have been worse than useless before "the fulness of time" for disclosing the higher nature of the Lord was come. It is enough that we meet with nothing to contradict the supernatural character of the birth of our Lord; and as regards the silence of St. John, our critics must first settle the very difficult question of the relation in which the fourth gospel stands to the other three, and explain why St. John passes over in total silence other regions of the evangelical territory besides this.* This silence does not weigh with us one single feather against the testimony of St. Matthew and St. Luke.

The field of the alleged discrepancies between the narratives of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and of the alleged impossibility of harmonising them, is one into which Bleek tempts us to

* It must be remembered that St. John wrote for fully-grown and developed Christian communities, no longer needing catechetical instruction in the first rudiments of the faith, and well acquainted with the outward history of the Lord. St. John, therefore, assumes this knowledge, and relates isolated facts in the outward life of the Lord only as they fall in with his plan of unfolding the higher glory of "the Word made flesh," whether or not these facts have been narrated by his fellow evangelists. There is no reason to suppose that he wrote with the express design of supplementing them, but also little doubt that he was acquainted with them, and had them in view.—See Luthardt, Das johanneische Evangelium, B. i. S. 209, 210, 222.

follow him, but is manifestly too wide for a single article. Contradictions between them are freely asserted, but never proved. Difference is not of necessity contradiction. Certainly, the narratives of St. Matthew and of St. Luke are different, and it may be conceded that it is not easy to harmonise them, and that some of the older harmonists have done such violence to both narratives in their well-meaning attempts to weave out of them a continuous story, that they have provoked the reaction to the other extreme of abandoning the attempt altogether, an extreme into which even Dean Alford has fallen. It is an interesting inquiry how from a purely human point of view the two narratives should thus run like two streams, each in its separate channel. It may be that the governing Spirit and Providence of God directed each evangelist to different sources. Or it may be, as Dean Ellicott suggests, "that St. Luke may have studiously omitted what he might possibly have known had been recorded by another evangelist."* Be this as it may, difference is not contradiction. St. Matthew's narrative is very brief; St. Luke's is longer. Yet there are points where the two lines of history intersect each other, and their agreement is plain. Both declare that Christ was "born of a pure virgin." Both affirm that Bethlehem was his birth-place. And both coincide in the statement, that the early life of our Lord was passed at Nazareth. In these essential particulars the two evangelists agree. Their differences can only be made by violence unfriendly to this substantial agreement. It is true, no doubt, that St. Matthew, in his very succinct narrative of these occurrences, makes no mention of Nazareth as the previous residence of Joseph and Mary; nor should we have known the fact, unless we had learned it from St. Luke. Yet St. Matthew may have known it, and refrained from mentioning it, simply because it did not seem necessary in a history written for the sake of showing Hebrew Christians the fulfilment of prophecy in the birth of the Messiah at Bethlehem. But even if he did *not* know it, which in our judgment is improbable, it is most unwarrantable to assume a contradiction between the Evangelists, and to say, as Professor Jowett does, that "one supposes the original dwelling-place of our Lord's parents to have been Bethlehem (Matt. ii. 1—22), another Nazareth."† This is an infe-

* Hist. Sect. on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ, p. 70, note.

† Essays and Reviews, p. 346. Meyer makes the same groundless assertion. Komm. über das Evang. des Matthäus, S. 84, des Lucas, S. 251, 4te. Auflage. The only reason alleged is, that St. Matthew represents the Holy Family as designing and attempting to return to Bethlehem on their return from Egypt, and only making their abode in Nazareth through fear of Archelaus. But on the flight into Egypt, their Nazarene home may have been broken up, and Joseph may have wished to settle in Bethlehem for purposes of trade, or other reasons, and have been compelled, contrary to his wish, to return to his original residence.

rence of Mr. Jowett's own from the narrative of the evangelist, not the statement of St. Matthew. It is also true that St. Luke omits all mention of the craft of Herod, the visit of the Magi, the massacre of the Innocents, the flight into Egypt, and the motive which induced the Holy Family to "turn aside into the parts of Galilee," and to dwell at Nazareth. But here again it is the silence of the evangelist which sceptical criticism snatches up to assail the credibility of both. But it is a weapon that shivers or is blunted in the critic's hand. Whether, with Dean Alford and Dean Trench, we place the visit of the Magi before the presentation in the Temple, or whether, with Dr. Davidson and Dr. Kitto, we place it—with far greater probability, we believe—*after* that event, there is ample room for the facts narrated by St. Matthew, without clashing with St. Luke. The supposition that the visit of the Magi took place after the presentation in the Temple, upon the temporary return of our Lord's parents to Bethlehem to prepare for their return to Nazareth (a supposition which is not incompatible with Luke ii. 39), accounts for the peaceful flow of events in St. Luke's narrative, as the alarm and disquietude were all subsequently excited by the arrival and inquiries of these strangers from the far East. As the current opinion of antiquity was that St. Matthew's Gospel was the earliest of the four (ranging between A.D. 41 and A.D. 43), and as St. Luke's Gospel was probably not composed before A.D. 61, it is very far from unlikely that St. Luke was acquainted with St. Matthew's Gospel, and designedly confined his narrative to circumstances not mentioned by his fellow evangelist. At all events, far from there being contradiction between them, there is frequently a deep underlying harmony. Let the reader, for example, compare St. Matthew i. 24, with St. Luke ii. 5, where, by the way, the best critical editors omit γυναικὶ. Now, Joseph and Mary would not have been travelling in company, unless they had been married as well as betrothed; for during the period of betrothal Jewish custom allowed no intercourse between bride and bridegroom, not even so much as interchange of conversation. But St. Matthew informs us that they were married, and St. Luke's narrative pre-supposes this fact. We find Joseph betrothed to Mary (Luke i. 27), and then shortly afterwards, without a word of explanation, travelling in company with her as her recognised protector. Clearly the narrative of St. Matthew respecting Joseph's perplexity, its removal, and the consequent marriage, is needed to furnish the explanation of so singular a fact, and does so.

The poetical character of the Virgin's burst of praise, as also of that of Zacharias and Simeon, has been regarded as a proof that the history of the childhood of Jesus is legendary

and semi-mythical. The objection is prosaic enough at least, and just such an objection as might be expected from those who strip human life of its poetry in stripping it of God. It may be granted that people do not commonly speak in poetic and rhythmical language. Common words serve common purposes. But who does not know that the great occasions which break the stagnation of our existence, also break up the fountains of speech? In elevated moods of joy or grief, of devotion, of enthusiasm of any kind, and particularly of religious enthusiasm, speech spontaneously assumes a poetical form and a rhythmical flow. Strong emotion bursts the control of the language of every-day life, and cuts for itself its own channel. When heaven was touching earth, and the redemption which kings and prophets had desired to see was at hand, the language of common life was too tame and poor to utter the thoughts and feelings of men. Our surprise would be excited if such bursts of praise and emotion as the "Magnificat," the Song of Zacharias, and the "Nunc Dimittis," were *not* conceived in the richest strains of poetical diction. There are two other considerations which satisfactorily account for this phenomenon. These poetic strains are reminiscences of the Old Testament. The "Magnificat" is unconsciously modelled on the Song of Hannah (1 Sam. ii. 1—10), and the other two overflow with the sentiments and phraseology of the Hebrew Scriptures. There is nothing improbable in the fact, that devout persons, familiar from their childhood with the Holy Scriptures, and with no other literature, should express their deeper, holier feelings, in the diction of the book which moulded all their thoughts and coloured all their emotions. Independently of this, it is expressly stated that Elizabeth and Zacharias spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; and we may very fairly infer that Mary spake under the same divine influence. It is not, then, extraordinary that prophetic inspiration should move with the rhythmical step, and be clothed with the language of poetry.

We have no space left to discuss the character of the quotations from the Old Testament in St. Matthew's first two chapters; and, indeed, this is a question affecting rather the nature of inspiration than the credibility of the history. Neither can we speak of the difficulties connected with the genealogies of Jesus, or the alleged discrepancies between the evangelic narrative and profane history. We have been able to do nothing more than offer a few general considerations confirmatory of this particular portion of the evangelical history, without entering into the minutiæ of criticism. Should any of our younger readers be unhappily entangled in the meshes of the scepticism so widely prevalent in the present

day, we implore them to pause before lending too credulous an ear to its plausible but pretentious statements. We do not ask them to renounce their reason in judging the evidence of Christianity, but to use it. Honest inquiry is not incompatible with caution, sobriety, and reverence. But, after all, even when sober criticism has done its best to expose the rash, one-sided, and groundless assertions of a rationalistic theology, the deepest convictions of the reality and truth of the Divine word will not be gathered from critical inquiries, however valuable in their place, but from the contact of the soul with its own fresh and inexhaustible fulness.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THOUGHTS ON UNION WITH DISSENTERS IN THE BIBLE SOCIETY.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—The principle that men may lawfully unite to carry out what they agree in approving, although they differ as to a thousand other things, is one not only acted upon continually, but one without the allowance of which there could be no combined action in any matter whatever. For where can even two men be found whose opinions in all matters are coincident? Union for one object with those who differ from us as to others, is therefore a necessity, not an option; unless we would abandon every design which is beyond the power of our own unaided efforts to accomplish.

This proposition might be illustrated by a thousand examples. Patriotism may surely unite men in the defence of their country, despite of the most conflicting opinions as to her laws and institutions. Benevolence may combine in useful and healthy action those who, though agreed in one particular method of doing good, may differ as to others. And by parity of reasoning, religion may employ, in her defence or in her work, those who within certain limits are agreed, although beyond those limits they differ. A Lardner's contributions to the Evidences of Revealed Truth might be accepted by a society for issuing publications of that kind, as well as a Watson's Apology, or a Chalmers's Defence of Revelation.

Solomon's example, in accepting aid from the heathen Hiram for the building of the Temple, has been appealed to by Dr. Hook (Sermon at Westminster Abbey before Social Science Association), as showing that Christians may co-operate with those who are not such, for a worthy purpose, though but of a secular kind; but how much more might the example be pleaded for co-operation with any who are willing to unite with us in doing work for God.

Two provisoes, however, must be made ere this joint action be

entered on. In the first place, there must be no compromise of principle in our acting. The second, that we do not make the matter an occasion for extravagant commendation of every person engaged in it. Solomon did not purchase Hiram's aid by joining in his idolatries, nor did he ignore them, and deal with Hiram as a servant of God, just because he sent him aid for the Temple. How is it, then, that the very same persons who will thus unite with any body and every body for other purposes, will not do so to spread the Word of God? There was a time when opposition to the co-operation of Churchmen and Dissenters in the British and Foreign Bible Society was maintained by two very different classes of persons: first, by those who were utterly indifferent to the spread of God's Word; and, secondly, by those who denied the propriety of circulating it, without the accompanying comment of the Prayer Book. At the same time, there was, no doubt, common to both these classes, a shrinking from that contact with Dissenters which the working of the Society involved.

The first class may be considered to have disappeared. At all events, if any who were of it survive, they no longer make their appearance. And the large number of earnest, hearty supporters of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in its efforts to circulate God's Word, forbid the thought that opponents of the British and Foreign Bible Society are, in any considerable numbers, opponents of the work itself which it undertakes. And although they are (in common with those Churchmen who support the Bible Society, and hardly more so) zealous to circulate the Prayer Book, still the allegation, that without this the Bible would be dangerous, is not so prominently brought forward as once it was. Indeed, the very fact that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge publishes Bibles in languages into which the Prayer Book has not yet been translated, is a practical repudiation by the Society of the notion once so strongly held. It seems, too, to be seen that, to deny the usefulness of the Bible without the Prayer Book, is, in point of fact, to exalt the teaching of tradition to an equality with that of revelation.

But strong objection is felt—perhaps increasingly felt—to co-operation on the part of Churchmen with Dissenters. And this on account of the strong anti-church feelings cherished by many who are far from approving or excusing the violent tone in which, by others, that feeling is expressed.

But if this fact does not hinder co-operation at the call of benevolence, of science, or of patriotism, why should it at the call of religion?

An answer would, perhaps, be given to this effect: that in those cases, there is no real danger of mistake, nor any appearance of compromising principle; neither do men meet, it may be said, and convert their philanthropic, patriotic, or scientific associations into a mutual-laudation society; or, at all events, except so far as concerns the association itself. Now, to this it may be replied, that it is only the second objection which gives any real force to the first. The Bible Society, availing itself of the labours of the only competent scholars in some languages, viz., the missionaries, whoever they may be, and circulating in others versions already received among the people, does nothing to compromise the religious convictions of any among its

members. The very fact that missionaries of different denominations are to be found in almost every country where there are any missionaries at all, is a security against such renderings of the sacred text as might justly give occasion to complaints, or demand the surrender of convictions. But with regard to the second objection, it cannot be denied that there is force in it. If, indeed, the friends of the Bible Society would satisfy themselves with the expression of satisfaction that there is common ground which all who recognise the divine authority of the Bible can occupy, just as Volunteer riflemen may congratulate each other that Liberals and Conservatives, at their country's call, unite in their ranks, then there would surely be no ground for reasonable objection on this score. No one imputes insincerity to the Volunteers, though the very next day may see them ranged on opposite sides in an election, or even a church-rate contest. It is because both Churchmen and Dissenters have gone beyond this on the platform of the Bible Society—have, in a manner, paraded each other's liberality and catholicity—have dealt lavishly in personal compliments, and have seemed to make co-operation in that work the one test of Christian character and brotherly love, that umbrage has not unnaturally been taken, and cause been given for not unreasonable offence. It may be, nay, it is quite true, that those also who are associated for secular purposes do, in point of fact, deal very much in mutual compliment: but even in this respect, Christian men should be cautious how they follow the example; whereas they too often go beyond it, inasmuch as they do not limit their encomiums to the services rendered to their particular society, but extend it, in many cases, to the general character. Had there been more care to avoid this error, there would have been far less reason for opposition to the society, and no need for secession, because this or that dissenter arraigns, however severely and however unbecomingly, the consistency or conscientiousness of Churchmen. Such assailants might well, because of their bad spirits, be kept, so far as the managers of meetings have it in their power to keep them, in the back ground, just as such men would unwisely be appointed officers in a rifle-corps; because they would not command respect. But if the great work of defending our country must not be neglected because of such foolish men, neither surely may the arming of our fellow-creatures everywhere with the Sword of the Spirit. Who asks what are the politics of Sir W. Armstrong, Mr. Whitworth, or Capt. Coles? Or, if the supply of their guns was left to private exertion, who would refuse co-operation, let it come from what quarter it might? Why, then, are we to be driven from the Bible Society, because there may sit by us on a platform, or in a committee room, men whose bigoted attachment to their own systems blinds them to the possibility of conscientious attachment to ours? Let us rather rejoice that they are willing to join in circulating that Book which is the corrective of all errors, doctrinal or practical, and which so strongly condemns those who sit in judgment on their brethren. But let us, at the same time, avoid that style of complimentary address which includes in the same commendation all members of that particular Society, and which only brings into suspicion the reality of our regard for those who really possess it. Men are not wont to go about parading ostentatiously

their love for their own wives and families. The world would shrewdly guess, if they did, that their real purpose was to conceal the want of it.

Σ.

PRAYER-BOOK DIFFICULTIES.

SIR,—Perhaps the following observations may not be unseasonable just now.

In the preface to the revised Prayer-Book, which must be regarded as authoritative, we find the following passage:—

"For we are fully persuaded in our judgments (and we here profess it to the world) that the Book, as it stood before established by law, doth not contain in it anything contrary to the Word of God, or to sound doctrine, or which a godly man may not with a good conscience use and submit unto, or which is not fairly defensible against any that shall oppose the same; if it shall be allowed such just and favourable construction as in common equity ought to be allowed to all human writings, *especially such as are set forth by authority*, and even to the very best translations of the holy Scripture itself."

This is not artful and latitudinarian, for the writers ask only for such construction as shall be "*just*" as well as "favourable." And we learn also from this extract, that "the unfeigned * assent and consent" required of candidates for ministerial ordination, is nothing more or less than "a conscientious *submission to* and usage of the Prayer-Book; submission not as to an infallible and inspired work, but as to an imperfect human work, requiring a certain just and favourable construction."

When George IV., of whose moral character it would be very painful to speak, was on the throne, I was curate to an incumbent who was an elegant scholar, and a man of amiable disposition, evangelical views, and sincere piety. His mind was morbid by distress at the thought of having to read the Prayer for the Parliament under such a sovereign, and speak of him as "our most religious and gracious king." I was young, and had not been long in Orders, but ventured to write a respectful letter, referring him to the above extract from the Preface to the Prayer-Book, to see that, as the Prayer for the Parliament had been drawn up long before the birth of the fourth George, it must, of necessity, be understood not of his personal character, but of his regal office, as the protestant king of Great Britain, bound by that office to uphold the scriptural protestantism of the Church of England. Not long after, I received a communication informing me that the language of the Preface, in connexion with other arguments, had removed the scruples which had prevented him from continuing to read the Prayer for the Parliament.

Again, take the Office for the Baptism of Adults. The officiating minister is directed to say—"Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren,

* Many years ago, in company with another clerical friend, I had an interview with the vicar of a certain parish, who was preparing to secede from the Church of England. His mind clave to the notion that the clause of "unfeigned assent and consent" was inquisitorial and tyrannical, requiring stringent and absolute "thinking according to" and "thinking with" the Prayer-Book, as if it were a divinely inspired volume. He seceded, the victim of a prejudice which should have been dispelled by a patient and candid perusal of the preface to the revised Prayer-Book.

that these persons are regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's church." Now, when I read in the New Testament that after Simon the sorcerer had been baptised by Philip, the apostle Peter said to him—"Thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity;" and when I bear in mind the possibility of adults seeking baptism from merely worldly motives, am I not justified, even if I had not the preface to appeal to, in considering the language of this Office as the language, not of certainty, but of charitable supposition? Would not Philip Henry * and Matthew Henry have admitted this view; which, however, I must be allowed to regard as the correct view, whether they would have admitted it or not?

It therefore follows that, so far as the mere stringency of the language is concerned, we cannot say that it is absolutely impossible that these words in the Office for the Public Baptism of Infants—"Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's Church"—can be interpreted as the language of charitable supposition; for exactly the same stringent formula of words, when occurring in the Baptism of Adults, must be so interpreted.

But let us look again at this formula—"Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's Church." The rather stringent term, "dearly beloved brethren," if interpreted according to the letter, must mean that the parties thus designated are devout and habitual communicants at the Lord's table, born again of the Spirit, and in their daily walk and conversation "fighting manfully under Christ's banner, against sin, the world, and the devil." Hence this stringent portion of a stringent formula must be interpreted charitably.

Again, if the words, "these (adult) persons are regenerate," can and must be interpreted charitably, it is possible, to say the least, that the words, "this child is regenerate," may be interpreted charitably.

On referring to the previous part of the Office, we find, in the case both of infant and adult baptism, these words of the officiating minister: "I beseech you to call upon God the Father through our Lord Jesus Christ, that of his bounteous mercy he will grant to this child (or these persons) that thing which by nature he (they) cannot have, that he (they) may be baptized with water and the Holy Ghost." †

* Philip Henry, after giving up his benefice, still continued to attend at his parish church.

† This may assist in meeting one or two captious objections. It may be said that in the Office for Infant Baptism we have the words, "that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit," and that these words are not found in the Office of Baptism for Adults. We reply that the prayer in the latter Office is, that these adults may be "baptised with water and the Holy Ghost," and that, therefore, the formula, "Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that these persons are regenerate," must mean regeneration by the Spirit. Again, in the Office for Infant Baptism, we pray *before* the baptism, "Give thy Holy Spirit to this infant, that he may be born again, and be made an heir of everlasting salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ." Where a, in the Office for the Baptism of Adults, we read, *after* the baptism, and *after* the declaration, "Seeing that these persons are regenerate," the corresponding prayer. "Give thy Holy Spirit to these persons; that, being now born again, and made heirs of everlasting salvation, they may continue thy servants and attain thy promises." If it had been written, "that being born again, they may continue," we might argue that this might be resolved into

Similar petitions abound, all which assist us in believing that the language of the service admits a charitably hopeful, rather than a rigorously literal interpretation. Tractarians, indeed, may tell us that this is no argument; that on the most stringent theory of the *opus operatum*—of the absolute necessity that baptism is invariably accompanied by baptismal regeneration—it would be only proper and decorous to offer up such petitions to God. We must be permitted, under all the circumstances of the case, to hold our opinion that earnest and repeated petitions for a blessing are calculated to teach us that the granting of such blessing is to a certain degree contingent, and, therefore, that the charitably hopeful interpretation is the most reasonable and scriptural.

Should Tractarians say that our Baptismal service (1) quotes the scriptural narrative, "Jesus said, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God. . . . And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them." And (2) does not the service thus comment upon these words of Christ—"Doubt ye not, therefore, but earnestly believe, that he will likewise favourably receive this present infant. . . . Wherefore we being thus (by the act and word of Jesus) persuaded of the good will of our heavenly Father towards this infant, declared by his Son Jesus Christ; and nothing doubting but that he favourably alloweth this charitable work of ours in bringing this infant to his holy baptism," &c. All this is true; but what does this *et cætera* mean? Why, that the passage thus proceeds, "Let us faithfully and devoutly give thanks unto him, and say. . . .* Give thy Holy Spirit to this infant, that he may be born again, and be made an heir of everlasting salvation." Taking the most favourable view of the case, that these are the petitions of faith, while they may amount to a strong hope—"Surely Thou wilt not withhold what we ask"—this would not be equivalent to, "We are now absolutely certain that Thou wilt grant our request."

Again, if it is said, "Ye have heard also that our Lord Jesus Christ hath promised in his Gospel to grant all these things that ye have prayed for; which promise he for his part will most surely keep and perform,"—it is also added—"Wherefore, after this promise made by Christ, this infant must also faithfully, for his part, promise by you (the sponsors) that are his sureties (until he come of age to take it upon himself), that he will renounce the devil and all his works, and constantly believe God's holy Word, and obediently keep His commandments." The words, "This infant *must* also *faithfully, for his part*, promise by you his sureties," &c., lead us to the Church Cate-

"that they *may be* born again, and continue"—as if the new birth had not yet taken place. But the words as actually written are, "that being *now* (already) born again." Hence, in this prayer we must interpret the petition, "Give thy Holy Spirit," as equivalent to "Give the illuminating and sanctifying grace of thy Holy Spirit."

* The omitted portion is, "Almighty and everlasting God, heavenly Father, we give thee humble thanks for that thou hast vouchsafed to call us to the knowledge of thy grace and faith in thee: increase this knowledge, and confirm this faith in us." These word, if they imply, as they seem to do, that the minister, parents, sponsors, and the majority of the congregation are sincere and enlightened believers, must require a charitably hopeful interpretation.

chism, in which we find certain questions and answers concerning baptism. "What is required of persons to be baptized (*i.e.*, in order that they may be partakers of the inward and spiritual grace)? Repentance, whereby they forsake sin; and Faith, whereby they stedfastly believe the promises of God made unto them in that sacrament." Of course, if the possession of these spiritual graces of repentance and faith are absolutely necessary prerequisites to admission to the sacramental ordinance of baptism, infants must be excluded; although the divinely ordained practice of infant circumcision, under the law of Moses, renders it almost certain, in the judgment of not a few thoughtful Christians, that it is more in accordance with the Divine will to admit than to reject infant baptism. This difficulty is thus treated in another question and answer. "Why, then, are infants baptized, when by reason of their tender age they cannot perform them? Because they promise them both by their sureties, which promise, when they come to age, themselves are bound to perform." This answer may fairly be considered as founded upon a conviction that (as is elsewhere expressed) "the baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church;" that conviction being based on the infant circumcision, the words of Jesus concerning little children, and other scriptural reasons. Hence it would be wrong to consider the presence of sponsors (a human institution) absolutely and invariably necessary to the celebration of baptism. Accordingly our Church provides that in cases of "great cause and necessity," *i.e.* especially in cases of dangerous sickness, children may be baptized* in the house without sponsors. Thus the Church of England would seem to consider that the bestowment of baptismal grace is connected not only with the promise of God, but also with the faith and prayers of the congregation; and that, therefore, regeneration is not necessarily confined to the sacramental ordinance of baptism. Most sincere members of the Church of England (a Church which confessedly reverences the Scriptures as the Word of God) are aware that the apostle Peter (1 Peter i. 22) speaks of those who have been "born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the Word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever."

When, as is sometimes the case, the administration of the ordinance of baptism is, with reference both to minister, parents, sponsors, and other attendant friends and hearers, a mere heartless formality, without either true faith or true prayer, if we have no right to say that

* Even in the Service for the Ministration of the Private Baptism of Children in houses, there is this provision made:—"*First*, let the minister with them that are present call upon God, and say the Lord's Prayer, *and so many of the Collects appointed to be said before in the Form of Public Baptism*, as the time and present exigency will suffer." It is possible that the child may recover; and, therefore, the offering up of previous prayer, and (upon Church of England principles) the absence of the sponsors, may well seem to justify the minister in regarding the thanksgiving for the infant's regeneration as the language of charitable hope. Should the exigency be apparently such as only to leave time for the Lord's Prayer, could a bishop lawfully find fault with a minister who should decline to offer up the thanksgiving; not that this is likely to happen, and the thanksgiving would be conscientiously offered up to Him who knows that previous prayer, recognising that the blessing must be sought for in supplication, would have been offered, if time and exigency had permitted?

the infant has not received baptismal blessing from Him who is sovereign in grace, and can give, with or without prayer, according to His own all-wise and holy will, we have certainly no right, on Church of England principles, to assert that the blessing has been granted. Emphatically, in such cases we can only use the language of charitable hope. If not bestowed then, regeneration may be afterwards through the Word of God.

As we interpret the language of the Baptismal Service as that of charitable hope, so we must explain, agreeably to this interpretation, the introductory question and answer in the Catechism, which speaks of the child having been made, in baptism, "a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven."

A clergyman, I think the late Rev. T. K. Arnold, appealed, in behalf of the doctrine of necessary baptismal regeneration, to the following language to be used by the minister when a child, which has been already privately baptized, is to be received into the Church:— "Doubt ye not therefore, but earnestly believe, that He *hath* likewise *favourably received* this present infant, that He *hath embraced* him with the arms of His mercy." But what immediately follows these words, and in intimate connexion with them? "And (doubt ye not) that (as He hath promised in his holy Word) He will give unto him the blessing of eternal life, and make him partaker of his everlasting kingdom:" *i. e.* the hearers are to be as confident of the final salvation as of the baptismal regeneration of the infant; *i. e.* there is to be lively hope of both, but not certain assurance of either.

It is to be remembered "that the highest Court in the kingdom has, in the Gorham case, determined that the Baptismal Service is compatible with evangelical views."

In the form of Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick, it is provided that the priest shall absolve him if he *humbly and heartily* desire it. Therefore the minister not only needs not press the sick man to receive formal absolution, but he appears to be at full liberty to discourage and dissuade, in all serious Christian meekness, from desiring such formal absolution, and is also at full liberty to assure him in the most solemn manner, and as in the presence of God, that the words of absolution, however strong, are simply declaratory, and can neither forward nor hinder his acceptance with God.

But I must draw this long letter to a close. The ejected ministers in 1662 were cruelly hurried from their homes. If they had been allowed a twelvemonth for deliberate consideration, the number of final non-conformists might not improbably have been reduced from two thousand to less than five hundred.

AN OLD SUBSCRIBER.

June, 1862.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

The Harp of God: Twelve Letters on Liturgical Music, its Import, History, Present State, and Reformation. By the Rev. Edward Young, M.A. of Trinity College Cambridge. London: Nisbet and Co. The subject matter of this volume has grown out of several papers originally published in our magazine. We are, therefore, debarred from expressing our own opinion upon its merits. We have heard, however, which is more important, that its force and eloquence are admitted by some of the great masters of the science on which it treats. Mr. Young, and thousands with him, are anxious to render the musical part of our service more subservient to the purposes of enlightened protestant spiritual devotion; and we felt gratified in being made the vehicle through which his views were originally communicated to the public. If Mr. Young should succeed in his laudable exertions to make our church music really, not popishly, devotional, he will rank high amongst the benefactors whom the Church of England worthily commemorates.

The Wild Flowers, Birds, and Insects of the Months. By H. G. Adams. London: James Hogg and Sons. The object of this volume is briefly and pleasantly to describe the most remarkable of our British wild-flowers, birds, and insects: illustrating the various subjects with natural and appropriate poetical quotations; and not unfrequently with amusing anecdotes and well executed illustrations. We can recommend this work, more especially to the young, as being pleasing, interesting, and instructive. Mr. Adams, evidently, himself keenly appreciates the value and enjoyment to be derived from pursuits which he so well recommends to his readers.

Golden Words, No. I. John, Henry and James Parker. London. 1862. We understand, from the preface, that this is the first of a series, to consist only of three or four numbers, containing extracts from our best authors. The first number treats on prayer, and the selections are made with great judgment from those worthies of our Church best qualified to treat upon the subject, such as Jewell, Sandys, Hooker, John Bradford, and Leighton. There are multitudes of pious laymen who have neither access to the works of these great divines, nor leisure to peruse them, who yet are well qualified to appreciate their worth: to all such we can sincerely recommend these "Golden Words."

The month has produced several biographies of more than usual interest. Foremost amongst these we place *Reminiscences, Personal and Bibliographical, of Thomas Hartwell Horne, B.D., F.R.S., with Notes by his daughter, Sarah-Anne Cheyne. Longman.* 1862. It is a modest memoir of 200 pages, quite in keeping with the unobtrusive character of the admirable man whose life it briefly records. Mr. Hartwell Horne was one of a class of whom the next generation will see but few. His early struggles in life, and the difficulties he met with in the pursuit of knowledge, are such as can scarcely be

experienced now, when the highest education, like wisdom, cries aloud in the streets and solicits pupils, and when the richest stories of literature (at least in London) lie open even to the poorest student. Very different was it in the youthful days of Hartwell Horne; and yet what triumphs of pious and well directed industry did he not achieve!

His great work, "An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures," was published while he was yet a layman, toiling to support a young wife and rising family. Mr. Horne speaks of it thus:—"The publication of my 'Introduction to the Critical Study of the Holy Scriptures' eventually led to the realising of my long-cherished and prayerful wish, in conjunction with that of my honoured father, to devote myself to the ministry in the Church of England. His decease having prevented me from prosecuting my studies at either of the Universities, the Rev. Dr. Howley, at that time Bishop of London, disregarded my want of an English academical degree; and considering my 'Introduction' as an appropriate and honourable passport to holy orders, ordained me in 1819." It was very unusual then, as we believe it still is, to ordain Literates in the Diocese of London; and there was a story current, that one day the good bishop, being importuned in vain to ordain a candidate for orders without a University education, was at length rudely reminded that he had broken through the rule in the case of Mr. Horne. "Yes, sir," replied the bishop, "and I will break through it again in your case when you have written such a book as this," taking down a volume of the "Introduction," and laying it upon the table. Except in the instance of Dr. Kitto, we shall scarcely find, in our own times, another instance of knowledge successfully pursued under so many difficulties. His daughter gives a chronological list of her father's works, which amount to fifty. Several of these were reviews, or other papers, originally published in the Christian Observer, in other Reviews, or in Cyclopædias; but most of them were larger works, and upon a wonderful variety of subjects; not a few upon the Romish Controversy, others on Deism, many on doctrinal and practical piety—all excellent in their way. Then we have a most amusing variety—we take them as they stand upon the list which his daughter publishes: "An Essay on Privateers, translated from the French," "A Compendium of Statutes, Laws, &c., of the Court of Admiralty," "Wallace's Pocket Itinerary, edited, &c.," "Treatise on Captures in War," "Burn's Justice, edited, with notes and additions," Mr. Horne having been brought up for the law. Then comes "The Complete Grazier," followed by "Hints on the Management of Sunday-Schools," and an edition of the "Holy Bible for the use of Families, with notes, &c." These are but an imperfect specimen of his multifarious writings; for we have "A Life of Hogarth," and another of "Bishop Beveridge;" "A Manual of Parochial Psalmody," which has passed through forty-one editions;—indeed, many of his writings have passed through several editions—his great work is now in the eleventh. Part of it has been translated into modern Greek, and largely circulated in Greece; a Welch translation is now in hand. Parts have been reprinted in America and Calcutta, and well does it deserve its success. A letter from the Rev. Dawson Massey, which stands in the place of all other eulogy, we will here transcribe:—

"Permit me to mention a few facts which have fallen under my own eye as testimonies to your great work being owned of God. In 1827 my mind was greatly disturbed by Stackhouse's History of the Bible, in which several infidel articles are sophistically given, and feebly replied to. In a happy hour I met your work, and was more than convinced of the truth and inspiration of the Bible. I was led to prize it above all things, and by the study of it I was induced to forsake the Bar for the Church.

"In 1829, a clever fellow-collegian of mine one day scoffed at the Bible, and denied its inspiration. I made him read over the *table of contents* of your book. He was dreadfully alarmed, and borrowed it to read. Soon after I left for a continental tour, and the night before my departure the young man acknowledged that his scepticism was cured, begged the loan of my large reference Bible, and is now a zealous and successful minister of our Church.

"At Geneva I met, at the Hôtel de la Couronne, a most abandoned Englishman, who on a wet day asked the waiter for a Bible that he might find amusement from it. After an argument of several hours, in which from your work I answered every one of Voltaire's infidel objections, which the gentleman read from that miserable man's works, the scoffer yielded to the force of truth, and confessed himself vanquished. He then produced a poisoned dagger, with which he said he had intended to finish his miserable existence.....and declared that on the next day it should be consigned for ever to the waters of the lake. That young man nobly and openly confessed his sceptical folly on many occasions. Whilst remaining at Geneva he frequented the church of M. Malan, to whom I gave him a letter, and afterwards became a 'preacher of the faith which once he destroyed.' He now sleeps in Jesus.

"Very lately the mother of one of our highest nobles consulted me, with many tears, upon her clever son's infidelity. I placed the first volume of your work in her ladyship's hands, and she was consoled; not doubting the efficacy of your work to bring by grace her son to 'his right mind.'

"A converted Roman Catholic priest lately declared that the happiest Sunday of his life was that upon which he first met your book, which shewed him that the inspiration of the Bible could be proved independently of the apostate church of Rome.

"Ever faithfully, yours, in Christ,

"DAWSON MASSEY."

"June 27, 1851; Rectory, Killishin."

The only preferment Mr. Horne ever obtained was a small parish in Lombard-street, and a prebendal stall in St. Paul's, "worth just £11 a year." We imagine that had it not been for his literary labours, and his post of assistant librarian in the British Museum, he would have been but unworthily remunerated. Few, indeed, knew his worth, for his modesty and his gentle retiring character kept him in the shade. We hear much, in these days, of self-made men; much, we are compelled to say, which, though well meant, is mischievous; tending to inflate young men rather than to teach them the apostolic lesson, to be "sober-minded." We would earnestly recommend this unpretending volume both to the lecturers upon such subjects and their hearers. Mr. Hartwell Horne's is a life they may profitably study; while older men, even the most diligent, will read it with perhaps something like a sense of shame at their own waste of time and manifold short-comings. The secret of Mr. Horne's diligence, as well as of his usefulness, lay in his simple, fervent piety. Mr. M'Caul, in a briefly written introduction, thus sums up his character, and we can add our personal testimony to its truth:—

"The venerable subject of these memorial pages was in some measure more favoured than his fellow-workers for the good of mankind. He lived long enough to know that he could never be wholly forgotten. He was permitted in some degree to behold the fruits of his unwearied efforts in the cause of religious truth, and for the honour of his God. When he began his studies, and first took his pen in hand to demonstrate the sure foundations upon which our most holy faith is built up and

established, he was well-nigh, if not altogether, alone in the field. The publication of that signal monument of patient industry, the *Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures*, took the Church of England by joyful surprise. Men beheld with gratitude that the race of giants in biblical lore was not wholly extinct, and that God could at any time and in any age raise up instruments meet for His own work. From the hour that these volumes first issued from the press, Thomas Hartwell Horne took his place as one of the champions of that pure reformed branch of the Church universal, which has effected more abiding triumphs in the cause of morality and truth than any other, perhaps not excepting the Churches of the apostolic times. This in itself was an honour that might well have turned the head of any ordinary man. But reputation did not spoil our venerated friend. Of prodigious memory, of undaunted resolution, of unfaltering courage in the defence of what he felt to be right, Mr. Horne was yet a very child in simple faith in God's providential goodness, a child in contrite acknowledgment of his own utter insufficiency without the grace of Christ. It has been my happy lot to be intimately connected with him for sixteen years. I have often wondered at his unfeigned goodness of heart, and how little he partook of the self-seeking worldly wisdom of ordinary men. Himself a man of strictest integrity, he seemed habitually to look upon those around him as equally disinterested in their motives. He lived '*in the world*' for four score and ten years without being '*of the world*;' and those who knew him best will always remember him as one of the most guileless men with whom they have been ever brought in contact. To the young beginner, the commencing student, he was always delighted to have an opportunity of imparting some of the treasures of his well stored mind. No such applicant ever approached him without feeling that Mr. Horne was a truly kind as well as a great man.

"Since Mr. Horne began to write, our Church can boast many eminent men, who have followed successfully in the path which his patient industry opened out to them, but as the nursing-father of modern English biblical criticism, he has conferred a benefit upon his nation and the Church at large, which will continue to be felt as long as the word of God continues to be precious in the land of a Wycliffe and a Coverdale, of a Tindal and a Cranmer."

Another biography of deep interest has just come into our hands. It is that of Bishop Bowen. *Memorials of John Bowen, LL.D., late Bishop of Sierra Leone. Compiled from his Letters and Journals, by his Sister. Nisbet.* 1862. The volume, it is true, is expensive, and too large, and the earlier part of it might very well have been omitted altogether. It is not with John Bowen, the fine high-spirited boy, or the enterprising Canadian settler, that any but private friends can be much interested. Happily England has many thousand such, and loves them too; though without any thought of ever giving their boyish adventures, or their settler's journals and letters, to the world. We regret, too, that the author has given her memorials something of the air of a religious tale; prefacing each chapter with a fly-leaf of poetry, and giving it a fanciful heading, thus:—*The Schoolboy. The Settler. The Student. The Curate. The Envoy. The Rector. The Missionary. The Bishop. The End. In Memoriam.* We regret this, because it is below the grave dignity of a Christian bishop, while it really does injustice to the character of the good and, we will add, the great man whose life is related, in whom a noble simplicity was the most striking feature. His life ought to be read far and wide, especially that part of it which contains the account of his journeyings in the East, and his letters to Mr. Venn on subjects connected with Oriental missions, and the glowing and animated, yet deeply touching account of his short episcopate. His character is thus drawn by the Bishop of Jerusalem, and we have no reason to suppose that the picture is highly coloured:—

"For my part I have never been intimately acquainted with any man possessing so many Christian graces in such a high degree—complete disinterestedness, manly humility, unwavering faith, warm affection for his friends, unfeigned love to all men, deep sympathy with all kinds of suffering, burning zeal, and untiring activity in his Master's service, a constant readiness to help with word and deed whenever he thought that his advice or his hand could be of service to any one; yet with all this he was ever simple and cheerful as a child. As we suffered a great loss when he left this country, so the Mission and Church at Sierra Leone, and the Church at large, have suffered an almost irreparable loss. Whilst to him to live was Christ, to die could not but prove an everlasting gain. Wherefore to his relatives his death is a great loss and trial, yet you have the consolation to know if any of our generation have lived and died in the Lord, and is now resting from his work, it is your and my brother John Bowen.—Yours very faithfully,

"S. Angl. Hierosol."

Shortly before he sailed from England to enter on his diocese, he married the daughter of Dr. Butler, late Dean of Peterborough, and sister to the present head master of Harrow. She appears to have been in all respects admirably suited to him, and to the work at Sierra Leone, and their union was one of deep affection. But she was soon called to her heavenly home, and the bishop's tender spirit and gentle loving heart seems to have sunk within him, though nothing but resignation, and the most perfect submission to the Divine will, is expressed in his letters. Perhaps he exposed himself too freely in that dangerous climate; but he, too, soon followed her. And thus the soil of Sierra Leone is consecrated with the dust of two more of the eminent saints of these later days of the Church of England. The memorials of such a life are in some sort the rightful heritage of the whole Church; and we hope that the editor of this handsome volume will give us the substance of it in a cheaper form. Placed on the catalogue of the Tract Society, or the Christian Knowledge Society, it could not fail to be read with delight and profit by thousands whom in its present form it will never reach. There was a *brightness* in his character, and, indeed, in his very countenance, which would commend his story to readers of every age and every class.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

If anything were wanting to sink the Papacy still lower in the scorn and derision of all the world, except her own besotted vassals, it has been supplied during the last few weeks. A batch of martyrs has been canonized with that gorgeous and impious ceremonial in which Rome delights. Of many of these martyrs the existence is very doubtful; this, however, is of no great importance; there are scores of saints in the Romish calendar whose existence is just as questionable; so that, on the whole, Rome commits no new folly in admitting these Japanese worthies upon her list of demigods; not saints, but demigods, since they occupy precisely the same place as the tutelary deities of old pagan Rome

They patronize the families or the individuals who choose to do them honour, and elect them as their representatives in the court of heaven, and they convey the requests of the devotee on earth to the Divine Majesty on high. This, in a church professing to be Christian, is blasphemous enough. But when we read of the adorations, the solemn invocation of the Holy Ghost, the affected hesitation of the Pontifex Maximus,—the heathen title is far more appropriate than the Christian *papa*—the clamours of two hundred and fifty bishops that there be no delay; and then the concession of the chief actor in the scene, and the instant canonization of these dead men amidst clouds of incense and peals of music, and all that can overawe and fascinate the sense,—a thrill of horror succeeds to the risings of contemptuous scorn; and we seem to hear the voices of *other martyrs* crying from before the throne, "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost Thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?"

The impious ceremonial would not have been complete, had not an audacious manifesto, expressive of intense hatred of civil liberty, and of all free inquiry and national progress, wound up the scene. This was not wanting; the enemies of the papacy, meaning Victor Emmanuel and his subjects, with an oblique but quite intelligible stroke against the French emperor, and other offenders, was dealt out with the tongue and pen of Hildebrand. Thus, in what may prove her last agonies, the mouth of the papacy is full of cursing and bitterness. An awful spectacle of a doomed and apostate church!

How long the emperor of France will prop up the hideous imposture, or why he should lend his regiments to sustain its civil power, evidently falling to decay, it is difficult to decide; now especially that the Italian parliament has declared that Rome is the proper capital of the newly constituted kingdom of Italy, and that they mean, soon or late, to restore its independence. Everything seems to indicate a solution, as it is termed, of the Italian question at no distant day.

England and Spain, their object being accomplished, have withdrawn from the Mexican expedition. France remains in Mexico, determined, it now appears, to have not only indemnity for the past, but security for the future. In other words, France resolves to conquer Mexico; her first attempts have not been fortunate; her small army has been repulsed, but powerful reinforcements are on the way, or in forward preparation, and the result is scarcely doubtful. The governments of Mexico, ever since she asserted her independence, have been a succession of the most atrocious tyrannies, better described, perhaps, as one long frightful anarchy of forty years; and England will regard with perfect satisfaction the interference of France to put an end to a state of things disastrous to every commercial power, and disgraceful to humanity.

Few words are needed on the American civil war. A fiercely contested battle of two days, in front of Richmond, between two armies of at least one hundred thousand men on either side, has produced no other results than a dismal slaughter, and mutual hatred more intense than before. Both sides claim the victory. Richmond is not taken, and the Federals are not driven back. The Mississippi, contrary to our expectations, is not yet wholly in the

power of the Federals, but general Beauregard has declined a battle, and fallen back from his strong position at Corinth. A detachment of his army has been surrounded and captured, but he is still at the head of eighty thousand men; his policy, it appears, is not to fight, but to protract the campaign until the heats of summer do for him the work of the sword and bayonet. In the west the Federals appear to have met with several reverses; and on the whole, the war makes but little progress. The state of public feeling, both in the North and South, is bitter and revengeful, and the end is not yet in sight. We can only look on with the deepest sorrow.

There are disturbances in Russia. Hungary and Poland seem ripe for revolt or revolution, and Austria for bankruptcy. With wisdom in their rulers, there is nothing in the condition of these kingdoms which may not admit of an adjustment; the difficulty lies between concessions made in time, and the panic which fear produces, and which yields everything to clamour. The conduct of the emperor of Russia stands out in strong contrast with that of his own nobility, of whom he is far in advance;—and with the democratic government of America, to whom he sets an example of enlightened regard for the happiness of his subjects, and the liberties of his slave population. With wise financiers, the emperor of Austria may surmount his difficulties, if he will throw overboard the incubus of popery; if not, he will probably sink in that "Serbonian bog" in which potentates more mighty than himself have perished.

Further off, in our own colonies, the administration of Sir George Grey has already produced the happiest effects. In New Zealand the natives are conciliated. The justice of their claims is in fact allowed, and with it the wisdom of the course pursued by the bishop and missionaries in opposition to the local government. Australia has received a wholesome lesson from the United States; and the extreme democratic party, who threatened so much mischief two years ago, are either silenced, or, as we hope, and as there is reason to believe, have reconsidered their principles, and abandoned the course which at one time seemed to threaten the colony with ruin. We are happy to congratulate the bishop of Sydney on his return home after an absence of seven years. He has well earned his vacation; we shall be the wiser for his presence amongst us, and he, we trust, will return refreshed in spirit as well as in health and strength. At the same time, we admit that we are of the number of those who swell "the sneers," as a certain colonial bishop now at home was unwise enough to term them in a speech delivered a few days ago at Cuddesden, which some of his order have invoked by their frequent absence from their dioceses. "He boldly maintained that, in the infancy of their new dioceses, it was all important that ties of relationship should be kept up between the mother and daughter churches." With equal boldness we maintain that colonial bishops were not appointed to spend their time in the clubs and drawing-rooms of London, where their presence has for some time past become a public scandal. If they can be spared from their dioceses, their spiritual services must be of little value. The ecclesiastical commission might very properly be charged with the secular duties of the colonial bishops, and their spiritual functions are not to be discharged in England.

The debates in our two houses of parliament have been of considerable interest. It has been proposed to introduce a measure to enable a dissatisfied clergyman, by a very simple process, to resume his position as a layman, and with it to claim all the freedom he would have enjoyed had he never taken orders. We confess to great misgivings, apart from the question of the indelibility of holy orders, as to the consequences of such a measure. Will it not encourage young men to take upon them the most solemn vows with a very light sense of the obligations they incur? with the feeling that it is but an experiment, a trial, which, if it prove disagreeable, they may at any time relinquish? This alone would almost outweigh all the hardships on the other side. The House of Commons very properly resolved that at least the ex-pastor should have no seat with them. We are heartily glad of this, for we fear that disappointed vanity or ambition would lead many young men of property and good connections, if they forsook the ministry, to seek at once a seat in parliament, or even to abandon the one in the hope of obtaining the other. The respect, not to say the reverence, in which the clergy are now held, would suffer greatly, if the measure should pass in its present form.

Another abortive attempt has been made to legislate on church rates; another attempt to conciliate has failed; and for the present we are hopeless as to any good result. There was a party struggle, early in the month, on the vote for the fortifications on the coast, in which the ministry were victorious. It has been renewed in another form, and the debate is not finished while we write. One quotation from Mr. Horsman's speech may fairly be adopted by the Christian Observer:—"The value of England as a tranquillizing power in the world was not to be estimated in pounds, shillings, and pence. We were proud of our naval and military renown, but we were far more proud of the power we had to bestow blessings as well as to enjoy them. If, instead of three millions, it had been thirty millions, the sum would have been a small one to have purchased for England that safety which was essential to her in her great mission; for she was the chosen instrument of Providence to develop the holy doctrine of peace, and of the civilising influence of commerce—to extend the principles of an enlightened Christianity, and an elevating and ennobling freedom."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

E. N. E.—The Paper on "The Nature of Sin," and one "On Reading," as soon as we can make room for them.

Will our friend who urges us to open a controversy on the imputed righteousness of Christ, consider what has been written by the great leaders on both sides; by Calvin and Hooker on the one side, and by Richard Watson, for instance, by far the ablest representative of evangelical Arminianism of modern times, on the other, and then say whether he thinks it necessary to revive the controversy?

THE

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ON THE NATURE AND CONSEQUENCES OF SIN.

An investigation into the nature, effects, and consequences of sin is a matter of deep interest; for it is a subject intimately connected with doctrines of the highest importance: as, for instance, the atonement, eternal punishment, the position of the devil and his angels, repentance.

In examining the passages of the New Testament which bring this subject before us, we are first of all struck with the manifest and uniform distinction made between sin and sins. In no one passage, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is sin spoken of as a single act. Two passages which seem to form an exception to this assertion shall be noticed. In one place our Lord uses the expression, "He that is without sin," *i.e.* not guilty of a sin of a similar kind to that of which the woman was accused; but here the whole expression is the translation of a single word. In another passage St. Paul writes, "Every sin that a man doeth," &c.; but here he uses a different word to that which, I believe, is intended to signify sin as a habit, or state of mind. Where acts of sin are spoken of, the same word which is thus employed to designate the habit of sin is used in the plural number, a usage in conformity with classical Greek, where a word in the singular is employed to mean the abstract idea of a thing; while in the plural it signifies particular instances or examples of the same thing. Thus *death* would mean death viewed abstractedly—death's particular forms, or shapes of death.

Accordingly, we find that Christ is said to be offered for *sin;* but where forgiveness is spoken of, it is invariably forgiveness of *sins;* to teach us, perhaps, that while Christ has put away sin, it is our overt acts of rebellion that need to be forgiven.

Taking sin, then, to mean a condition of mind and heart, we cast about for a definition of this condition of heart. St. John, in his first epistle, supplies us with one; he there says, "Sin is the transgression of the law;" or, as it might be rendered, "sin is lawlessness," a breaking away from the order and restraints of law. Now, in order to see fully what this definition amounts to, it will be well to consider what is the antagonistic principle to lawlessness. This must be the disposition to keep or fulfil the law; that is, love: according to St. Paul's statement, "Love is the fulfilling of the law."

We have, then, sin exhibited as the antagonistic principle of love. Now, love is the bond of union, or rather is union; and where perfect love is in being between the Creator and the creature, there is perfect oneness. Hence the foundation, as well as the summation, of all law, is the duty of the creature to love the Creator with all the heart and soul and strength. This command thus to love God is coupled with the charge to remember that there is but one God. If there be but one God, there is, and can be, but one fountain of light, of glory, of happiness, of life. To love Him perfectly, therefore, is to draw light, glory, happiness, life from that one and only fountain. Hence the command to love God may be regarded in a twofold light: 1stly. It is the just claim which the Creator makes upon the affections of the reasonable creature who has received all from Him; 2ndly. It is a command of absolute and perfect goodness, as bidding the creature keep near to the only source of life and joy, lest wandering from it he be lost in misery and death.

The breach of this union is, therefore, sin; and even to entertain a doubt of God, His wisdom or His love, must be sin. Thus Eve began to sin the moment in which she admitted into her mind the possibility that disobedience to God could bring any good; the overt act of eating the forbidden fruit was but the visible and outward completion of sin already working in her heart. Before she ate it, she had already departed in heart from God. Departing from God, she had departed from the only source of life; hence, in the day that the fruit of the tree was eaten, Adam and Eve both died; alienation from God had arisen instead of union, and the consequence of that alienation was seen in their vain attempt to hide themselves from the Lord amidst the trees of the garden.

Thus, the inseparable connexion between sin and death is evident; so that death is not only the *punishment* of sin, but also its inevitable *consequence;* just as surely so as death would be to the body the inevitable consequence of separating it from the enjoyment of all nutriment.

Here we see why Satan is said both to have sinned from the beginning, and to be a murderer from the beginning. All

whom he has tempted to sin he has also murdered, because he has detached them from the fountain of life. Thus also, when it is said that God hath made Christ to be sin for us, we understand by it that God did give over Christ to death; did hide His face from and forsake Him, and did treat Him as one who by sin had separated himself from God.

Our common notion of punishment is pain (arbitrarily selected as a general rule) inflicted upon a criminal for the breach of a law; and the pain inflicted may or may not have a connexion with the offence going before; but there is no absolute or necessary connexion between the two. However, all will feel and acknowledge that that punishment would be both most just and most effective which did of necessity arise out of the crime going before, as thus the suitability of the punishment to the crime would be secured, and the impossibility of injustice be precluded; and the suffering thus ensuing would be as truly a punishment for the crime, as any pain arbitrarily determined, and having no connexion with the offence going before.

Such a punishment seems to be the punishment of death for sin; so that, where such a penalty is laid on, we see sin working out its necessary and inevitable end. Were it possible that such death, working by itself, could produce a change in the heart of the criminal under its sentence, then might it pass away before life, and the sinner be restored to God; but in cases where the display of the highest love of God has failed to produce love, it seems impossible to conceive of any further revivifying power; and the death that follows the rejection of perfect love must be final, lasting, and eternal.

Here, possibly, we have the key to understanding the condition and state of the devil and the fallen angels. If they have indeed sinned against, or fallen from, the perfect display of divine love, what is there, or can there be, remaining to recover them? What place can there be for them but the place of everlasting separation from God? And herein their state differs from the condition of fallen man. To Adam, in his first estate, a perfect display of God's perfect love was not given. There remains, therefore, for the recovery of him and his family a yet higher manifestation of that love. If that recals man to God, well; if not, what can remain for him also but hopeless separation from the Creator?

The love of God in Christ is, then, that power which is intended to recal man from sin. Christ puts away sin by the sacrifice of Himself. Let us see what this means. Shall man separate himself from God, and yet God not make a brighter manifestation of His love to bring him back? Love itself forbids. But yet, shall man be recovered, and his sin not work out its natural end—his sin go unpunished? Justice forbids.

To leave man's sin unpunished would be to deal out a measure to some creatures different to what had been dealt out to others; it would be to make the law dishonoured and valueless; and both love and justice alike forbid that a premium (such as impunity would be) should be set upon lawlessness; and so one safeguard against rebellion be withdrawn. Once more, shall the spectacle of a whole race of creatures be permitted, who shall fail to fulfil the object of their creation, and give to God his own? The unchangeableness of Omnipotence forbids.

How are these apparently conflicting purposes of love, justice, and omnipotence to be fulfilled? They are fulfilled in and by the sacrifice and life of Christ. He takes permanent and inseparable hold of humanity. He identifies Himself with man. He is made the second Adam; and, as such, presents before God the offering of perfect, pure love. He fulfils the whole law.

He takes hold of *sinful* humanity. He is found in the likeness of sinful flesh; and in Him sin works out its course. He dies the death; He suffers separation from God. His exclamation from the Cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" testifies to the completeness of the death which He dies.

Finally, the display of the Saviour's love, in dying upon the cross for man, is that new display of divine love, whereby men are drawn to Him, to the end that they may become one with the Father and with the Son.

We may notice here the force of the Apostle's reasoning on the subject of the resurrection of Christ.

Christ, being made sin for us, did of necessity die. Now, had sin remained on Him, death must have held Him bound: but now, sin being put away, death of necessity looses its bonds; it was not possible that Christ should be holden of it. The putting away of sin, and the being loosed from death, are as inalienably connected as sin and death.

By mortal observation it is impossible to judge of the former; but the resurrection from the dead is palpable, and evident to human sight. By that, therefore, which is evident and palpable, the truth of that which is out of the reach of human ken, viz., the putting away of sin, is demonstrated. So that it is true, that if Christ be not risen, man's sin remains; and also equally true, that now Christ is risen from the dead sin is put away, and the justification of every believer in Him fully assured. To gather together the conclusions of the foregoing reasoning, we may see that the putting away of sin has a threefold meaning, or rather may be regarded in a threefold aspect. 1stly. An atonement for sin is made by the death of Christ; 2ndly. Union between God and man is effected by the Son of God taking hold of humanity and becoming Emmanuel,

the man Christ Jesus; 3rdly. The habit of sin in the heart of the individual man is put away by love being awakened in him through the spectacle of the love of God in Christ.

Hence, to recur to what was said in a former part of this paper, the sinner asks not for that which has been already done; he asks not that an atonement be made for sin, or that an union be made between God and man; for this has been accomplished. But what is needful for him is, that the habit of sin, which is in his heart, be destroyed, and his own personal acts of rebellion be forgiven.

But to pass on to another part of the subject. If sin and love be antagonistic principles, it follows that where perfect love is, there sin cannot be; and where perfect sin is, there love cannot be. Certainly it is remarkable that we nowhere find in the Bible such an expression as the love of sin; as though such an expression were a contradiction in terms. We hear, indeed, of loving money, the world, pleasure, the creature; and these loves become and are at times sinful. But this is not the same thing as loving sin. We hear of committing sin, of serving sin, of being the slave of sin; but these are words that speak not of love. Nor do we read of love as forming any bond between Satan and his angels. Perhaps we are thus taught that, in the case of those who are given over to sin, love can have no place; and that those who are finally shut out from God's presence will know nothing of its blessed influence; for then sin will have effected its perfect work, and complete hatred among themselves will add horror to the misery of those who are shut up in hell.

If this be the case, the real choice before men is between the service of love rendered to God, or the service of hatred rendered to Satan; and not a choice between two loves. It is not, God is *more worthy* of love than Satan, but God is the *only* object of love; while, between Satan and his servants, not love, but hatred, remains, and must remain for ever.

St. James in his epistle says: "Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, is guilty of all." We see the meaning of the words. He who has broken away from God, has fallen from life—is liable to death. Estrangement has come between him and God, and the end of that estrangement is death. No more could follow, even if every command had been violated.

And so, when the sinner is made the son of God, love is awakened in his heart, and the principle of sin is made dead; and though he may, and doubtless will, be guilty of many an act of disobedience, yet he cannot sin. He cannot detach himself from God again, for His seed remaineth in him. He is born of God, he is a son united to God by love in Christ, and he cannot be separated.

Our Saviour's words to His disciples: "He that is washed

needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit," seem to point to the same truth. Again, the Lord's prayer, which is a prayer intended for a justified person,—being the language of a Son reconciled to, and at one with, his Father,—while it pre-supposes a union with God through Christ, and therefore a ceasing from sin, yet asks for forgiveness of daily acts of offence against that Father.

Recurring again to the explanation of sin as a habit, or state of mind, we are led to the conclusion that acts in themselves are not absolutely sinful; but it is the state of mind of the actor that makes the sin.* Arguments have been raised about this point. Let it be supposed that God carries on the order of nature by His own continual and immediate support, so that a man cannot lift up his hand to strike a blow without God doing it, then, if that blow be an unlawful one, God is made a partaker of man's sin.

Assuming this view of natural operations to be the true one, if we admit that no act is of itself necessarily and *per se* sinful, then the argument falls to the ground. Nature works as God appoints; but it is our perverseness that turns the forces of nature into the performance of an act of sin. Admit that acts in themselves are either sinful or good, then they are so, of course, apart from the state of mind of the actor. And then the conclusion is inevitable, that, to leave undone certain acts, and to perform others of an opposite character, is to leave off so much sin and to do so much good; and so you may establish a creditor and debtor account.

But it will be reasoned, that an act is a complex thing, comprising both the motive of the doer and the thing done, and that practically it is impossible to separate the two; and that so we are compelled to speak of some acts as absolutely sinful.

How are these things treated in the Bible? We read of sin working in men—of the works of the flesh; we hear that they who do certain things cannot inherit the kingdom of God. All this is plain; it shows that an evil principle is working in the hearts of men; that that principle displays itself in certain acts; that these acts are certain evidence of the principle within; and, hence, they who do them show thereby plainly their unfitness for God's kingdom. It is the sin of the soul, the alienation of the heart from God, which will separate men from Him for ever; and as the acts of outward sin evince the existence of this inward state, so they prove the unfitness of the doers for God's presence.

And here is the answer to those who would argue thus:

* This is, surely, an over statement. "Sin is the transgression of the law." Our contributor himself, p. 570, speaks *of "known* violations of God's laws" as sins. If his statement were rigidly correct, there could be no such things as sins of ignorance.—Editor.

Are the moral, the decent, the respectable, to be condemned alike with the immoral, the unclean, the disreputable? Where the heart is alienated from God—no matter what the outward life may be—there can be no union with, or preparedness for, His presence; and, of course, to die in this state, is to be cut off from the source of life for ever. Thus, in the account of the final judgment given by Christ Himself, the sentence of the two parties turns on the fact of their having or not having given proof upon earth of their love to God.

As preachers of religion in its fulness, we cannot insist too strongly upon the necessity of men giving evidence, in their daily life and conversation, of their love to Christ; and we are bound to assure them, as St. James says, that faith without such evidence is vain and dead. Nor yet, again, can we assert too strongly that those who do certain things, as St. Paul tells us, cannot inherit the kingdom of God.

But while we assert broadly that uncleanness and fornication, and other overt acts of sin which the apostle enumerates, are positive evidences of a state of alienation from God, we cannot, on the other hand, assert with equal certainty that morality, and charity (*i.e.* almsgiving, &c.), and honesty, are necessary evidences of union with God. The reason is obvious. Satan can be transformed into an angel of light; sin can imitate love; but the angel of light cannot be transformed into the image of Satan; neither can love imitate sin, for to do that would be to deny itself. Hence, while the sinner can be apparently clothed with virtue, the believer cannot clothe himself with sin.

The disposition to regard certain acts as in themselves sinful, is a common and a natural one; and hence the religion of a large class of persons consists in something like this. Certain acts are wrong, and these they feel it their duty to avoid; certain acts are good, and these they feel it their duty to do. Now, while it must be admitted that those who entertain these positive and definite views of duty often make most respectable men and good citizens, yet also it must be admitted that these views of religion are narrow and incorrect. But they are natural and easy; they save the trouble of thinking; those who embrace them escape the yoke of the spirituality of religion; they are released from the necessity of bringing every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ; they feel no need to search the Scriptures for God's mind upon all points; they do not want God's guidance at all times; their common sense is sufficient to point out to them at any time whether any particular act is or is not in accordance with their own established standard of right and wrong.

Closely connected with these views of positive religion, is the disposition to discriminate between acts of sin, pronouncing some to be far more heinous than others, and in general de-

nouncing sins against society, or, in plain words, sins against self-interest, as unpardonable, and quietly tolerating sins against God. Thus, an offence against the rules of society—a breach of etiquette—a failure in refinement—are pronounced intolerable evils, while, at the same time, known violations of God's laws are winked at and tolerated.

And even among professing Christians we find similar inconsistencies. Thus, a man who will justly denounce an oath, yet will not hesitate to pronounce a decided judgment upon the conduct of his fellow believer, apparently forgetful that the same Saviour who said, "swear not at all," said also, "judge not." Other instances might be brought forward, but one will suffice to illustrate the truth stated. The remedy is, to regard sin as an alienation of heart from God; to remember that the only antidote to it is union with Christ; and that the end of that union—the effect to be desired and prayed for—is that *every thought* of the heart should be brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ.

In conclusion, the writer of the foregoing remarks cannot resist expressing his deep sense of the difficulty, perhaps impossibility, of finding language adequate to convey the full impression which the view of any one divine truth makes upon the mind; but while we painfully feel that now we see only through a glass darkly, and know only in part what we do know, there is comfort in the thought, that after a season we shall see face to face, and know even as we are known.

A Clergyman.

NOVEL DOCTRINES ON THE HOLY SPIRIT AND HIS WORK.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

In common (I doubt not) with many others, I read with deep interest the able article on "The Erroneous Doctrines of the Plymouth Brethren," published in your June number. It is there clearly shown that the Darbyite section of that body are unsound in their teachings as regards the work of the Lord Jesus, and deficient in their statements as to the manner in which the sinner becomes savingly connected therewith. An examination of their writings will, I think, prove, that, unless Christians in all ages have been seriously mistaken, they are wrong also with reference to the work of the Holy Spirit, and the fellowship of believers with Him.

All will allow that the work of Christ and the work of the Spirit are the two leading subjects of our most holy faith. When correct views of these are entertained, when there is delight in the person of Christ, and communion with the Holy

Ghost, and when the love of the Divine Father, who has sent forth His Son, and given the Holy Spirit, is realized; then certainly truth is savingly apprehended. Surely, everything connected with these points should be diligently studied, and whatever tends to obscure their glory carefully guarded against.

It is but just to observe, that while the parties referred to differ in some respects from all other Christians, ancient or modern, and I believe also from the Holy Scriptures, in their views respecting the work of Christ and the Holy Spirit, yet they are not to be charged with denying the personality or godhead of either; neither are they to be suspected of setting aside the atonement of Jesus, or the new creating power of the Holy Spirit. They certainly hold that Christ crucified is the only foundation for a lost sinner's hope, and that it is by the power of the Holy Ghost that any man is new-created in Christ Jesus. But while gladly allowing this, I believe that they hold serious error on both these points, which should be carefully shunned. It is also desirable to remember that such errors are not chargeable on all who go under the name of "Plymouth Brethren." A large gathering of Christians at Plymouth are in sympathy with orthodox Christians generally in their views of "the imputed righteousness of the Lord Jesus;" and I believe that there are many others in various places like-minded. To set this subject in a clear light would require a history of the disruption of the body originally known as "Plymouth Brethren," and an account of their present divided state. This cannot be attempted here. I only add, therefore, that it is of Messrs. Darby (J. M. D.), Mackintosh (C. H. M.), Stanley (C. S.), with their imitators and followers, that I now speak. Some, I suppose, in what is called "the Bethesda standing" sympathise with them in part of their views; but those just mentioned are the active party, who are everywhere sowing what many Christians believe to be the seeds of unsound doctrine.

There are four points connected with the Holy Spirit and His work to which I would call attention, which I believe will be found not only to be modern novelties, when compared with the standards of orthodox churches and the writings of sound divines, but "new and strange doctrines" when tested by God's infallible word. The first concerns the saints *corporatively* considered; the second refers to *the individual believer*; the third and fourth relate to *the invoking of, and praying for, the Holy Spirit.*

In the writings of this party, the term "Church" is constantly occurring; and great prominence is given to "the body" represented by this term. Such strong things are sometimes said, as to remind us of the saying, that "extremes

often meet;" for, however, in some respects, Plymouthism and Puseyism may differ, both agree in giving to what each calls "the Church" a greater importance than almost any other body of Christians do. The following from Mr. Dorman is a specimen of their teaching on this point:—

"Plainly, the question of justification is an individual question, and it is so presented in connexion with the righteous holiness of God in Romans and elsewhere. But the real portion and place of an individual believer can neither he known nor enjoyed apart from the revelation which God has given of the place and portion of the Church, because the highest blessing is not individual blessing, but the blessing of the body. I, as an individual, must come into it, it is true; but it is as a member of Christ's body that I come into it, if at all. For if it is said of believers in their individuality, 'we are members of his body and of his flesh and of his bones,' it is because the Church is the body of Christ, and believers are members of that body."

The truth of some of these assertions may well be questioned, and the *tendency* of such teaching would seem to be an undue magnifying of corporate christianity.

But I do not purpose going into the various points connected with their teachings respecting "the Church." I believe that their oft-repeated assertions, that there is no revelation of what is called "the mystery" (Ephes. iii. 4—6) in the Old Testament; yet the finding of all manner of subtle analogies in Old Testament history, as also much that is said about the "separate apostleship of Paul," and exalting him so much above all others, with many like things, are mostly human inventions. But I must keep to one subject in the Darbyite teachings, which is, "*that none of the Old Testament saints are included in the Church.*" All saints who died before Pentecost will have, according to them, to take a lower place in glory; forming no part of the body of Christ; not belonging to those who are called "the bride, the Lamb's wife." One extract exhibiting this view must suffice, though numbers might be given. After mentioning Abraham, Moses, David, and others, the passage goes on to state,—

"But all these are presented to us in God's word as individual servants of His, not as members of a body. They were men of faith. Their devotion and obedience shine brightly on the pages of the inspired record. But there is not such a thought suggested by all that is said of them as that they were members of the body—the Church. They were quickened by the Spirit, no doubt. By virtue of the foreseen sacrifice of Christ they were forgiven and saved. They will all have part in the first resurrection, and partake of heavenly glory. There can be no question as to any of these things. But no one of these things, no, nor all of them together, constitute the Church. The Church shares these things, life, justification, resurrection, and heavenly glory, with the saints of Old Testament times; but what

constitutes the Church is something distinct from, and beyond, all these things. It is the actual living unity with Christ and with each other of those who, since Christ's resurrection, are formed into this unity by the Holy Ghost come down from heaven. Was there anything like this in Old Testament times?" (Plain Papers, p. 83.)

This is new teaching with a witness; but is it *true?* The voice of the Church in all ages is lifted up against it. "What saith the Scripture?" Does the New Testament teach us that throughout all eternity *essential differences* will exist among the saved of the human family on account of *dispensational differences here*, or because of some special connexion which they had with the Holy Spirit while on earth? Are we taught that the lowest and least devout of believers, even those "saved as by fire," during the Gospel dispensation, will be raised for ever to a pitch of glory and nearness to God far above Enoch, Elijah, Abraham, Moses, David, and Daniel? Surely there is not a hint of any such thing in the word of God. But there is much in the New Testament bearing directly against such teaching. Out of a multitude of passages which press upon the attention, I can only refer to three. "And I say unto you, that many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven." (Matt. viii. 11.) Do not these words teach something very different from the idea of those saved ones who shall be gathered from the Gentiles being raised *far above* these patriarchs? In Gal. iii. 9 we read, "So, then, they that be of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham." Many parts of this chapter should be studied in connexion with Rom. iv. and other texts, and then it will be seen that the position assigned to Abraham in connexion with believers of this dispensation is anything but subordinate. Heb. xi. should also be carefully searched. This chapter is invaluable as an epitome of Old Testament history, and as an illustration of the power of faith; also as showing us, more than any part of God's word, what was the measure of light, and degree of hope, enjoyed by saints of old. We should read Old Testament history in the light of this chapter. It seems also to be provided on purpose to refute the new notion referred to. Surely Paul's definition of faith (ver. 1) was intended to apply as much to those who went before as to those who follow after. "By it *these* elders obtained a good report;" that is, God bore witness to them. Then come Abel and the blood; we see him washed, worshipping and witnessing. Then Enoch and the glory. As if to show that saints of *all* dispensations would meet in the same blessedness, we have Enoch and Elijah, who lived under the two former dispensations, translated to heaven without dying, as those will be who are

"alive at the Lord's coming." Then comes Noah, with faith, righteousness, and heirship, reminding of Gal. v. 5 and Titus iii. 7. And then Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, all "looking for the city that hath foundations," a city God hath "*prepared* for them," even the same city spoken of in the last pages of God's book, in which all the saved of all dispensations will doubtless meet. Compare Heb. xi. 16 with Rev. xxi., xxii.

But I must not pursue this theme, inviting as it is; nor speak of Moses, "the reproach of Christ and recompence of reward," or of those who looked for a "better resurrection;" nor dwell on the closing thought, "that they without us should not be made perfect." Let the reader ponder well this chapter, with the parallel scriptures it suggests, and he will surely be able to meet this new and strange doctrine, which has already led to so much evil.

I especially ask attention to the following fact. Three things are found alike in all the dispensations of God towards man; that is, *redemption*, *regeneration*, and *resurrection*; these were revealed from the beginning, though at first indistinctly. Man, as guilty, required an atonement; and God provided one. (1 Pet. i. 20.) Man, as sinful, needed to be regenerated; and this the Holy Spirit has done under all dispensations. As regards the resurrection, Job, we know, and, no doubt, other saints, looked forward to it with fervent desire. (Job xix. 25.) Now, wherever these three things are, there is *union with Christ*; there cannot be redemption without *union* with the Redeemer; and wherever there is union, there will surely be *unity* in glory at last. And this fact brings out the point first referred to, which is, that this new notion respecting the superior glory through eternity of the Church of this dispensation, is opposed to right views of the work of the Holy Spirit. Yea, I believe that it dishonours both the work of Christ and the work of the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as it makes the work of the Spirit, rather than the work of Christ, the reason for the higher state of glory to which it says that the Church of this dispensation will be raised. It is a serious error, *in any way* or *in any measure* to assign that to the work of the Spirit, which Scripture assigns to the work of Christ.

The teachings of these new lights respecting the work of the Holy Spirit on the soul of the individual may next be noticed. There are very few points of Christian doctrine, experience, conduct, or discipline, concerning which we have not some *new teachings* from "the Brethren." Nothing said or done for ages past is allowed to go unchallenged; according to them, almost every one has hitherto been wrong; and these new utterances are sometimes delivered with the confidence of a divine oracle. The above remarks apply to such subjects as

"the law of God," "the Sabbath," "Regeneration," "Repentance," "Sanctification," with many others. I can only give one quotation on regeneration, and a few referring to *sanctification*. The last are taken from two articles in a small periodical entitled "Things New and Old." Some think that a truer title would be, "Things Good and Evil;" or, "Things True and Erroneous."

"What is the new birth? Let the Scriptures answer. (1 Pet. i. 3.) The resurrection of Christ was in the sight of God the new birth of the Church: 'Christ loved the Church, and gave Himself for it.' When He, the Covenant Head, died, the members of the Church died in Him; when He rose, they were quickened together with Christ, raised up together, and made to sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus. Again; it is not, strictly speaking, when we are individually brought to the knowledge of the truth, that we die, and our life is hid with Christ in God."

Allowing, and rejoicing in, the glorious fact, that the Church did thus die and rise in Christ as her Covenant Head, yet is it not wrong to call this "regeneration," especially when the starting-point of this discourse was the well-known words of Christ, "Ye must be born again"? Our Lord was evidently speaking of a moral change, and not of legal union with Himself. It is true that afterwards, in the same tract, this moral change *is* described and insisted on; but the danger is, that some will take up the defective and unscriptural definition of regeneration, and be deceived.

"SANCTIFICATION: *What is it?*" is the question proposed in the articles before referred to. In discussing this question, the following remarks occur:—

"We have frequently heard persons speak of sanctification as a progressive work, in virtue of which our old nature is made gradually better; and moreover, that until this process has reached its climax—until fallen and corrupt humanity has become completely sanctified—we are not fit for heaven."

"They (Christians) have gotten righteousness by faith; but they imagine they must get sanctification by effort. Thus it is they lose their peace. They do not see that we get sanctification in precisely the same way as we get righteousness; inasmuch as Christ is 'made unto us' the one as well as the other. Do we get Christ by effort? No; by faith. It is to Him that worketh not. (Rom. iv. 5.) This applies to all we get in Christ."

"The very moment the sinner believes on the Lord Jesus Christ, he becomes linked to Him; he is made one with Him, complete in Him, accepted in Him. This is true of sanctification and justification. It is not a process, it is not a gradual work. It is not progressive."

Acts xxvi. 18 is supposed to warrant all these *assertions*.

1 Thess. v. 23 is quoted, and it is said:—

"Here the word is applied to a sanctification admitting of degrees. The Thessalonians had, along with all believers, a perfect sanctification in Christ; but as to the practical enjoyment and display of this, it was only accomplished in part; and the apostle prays that they may be wholly sanctified. In this passage it is worthy of notice that nothing is said of 'the flesh.' Our fallen, corrupt nature is always treated as a hopelessly ruined thing."

"There is not the smallest change in the true character of his (the believer's) own heart. His heart is as deceitful and desperately wicked as when he walked in the moral darkness of his unconverted state."

These quotations contain some truth stated in a crude manner (a caricature rather than a portrait), mixed up with much that is rash and dangerous; and there are many like things in the articles; also some statements more scriptural towards the close, which it seems difficult to reconcile with what has been just quoted. The description given of Sanctification appears to me unscriptural, or, at least, *very deficient*. There seems to be a confounding of justification and sanctification, and not a sufficient distinguishing of holiness being in Christ, as its fountain and pattern, and holiness being implanted in the believer, and brought out in his character and history. The earnest and repeated denial of sanctification being *progressive*, with the confused and far from correct manner of stating the doctrine which is denounced, must not be overlooked. What do we really mean when we speak of sanctification? or rather, what do the Scriptures teach? Is it not *internal and outward conformity to Christ?* If so, must it not be *progressive?* Is not this *the great point* to be pressed home upon all professors of religion? Does not the Holy Spirit, in a vast number of places, call for *effort* in reference to this conformity — Phil. ii. 12, 13; 2 Pet. i. 5—11; Phil. iii. 13—17. Surely saints do not need to be warned against making "efforts" after more holiness, or greater conformity to the Saviour.

The manner in which this writer, and the school to which he belongs, speak of "the flesh," "corrupt nature," and "the heart," is far from *safe*, and often nauseating. It would be well if they could be made strictly to define what they really mean by these terms, and then made to keep to their own definitions. This might prevent much loose writing, and, it may be, some loose talking and thinking also. It has ever been found that a frequent and flippant use of such terms has furnished excuses for evil desires, pleas for sinful weakness, and encouragement to self-deception. However popular in some quarters such soothing and palliating modern divinity may be, others, it is hoped, will continue to prefer the healthful, searching, probing, spirit-stirring teachings of Leighton, Owen,

and others, who, we believe, really honoured the work of the Holy Spirit, however these new teachers may undervalue them and dislike their writings.

I will now make a few remarks on the third and fourth points mentioned, which are, *the invocation of, and prayer for, the Holy Spirit.* Either of these is a grievous crime in the estimation of some of the Brethren; whereas Christians generally conclude that any attempt to hinder the worship of the Holy Spirit, and to discourage earnest prayer for His presence and power, would be displeasing to God, and injurious to the Church. More than twenty years ago, a Christian minister, referring to the principles and practices of "the Brethren," wrote as follows:—

"Another peculiarity may be noticed—the meagreness of their prayers. They evidently do not think it right to pray for anything, eternally given to them in Christ, which they suppose themselves to have had with the gifts of the Spirit of God. They do not pray for pardon, nor for the presence and influence of the Holy Spirit. We may gather this not only from the prayers of their leaders, but from the careful exclusion of such petitions from their hymns. The following is a specimen:—

"'Rock of ages! cleft for me,
Grace hath hid me safe in thee;
Where the water and the blood,
From thy healing side which flowed,
Are of sin the double cure,
Cleansing from its guilt and power.'"

Very recently, the following statements have been put forth, which, I suppose, are substantially the views held by the Darbyite party:—

"If, then, the Spirit be addressed in prayer or in hymns, the rational consequence is almost blasphemy. It is the Spirit speaking to Himself; the Spirit of God calling out—

"'Come Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove.'

But it will be said, It is *not* the Spirit who is praying. We are praying *for* the Spirit. Then you at once deny your only means of access to the Father; you virtually deny that you are Christ's; for 'IF ANY MAN HAVE NOT THE SPIRIT OF CHRIST, HE IS NONE OF HIS.'

"Prayer for the Spirit is a denial that He was given to abide for ever with the Church. How can such a prayer be answered? It is unbelief; and whatsoever is not of faith is sin. (Rom. xiv. 23.) Doubtless, God in His infinite mercy has often overlooked the ignorance of his children, and many an answer has been given to prayer uttered without intelligence. But is this a reason for persisting in an evil course of unbelief and denial of God's precious gift during the absence of His Son? The Spirit having been given, it is a *mockery* to ask God to repeat the gift. You should *believe* He was given, and be subject to His guidance.

"Dear brethren, prayer *for* the Spirit is unscriptural; what we need is prayer *in* the Spirit. (Eph. vi. 18.) Waiting for the Spirit is unscriptural. Oh, then, cease to grieve the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption. Deeply humbled before God, dear brethren, on account of this fearful sin of grieving the Holy Spirit, let us henceforth yield our souls to His guidance by the Word of God."

The reply to these hasty assertions and strong denunciations has been, and must still be, as follows:—The Holy Spirit is God; a divine person in the blessed Trinity; He loves the saints with an infinite and *personal* love (Rom. xv. 30), and they love Him in return. Can we love an infinitely glorious being without worshipping him; and will not worship find utterance in words of prayer and praise? If it be right to worship the Spirit in a doxology of praise, together with the Father and the Son, can we err in invoking His gracious aid, or seeking His personal guidance?

The following passages also should be pondered:—"Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." (Matt. xxviii. 19.) "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen." (2 Cor. xiii. 14.)

Is not the Holy Spirit worshipped in the act of baptism; and do we not pray for the Holy Spirit every time the benediction is uttered? If fellowship with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ, includes, as all will allow, the exercise of prayer and praise, must it not be so as regards "the fellowship of the Holy Ghost?" Must not the heart in which He dwells hold communion with Him as a divine person, and while receiving His communications, render to Him the result of these communications, even earnest desire and devout gratitude? The reader might also turn to Cant. iv. 16; Ezek. xxxvii. 9—14; Rev. i. 5. Does not the apostle, in 2 Thess. iii. 5, directly address the Holy Spirit, when he says, "The Lord direct your hearts into the love of God, and into the patient waiting for Christ." Is not the Holy Spirit "*the* LORD" spoken to here, even Him who "sheds abroad the love of God in the heart"? (Rom. v. 5; 2 Cor. iii. 17, 18; Rom. xv. 13.)

As regards praying *for* the Holy Spirit, many will still think (notwithstanding all the denunciations uttered) with good Dr. Owen:—"We *may* both pray the Father that He would give and send the Holy Spirit to us according to His promise; and we may pray *to* Him to *come* to us, to sanctify and comfort us according to the office He hath undertaken."

The teachings of the Saviour, when the disciples said, "Lord, teach us to pray" (Luke xi. 1—3); His promises when in the upper room (John xiv. 16, 17; xv. 26; xvi. 7, 13—15); His

directions after His resurrection (Luke xxiv. 49); the practice of the disciples when the Lord was gone to the Father (Acts i. 14); the blessing that came upon these praying believers (Acts ii. 1—3); and subsequent bestowments and manifestations of the Spirit *still in answer to prayer* (Acts iv. 31; viii. 15—17; x. 2, 9, 44);—all encourage us to pray *for* the Holy Spirit. While we hear the apostle pleading, "That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give unto you the Spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him;" and again, "That He would grant you, according to the riches of His glory, to be strengthened with might by His Spirit in the inner man;" and while we hear the God of all grace lay it down as a general principle, that, as regards all His mercies and spiritual blessings, "He will be inquired of by the house of Israel to do it for them," we feel emboldened and constrained to seek continually, on behalf of our own souls, the church, and the world, that God would *give* us His Spirit more abundantly.

And has He not promised to do so? Can we ever forget, or pass by, those wondrous words: "If ye, then, being evil, know how to give good things unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him"? (Luke xi. 13.)

In vain are we told by the new teachers, Touch not that text, it is an obsolete passage; "the Lord was *then* speaking to Jews, before the Holy Ghost was given." We will not heed them. We believe that the Lord was speaking then to *disciples*, and through them to *us;* and we cannot part with His gracious words. To how many they have been the channel of blessing, and spring of comfort, will only be known in eternity. Surely the attempt must be utterly vain to scare away the sheep of Christ from these green pastures and still waters.

But on what ground is the argument based, that it is so very wrong to pray for the Holy Spirit? The reason assigned is, that the Holy Spirit has already been given, and therefore it is dishonouring to God to pray for Him. The same reason they give for not praying for the Holy Spirit might lead them to give over praying for almost anything. If I am not to ask for what the Lord has made a *grant* of to me, then prayer must cease. "There shall no evil happen to the righteous." Then I might say, Having such a promise, my asking to be saved from any danger is needless, yea, is unbelief. How unlike David's way (2 Sam. vii. 28, 29): "Thou hast promised," and "*therefore* let it please Thee to do it. Thou hast said, I will build Thee a house; *therefore* hath Thy servant found it in his heart to pray this prayer unto Thee"! Surely those who thus object, overlook the difference between Christ being gifted freely

to the world, and the actual giving of Christ to a soul that believes. Would they say, No need of a soul believing, for already Christ is given to sinners. They confuse the giving in the sense of making a *grant*, with the actual *bestowment* of the grant. The Holy Spirit is now given as really as Christ is given; but the gift is to be sued out. It is a blessed fact, that the Holy Spirit is given as regards His *mission*, inaugurating a new dispensation; and, *in this respect*, we need not pray for Him as the disciples did *before Pentecost*: but we may, yea, we must, if we would be blessed of God, plead for Him to come to the soul and to the church, as regards His *presence* and *power*.

While rejoicing in the *in-dwelling* of the Holy Spirit in the Church, and in each believer, we still ask with Dr. Winslow:—

"Are we forbidden to ask for and pray to the Holy Spirit? As in the apostolic age of the church, the Holy Ghost in her midst, given in fulfilment of the promise of the Great Advocate, and in response to the prayers of the people, was manifested in His power and glory by the continued intercession of the saints; even thus is it now. We do not ignore the truth of a *given* and a *present* Spirit. Though the Holy Spirit is the in-dweller of the believer, and the ever-abiding visitant of the church, the fervent and unceasing cries of the Lord's people are still needed to win yet richer effusions of His sanctifying influence, and yet more signal displays of His converting power. He, the Lord of His church, who promised His disciples an abiding Spirit (John xiv. 16), at the same time taught them *to pray for the Holy Spirit*, and pledged His and their Father's love to grant the boon to them who asked it." (Luke xi. 13.)

The new views, against which these remarks are directed, are, I believe, contrary to Scripture, and have proved to be very perplexing to many true Christians. The Church, in all ages, have found a means of communion with God in what is so strongly prohibited; and thousands have testified of answers to prayers for the aid, the teachings, and presence of the Holy Spirit. There is some reason to fear that if the doctrine of these new teachers could be carried out, and there *was a silence* throughout the Church as regards invoking and praying for the Holy Spirit, the godhead, glory, and personal love of the Divine Comforter might gradually cease to be distinctly recognized.

A few words in conclusion on the general bearing of the doctrines of this new sect.

While fully conceding that among "the Brethren," and in their writings, there is much valuable truth, and even granting, as we trust, that their tracts and teachings have been owned of God to the salvation and consolation of souls, there are things connected with the system which many have observed and been alarmed at, for the last quarter of a century.

One is a habit of making subtle distinctions, and raising so many curious questions. This has resulted, even among themselves, in sad divisions, bitter controversies, and personal animosities, almost unparalleled.

These subtle distinctions, and hair-splitting refinements, have been carried into the most sacred and awful themes of the Bible, concerning which it might indeed be said, "Man was not made to *question*, but adore."

There has also been much fancifulness of interpretation as regards historical and typical truths, readily finding and most positively applying analogies which no one ever saw before; which dazzle at first sight (especially young and excitable minds), but will not bear investigation. Probably, since the days of the Schoolmen, Origen has scarcely had such ingenious imitators in his allegorizing method as some of the Brethren.

One-sidedness is also a peculiar feature of the case. This pervades and injures some of their most popular tracts, books, and periodicals. Sometimes, as you read, you think you have come upon something very good, nay, actually have obtained some new light. You read again, and hesitate; you say, is this scriptural teaching? Is there not something *lacking* here, is there not another side to this question? You put the whole thing into the balance of truth, and find it wanting. In many places you find a tendency towards ultraism in doctrine, and much sympathy in some things with what has usually been called "hyper-Calvinism." This similarity also is seen in the acrimony and bitterness which has distinguished much of the literature of Brethrenism from their beginning. The bitterest things have been said against all sects and parties, their doctrines and doings. And even now, those who do not receive their novel doctrines concerning the non-vicariousness of the life of Christ, the meaning they affix to the term "righteousness," the exclusion of Old Testament saints from the glory of the Church, the secret coming and rapture, and the not praying to or for the Holy Spirit, are denounced in very strong language.

One thing is most certain, that if the Brethren are right, all Christians have been in serious error on most points for many hundred years. As for the long honoured Puritan writers, and their favourite doctrines of the "imputed righteousness of Christ," "imparted and progressive sanctification by the Spirit," with other kindred truths, they are very little thought of; and certainly, if the Darbyites are right, *about the worst thing that could be done* is to reprint and circulate the writings of Luther, Bunyan, Reynolds, Owen, Goodwin, Newton, Romaine, and others. But concerning these things there are yet many who testify, "No man having drunk old wine straightway desireth new, for he saith the old is better." But

best of all is the pure Word, to which, amidst all "new lights," may we "give the more earnest heed"! Bending over it reverently, may our earnest cry to its gracious Author ever be, "Open Thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of Thy law." A. D.

"THREE LETTERS, ETC., ON THE DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION."

The Doctrine of Justification, and the Harmony of the Apostles Paul and James considered; with particular reference to the Treatise of Bishop O'Brien. In Three Letters, reprinted from the "British Magazine." Designed for the use of Students in Divinity. London: Rivingtons. 1862.

A RECENT re-issue of Bishop O'Brien's Treatise on Justification has evoked a reprint of three letters which appeared originally in the "British Magazine," under the signature of "Catholicus," and which form the clever, plausible, and mischievous little work described at the head of this notice. A full reply to its arguments would involve a treatise rather than a review. And to answer its pleas *seriatim* and in detail, so as to convince the reader who may need conviction that they are offered in vain, would be to fill our pages with erroneous teaching; for which our readers would scarcely thank us. We will do our best to supply a general view of its author's opinions, and will then endeavour to combat the error which they contain.

In their general tone and tendency, the Letters in question remind us strongly of the Bampton Lectures of Bishop Mant in 1812. Both in these Letters, and also in those Lectures, Bishop Bull appears to be considered the true type of the Anglican divine as regards the doctrine of justification. Like Bishop Mant, "Catholicus," in the Letters before us, strenuously repudiates any rejection of the scriptural and church doctrine of "justification by faith only," in what is deemed its true and scriptural signification; and both authors alike repudiate all idea of upholding the plea of "merit" for those works by which, as they maintain, we are to be justified. And yet they practically agree in subverting the doctrine of justification by faith only, as taught in our 11th and 12th Articles of Religion and in the Church Homilies; and they inculcate views of justification which, when popularly and practically held and taught, tend to and result in self-righteousness, and an arrogant idea of merit. Indeed, even "Catholicus" himself may serve to remind *us, in his* Postscript of 1862, (at pp. 38, 39,) that it is the popular

application of any erroneous doctrine, divested of those safeguards wherewith its more learned and cautious advocates have invested it, which is its most mischievous form.

The main object of the first Letter is to show that "by works a man is justified, and not by faith only" (James ii. 24); and that, "according to the plainest and most obvious sense of those expressions;" and that *that* is "the true meaning" of St. James's language, "which alone has given rise to the notion of a discrepancy between his doctrine of justification and the doctrine of St. Paul:" and yet, "that justification is from first to last by faith, and by faith only." (See pp. 3, 4.) And, like Bishop Mant, he then proclaims, in the strongest terms, his personal sense of the "importance" of "the doctrine" of justification by faith only; and his belief that "salvation is *entirely* by grace," and so forth. (p. 4.) But we soon obtain an insight into his true meaning, when he quotes and comments upon the cases of the woman with the issue of blood, the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea "by faith," but "on their feet," and the conquest of Goliath by faith, but with a sling and a stone. He argues, that "we admit that" it was "their *faith only*" which insured success; "though, in all these instances, a certain 'work' concurred and was instrumental in producing the result," &c. (p. 5.) But *are* we bound to admit this proposition in so many terms? Does the Scripture tell us that, in these cases of temporal deliverance, it was faith *only*, or faith *without* the use of consequent means, which insured success? Whereas it does tell us that "a man is justified by faith without deeds of law." (Rom. iii. 28.)* Upon this view of the case, it will be unnecessary to supply a formal answer to his consequent question:—

> "Where, then, is the inconsistency in affirming at once that we are justified by faith, and by faith only; and affirming at the same time, (in the easiest and most natural sense of the expressions,) that 'a man is justified by works, and not by faith only?' To be justified, indeed, 'by the deeds of the law,' and to be justified 'by faith,' are opposite and contradictory conditions; but to be justified 'by faith,' and 'by' 'the works,' *which are faith operating and coming out into display*, is precisely *the same thing*." (pp. 5, 6.)

Here, then, we have Bishop Bull's old theory of justification by "a formed faith," so ably combated, about twenty-three years ago, in the late Rev. G. Stanley Faber's "Primitive Doctrine of Justification."† The above view seems, to us at least, to be at plain variance with the 11th and 12th Articles of Religion, which distinctly teach that we are justified by faith

* Χωρις ἐργων νομου, or legal obedience of any kind, whether moral or ceremonial.

† Published by Seeley and Co., Fleet Street. It would be well if this valuable treatise were brought more prominently before the public at the present time.

only;" and that "good works" are "the *fruits* of faith, and follow *after* justification." How, then, can they be concurrent with faith, as the means of obtaining justification?

But our author expresses himself still more plainly as he proceeds. This will be seen when we come to consider his second Letter. In the meantime, it may be observed, that in his quotations from Hooker and Augustine, to prove that, in excluding works from justification, it is intended to exclude only "the fellowship *of worth through precedent works, as the apostle Paul doth,*" the references are given so vaguely, and to the pages of particular editions, that we are unable to verify them. The whole tenor of Hooker's celebrated sermon on Justification being at variance with the above passage, which our author quotes to prove that Hooker held *his* view, we shall not take the trouble of discussing the merits or demerits of other authors who are occasionally cited by "Catholicus," as our present business lies rather with his own views than with theirs. As regards the reconciliation of St. Paul and St. James, after quoting James ii. 14, he remarks*:—

"The argument does not turn on his *saying* that he has faith, when he has nothing of the kind, but upon his *wanting works*. What does it 'profit *if* (ἐαν) a man—have not works?' His either *saying* he has faith, or actually having it, would make no difference. It is on the absence of works that the apostle fastens it." (p. 9.)

Now we draw a very different inference from the passage in question. The apostle's words are these: "What doth it profit, my brethren, though [if, ἐαν] a man *say* he hath faith (πιστιν), and have not works? Can [the] faith (ἡ πιστις) save him?" Now this is equivalent to, can "his faith," or "this faith" save him —"as the bishop," to adopt the words of our author. But perhaps the most concise method of dealing with him will be to first quote his view of the reconcilement of St. James with St. Paul, and then to state our own interpretation in correction of it. After quoting James ii. 15, 16, he proceeds:—

"As much as to say, a man is no more to be justified by faith without works, than the hungry or the naked are to be warmed and nourished without food or clothing, by good wishes or fair words. Again; 'You have faith. Well, but it is not faith, *as* faith, which is of any value; for the devils also believe and tremble. Wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith *without works* is dead, being *alone?* And thus was not Abraham our father justified by works, when he offered up Isaac his son upon the altar?' 'By doing so, he showed that he *feared* God.' He showed that the 'faith' which had previously been 'imputed unto him for righteousness,' was out and out obedience in

* Throughout these remarks, the italics in the quotations from the Letters of "Catholicus" are given as in the original.

principle and germ, and that he was justified by it *in this view of it.* And what, accordingly, justified Rahab the harlot? Not an opinion or profession, but a service which she did the Israelites; expressive, indeed, of the fact that she believed that God was with them of a truth; but apart from which, this faith, ineffectual and inoperative, would have been of no benefit to her in the world. I think it, then, evident, from the entire train of the Apostle's reasoning, that his 'conclusion,' that 'a man' is justified by works, and not by faith only,' is perfectly serious and formal. He means that while a penitent is justified by faith, as 'the obedience,' in 'order' to which 'the Gospel is preached among all nations,' so he is justified by works, as the same obedience in its progress and development," &c. (pp. 10, 11.)

Again,—

"It is true, then, that works are justifying only as they spring from, and thus express the operation of, a principle of *faith in divine mercy;* but then, again, this faith itself is only justifying as it receives Christ, as much in one as in another of His offices, as much submitting the believer's mind to His illumination and instructions as His Prophet, and the believer's heart and life to His government and regulation as his King, as depending for pardon and acceptance upon Him as his Priest—the believer confiding in God's grace, not separately, as exercised in the justification of his person, but jointly, as exercised also in the sanctification of his soul," &c. (p. 11.)

Such is our author's opinion of St. James's teaching, and the train of reasoning whereby he practically subverts the whole doctrine of justification by faith only, while professing, in words, that he upholds it. For well does our Hooker remind us that, "if that which is added be such a privation as taketh away the very essence of that whereunto it is adjoined, then by sequel it overthroweth. He which saith, Judas is a dead man, though in word he grant Judas to be a man, yet in effect he proveth him by that speech to be no man, because death depriveth him of his being. In like sort, he that should say, Our election is of grace for our works' sake, should grant in sound of words, but indeed by consequent deny, that our election is of grace; for the grace which electeth us is no grace (Rom. xi. 6), if it elect us for our works' sake." * But before we proceed to consider his general doctrine of justification, let us see whether there is no way of reconciling the apparent contradiction between St. Paul and St. James, of which he speaks, consistently with the doctrine of our Articles of Religion and our Church Homilies. We say *apparent* contradiction; because, both writers being

* Discourse on Justification, s. 29. We must mitigate Hooker's censure in favour of those who hold that election is contingent upon foreknowledge that the elect will submit to divine grace, and so repent and believe the Gospel. Pious men like Dean Graves so interpret such passages as Rom. viii. 29; 1 Peter i. 2. Our seventeenth Article leaves this point an open question, as Waterland observes.

inspired, there can, of course, be no real contradiction.* As both apostles refer to Abraham, in illustration of their respective statements, it is the more easy to ascertain their meaning. St. James, after speaking of Abraham's offering up Isaac as an example of justification by works, goes on to say, "Seest thou how faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect? And the Scripture was fulfilled which saith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness." Now, it was not until about forty years after this imputation of righteousness, that Abraham offered up Isaac; and therefore, according to the teaching of St. James himself, it appears that he had been a justified man before God about forty years before. Consequently, this act was not the cause, but the evidence, of his justification: "Ye see, then, how that by works a man is justified," that is, is declared and shown to be just and righteous. For the word is sometimes used in this sense in Scripture. For example, David thus addresses God: "That thou mayest be justified when thou speakest;" and our Saviour tells the Pharisees, "Ye are they which justify yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts;" and Christ is said to have been "justified in [or by] the Spirit." This explanation is confirmed by the fact that St. James says, "Was not our father Abraham justified by works, *when he had offered up Isaac his son upon the altar?*" (James ii. 21.) On turning to Genesis xxii. 12, we there read that God then said unto him, "*Now I know that* thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me." Hence we see that this act proved the sincerity of his faith, and thus manifested his justification. And to this the words of St. James appear to refer; his object being to point out the effects of real faith, and thus to warn those who profess that they know God, but in works deny Him. So Rahab had professed to believe that God would give Canaan to the Israelites (Josh. i. 9—13); she acted accordingly, and in concealing the spies, she justified her profession.

As regards the faith of devils, to which our author alludes, in that they "believe and tremble," it must be remembered that when we speak of justifying faith, we refer to a specific kind of faith. A deist, who rejects the Bible, may have the faith of devils; that is to say, he may believe that there is one God, and may even tremble. But he does not believe the Gospel. Now, it is not said that the devils believe the Gospel; for there is no gospel preached to them that they can believe.

* When Romanists taunt Protestants with Luther's rejection of the Epistle of St. James, they should not forget that it was one of those doubted by some of the Fathers, and that they are pledged by Pope Pius's Creed to "admit" and "interpret" Holy Scripture "according to the *unanimous* consent of the Fathers."

Christ died not to redeem the devils. So that, as Dr. Baylee justly reminds us, when we speak of justifying faith, we must bear in mind its subject and its object. Its object to us is God, as giving up His only-begotten Son for our sins. (Rom. iv. 24.) Its subject is the love of God, and the atonement made by Christ.* Hence, it is impossible that devils should have that faith which, theologically speaking, is termed justifying faith. And it is scarcely possible to reconcile the statement of "Catholicus," that it is "the absence of works" which renders faith alone of no avail, with the teaching of the first part of the Church Homily on Good Works:—

"I can show a man that by faith without works lived, and came to heaven: but without faith never man had life. The thief that was hanged when Christ suffered, did believe only, and the most merciful God justified him. And because no man shall say again, that he lacked time to do good works, for else he would have done them: truth it is, and I will not contend therein; but this I will surely affirm, that faith only saved him. If he had lived, and not regarded faith, and the works thereof, he should have lost his salvation again. But this is the effect that I say, that faith by itself saved him, but works by themselves never justified any man," &c. (pp. 43, 44.)

We will now proceed to consider the second of the three Letters of our author "Catholicus," wherein an opportunity will be afforded of supplying an antidote to the last of the passages in his first Letter, which it has been deemed expedient to quote above. In describing the doctrine of his opponents, such as Bishop O'Brien, he does not scruple to insinuate that it is "a theology doctrinally absurd and antinomian, opposed to the plainest statements of the Word of God, and unknown in the Church Catholic (according to the confession or avowal of one of the most devoted patrons of this doctrine) for fourteen, at least, out of the first fifteen hundred years of Christianity," &c. (pp. 14, 15.) Now, it was to prove the primitive Catholicity of the doctrine of justification by faith only, which is thus denounced as a modern heresy in these no very measured terms, that the late Rev. G. Stanley Faber, about twenty-three years ago, published his valuable treatise on the "Primitive Doctrine of Justification." But the opponents of Mr. Faber's doctrine have invariably accused him of misquoting, or misrepresenting the meaning of, the passages from Clement of Rome, and other early writers, which he has adduced in support of the evangelical view of this important question. But if we turn to two other independent witnesses, viz., Bishop Beveridge, in his "Ecclesia Anglicana Ecclesia Catholica, or, Discourse on the Thirty-nine Articles;" and Archdeacon Welchman, in his "Notes on the Thirty-nine

* See the Rubric appended to the Communion of the Sick, 3rd paragraph.

Articles," we shall find that these two learned authorities cite many of the same passages which are adduced by Mr. Faber in support of the same position; so that the meaning of the Fathers is quite as much a matter of debate as the meaning of Scripture itself. In vain shall we wade through their ponderous folios in search of "that nondescript something to be found nowhere—Catholic consent," as Dr. M'Neil has justly described it. In fact, the alleged scheme for interpreting Scripture by consent of the Fathers is beset with a practical difficulty *in limine*, viz., that it is far harder to be obtained than the sense of Scripture itself.

But to return to "Catholicus" and his Letters. His doctrine of justification is very plainly stated in this second Letter. Its avowed object is to maintain, "that the works excluded from the office of justifying by St. Paul are the works which *precede* faith, not the works which follow it, and are effects of it." (p. 18.) He argues that the works excluded by St. Paul are "the *deeds* (ἐργων) of the law" (p. 18); he might more correctly have said, "deeds" of law, ἐργων νομου. He interprets this phrase as meaning, "this obedience *peculiarly considered as meriting eternal life, according to the terms and conditions of the law of Moses.*" (p. 19.) The deeds of the law, he argues, "are the acts of an obedience to that law (considered as a covenant of works)," requiring a perfect fulfilment, which no man has ever rendered; so that all are thrown for justification "on the righteousness of another," &c. (p. 19.) Again:—

"The deeds of the law, then, excluded from the office of justifying by the apostle in this passage, are not numerically those 'good works' which the law and the gospel equally require, but those works *specially considered as answering the requirements of the law of Moses*, considered as capable of 'putting away sin, and enduring the severity of God's judgment;' considered as exonerating from the curse," &c. (p. 19.)

Again:—

"It may obviously be true, that a man is justified by faith, and not by a meritorious obedience to the law of Moses, and true, at the same time, that, while justified by faith, he is justified also by the works, which are faith acting, and coming out in its results; and which justify, not as satisfying the conditions of a covenant of works, but as imputed for righteousness, under a covenant of grace." (p. 20.)

And he also endeavours to show, from Romans iv. 1, that "the works excluded from the office of justifying by St. Paul are *works to be performed by a man in his own strength.*" (p. 21.) And also "*those works which are opposed to divine grace.*" (p. 22.) He speaks of the two covenants as the one "promising blessing to obedience, but not assisting and *enabling* to obey: the other, the ministration of righteous-

ness, and, *in consequence of being so*, 'the ministration of the Spirit.'" (p. 21.) And from this he argues:—

"And thus the deeds of the law are not merely an obedience performed under the condition of its *perfectly* meeting the requirements of the law of Moses, but this obedience *performed* by the man in his *own strength*, and as developed out of the resources of *the flesh*. . . . The deeds of the law are an obedience *rendered to the law in our own strength*. The law, as a rule of life, may be of course obeyed by divine aids; but the law, as a covenant of works, reminds the sinner of the obedience for which he is responsible, and which God *requires* from him as the condition of His favour, in his fallen state. . . . . And thus, lastly, the works excluded from justifying by St. Paul are works which, supposing that they justified, would give, in doing so, '*whereof to glory;*' and is this the case with any works of which the person doing them has cause to say, 'Not I, but the grace of God which was with me;' 'not I, but Christ that liveth in me'? The apostle, in employing these expressions, in effect denies the works which a man does, with the aids of Divine grace, to stand on the same ground as those which he has performed in his own strength. He affirms, in effect, that while a man would have 'whereof to glory' in performance of the one, it is not, on the contrary, he, but Divine grace, which carries away the entire glory of the other. On the whole, then, it is untrue that the works excluded from justifying by St. Paul are identical with those 'by' which 'a man is justified,' according to St. James. The works, on the contrary, excluded from justifying by St. Paul, are precisely those which have been done, as Hooker and Augustine tell us, '*before* the grace of Christ and inspiration of His Spirit.' . . . . . And what is it, accordingly, to be justified by the works, which are faith acting, but to be 'justified by faith;' as what is it to be justified by faith, but to be 'accepted in the Beloved,' *in the view of us, as confiding in Him*—that is, expecting our happiness, for time and for eternity, *from the fulfilment of His promises, and, accordingly, in the way of His obedience?*" (pp. 21—24.)

Such is the miserable "mingle-mangle of law and gospel" (as good old bishop Latimer would term it) which this writer would persuade "students in divinity" to accept as the scriptural doctrine of justification by faith only! Our readers will scarcely expect us to enter into an elaborate discussion of these positions, when so many excellent treatises already exist upon the subject. And if "students in divinity" will only peruse Hooker's Discourse on Justification, and bishop Beveridge's Exposition of the 11th of the XXXIX. Articles; we may apprehend little mischief from their previous perusal of the letters of "Catholicus." His statement, that "the works of the law" refer to works done before justification by faith, and to works done in our own strength, though plausible, will not bear examination. What is the law, but the expression of God's mind and will respecting human duty?

How is the believer to know what the mind of the Lord is, except by His holy law as developed in the gospel? The gospel establishes this law as a rule of life. (Rom. iii. 31; Ephes. vi. 1—3; James ii. 8—13.) His works, which are done to please God, in accordance with His revealed will, are, therefore, "works of law." But under the gospel plan such works are shut out from the office of justifying the sinner in the sight of God, because they fall short of that perfection which would be required to enable them to do so. If, however, he means to affirm that the sinner, on believing in Christ, is henceforth to be left "without law," spontaneously to work out his own justification and salvation, as the condition of God's favour, by the light of divine grace, independently of any revealed "law" of God, then we have him advocating a species of flagrant antinomianism which is usually found to exist only in the most fanatical of solifidians; thus affording one more illustration of the proverb that extremes meet. But Mr. Stanley Faber has long since shown the absurdity of supposing that St. Paul refers to works done before justification, and not to works after justification. Disguise the matter as we will, observes Mr. Faber, by saying that we should be humble because of the imperfection of our works, yet we have room to boast if we are justified before God by our own works. But St. Paul tells us that boasting is excluded by the law of faith, (Rom. iii. 27,) therefore the Romanists and "Catholicus" do not propound the law of faith in the sense wherein it is propounded by St. Paul.* Nor will it suffice to say that boasting is excluded because it is the grace of God working in the believer which produces them. For we must presume that "Catholicus" is not an advocate of predestinarian fatalism to the extent of depriving man of all moral responsibility for his actions, and making him a mere machine in the Spirit's hands. If, then, men be justified by works, which works are performed through their submitting themselves to the grace of God, which others resist and quench, then they have ground of "boasting," which St. Paul tells us they have not under the law of faith. Furthermore, from St. Paul's argument in Romans ii. 14, 21—25; iii. 10—20, (compared with James ii. 8—13,) it is clear that it is to works of obedience to the universal moral law of God which the Scripture refers when it speaks of the insufficiency of the law to justify.† It is also plain, from Romans ii. 13; iii. 20, 28; iv. 5; &c., that by "justified" is to be understood the being reckoned, or accounted, or declared just before God. And St. Paul says,

* See Rev. G. S. Faber's Primitive Doctrine of Justification, ch. viii. pp. 287—289; and ch. ix. pp. 311, 312, where he discusses Augustine's view.

† This is fully proved by Mr. Faber in ch. ix., especially at pp. 303—314. Mr. Faber quotes Chrysostom in support of his view.

that "a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law." And that we are "the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus." (Rom. iii. 28; Gal. iii. 26.) And very clear is the teaching of the 11th of the Thirty-nine Articles upon this point: "We are *accounted righteous* before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings;" and that "we are justified by faith only." That we are thus accounted righteous by the imputation of Christ's righteousness, is plain from the teaching of the first part of the Homily on Salvation, to which the Article itself refers us:* "So that Christ is now the righteousness of all them that truly do believe in Him. He for them paid their ransom by His death. He for them fulfilled the law in His life. So that now in Him, and by Him, every true Christian man may be called a fulfiller of the law; forasmuch as that which their infirmity lacked, Christ's justice hath supplied." (p. 20.) And very clear is the teaching of the same Homily in opposition to the view of "Catholicus," that we are justified by a combination of faith and works together. Therein we read that "man cannot make himself righteous by his own works, neither in part, nor in the whole;" and that we must renounce the merit of all our "good deeds which we either have done, *shall* do, or *can* do," as insufficient to our justification. (Part ii. p. 23.) But the Homily is equally clear that the gospel plan does not exclude good works, but only excludeth them from the office of justifying before God. The Homily also teaches that "it is all one sentence in effect, to say, faith without works, and only faith, doth justify us;" &c. (Part iii. p. 25.) This justifying faith removes the impediment to being accounted righteous for Christ's sake, and being adopted into God's family. And God's forgiveness of the justified believer's subsequent offences resembles a father's forgiveness of his children's sins. The difference in the degrees of happiness and glory reserved for God's children in the world to come may be illustrated by the same figure. An earthly parent may love all his sons with equal tenderness and affection, and yet they may be far from

* Even bishop Mant uses this phraseology: "Thus much, at least, I take it to be certain, that persons are represented as being both *justified* and saved, on their admission into the Christian covenant: justified, or *accounted righteous* before God by *virtue of the imputed righteousness of Christ;*" &c. (Bampton Lectures, ii. p. 67.) But he proceeds to argue that "they are justified when they are baptized," (p. 68,) quoting an isolated phrase in the Homily on Salvation, "baptized or justified," as did bishop Blomfield in his Charge of 1842. But since the latter term cannot be explanatory or synonymous with the former, (for that would be to say, in opposition to the 11th Article, and to the whole tenor of the Homily itself, that we are justified by baptism, and not by faith only,) it must, as the Rev. E. G. Marsh has observed, be interpreted as corrective of the former, "after we are baptized or [rather after we are] justified." Compare dean Goode, as quoted in the Christian Observer for October, 1849, p. 657, notes, who hints that the "or" is here to be interpreted in its ordinary sense of a connective particle.

being all equally well qualified, by their previous characters, habits, and diligence, for filling the same honourable and important situations in after-life. And so is it as regards the characters, and habits, and training of God's justified and adopted ones, with reference to their places in His eternal kingdom in the world to come.

Before we proceed, it is desirable to make a brief allusion to the doctrine of the imputed righteousness of Christ. It must be ever kept in mind that it is imputed righteousness, δικαιοσυνη, as in Rom. x. 4, of which we speak, and not imputed sanctification, or holiness, ἁγιασμος, without which, in some degree, no man will be qualified to see the Lord, or be fit for His glorious kingdom. (Heb. xii. 14.) By the imputed righteousness of Christ is meant, that the believing sinner is accepted as if he were righteous, out of regard to the perfect fulfilment of the law by our Lord Jesus Christ. Or, as Albert Barnes puts it, God treats him, for Christ's sake, "*as if he were righteous*," and "*as if* he had not fallen;" and though, of course, He sees sin in believers, as a father perceives the faults of a child, and sends fatherly chastisements to correct their errors, yet He will not impute their sins to their everlasting condemnation. In connexion with this part of our subject, we may also take occasion to remark how important it is, in all theological discussions, to observe an accurate use and a clear definition of terms. Thus it is often objected to the evangelical view of justification, that its advocates place justification before sanctification; whereas St. Paul places sanctification before justification. (1 Cor. vi. 11; 2 Thess. ii. 13.) Now, the fact is, that the evangelical writers in question obviously use the word "sanctification" with reference to the habit of performing those good works which the 12th Article declares to follow after justification. But since faith is one of the fruits of the Spirit, (Gal. v. 22,) and since Hooker reminds us that "no man is justified except he believe, and no man believeth except he hath faith, and no man hath faith unless he have received the Spirit of adoption;"* so, if the term sanctification be applied to the marking out and setting apart of the sinner for Christ's service by the Spirit, in effectually calling † him, and working in him true repentance and sincere faith, and leading him to turn from sin to God in true conversion, in *that* sense it may be said that sanctification precedes justification. And so, indeed, do we find even bishop Hopkins admitting, in his work

* Discourse on Justification, s. 21, vol. ii. p. 621 of Oxford edition.

† We use this phrase advisedly. Bishop Pearson speaks of those who are "efficaciously called." (On the Creed, ix. p. 515.) The 17th Article speaks of a call according to God's purpose. Even bishop Bethell admits that this is an Augustinian phrase, equivalent to an "effectual call." (On Regeneration, ch. vii. p. 94, note.)

on the Covenants, as published by the Religious Tract Society: "We grant, indeed, that, in order of nature, sanctification is before justification; for we are justified by faith, which faith is one great part of our sanctification; but in respect of time, sanctification and justification are together; for, in the very same instant that we believe, we are justified. Yet, justification is not the making of a man's person inherently just or holy," &c.* But, in using such language, a careful definition of terms is, of course, most important for every reason. And it must ever be remembered that Christian graces and Christian works, Christian character and Christian conduct, "follow after justification," and "do spring out *necessarily* of a true and lively faith," as our 12th Article distinctly teaches.

In the third Letter of "Catholicus," an attempt is made to invalidate the usual inference in favour of justification by faith only, from St. Paul's answer to a supposed objector, in Rom. vi. 1. He argues that "The Apostle's own reply to the inquiry is to the effect, that, suspended on the condition of penitence and new obedience, it is impossible that the justification of the Christian should consist with a continuance in sin." (p. 27.) We do not think that our readers will deem this a fair or an adequate exposition of the passage. He argues that St. Paul, up to the end of ch. v., had stated the true doctrine of justification by grace through faith; and had remarked that, so far from the law being able to justify, it had entered "that the offence might abound," (Rom. v. 20,) "and, by abounding, illustrate all the more conspicuously the riches of that grace which abounded, notwithstanding, even more." (p. 27.) He then proceeds as follows:—

"After this, then, it was no impertinent or unnatural inquiry, whether we should not continue in sin that grace might abound; whether, if it was (as St. Paul had stated it to be) the case, that the aboundings of man's sin were the very means of bringing into manifestation, and so of glorifying, the *super*-aboundings of God's grace, it did not follow, according to this statement, that the way to glorify God was to continue in sin, in order to give all the greater occasion for the exercise and manifestation of His grace." (p. 28)

* (Part ii. p. 115.) We cannot help here noticing that some of the language of bishop Hopkins in this treatise appears to be open to objection; *e.g.*, "Good works are absolutely necessary to preserve the state of justification when once obtained." (p. 142.) "God hath promised salvation to those who obey Him; and, therefore, because of this promise, it is bestowed upon them as a reward of their obedience: and they are said to be worthy of such a reward, not because their obedience is in itself worthy it; but rather because it is worthy of God to stand to His word, and to fulfil the promises He hath made." (p. 135) "The covenant of grace requires good works of believers, as necessary to salvation." (p. 134.) (See also pp. 139, 142, 143.) But there is in it this candid mode of speaking on the Calvinistic question; viz., "should it be supposed that an elect or a regenerate person should forsake the way of obedience, and betake himself unto the broad way wherein the most walk, we affirm that he is going the direct and ready road to hell; and hell he cannot escape, unless he stop and return." (p. 138.)

He argues that, in Romans i.—v., we have only "*half*," or "*one phase*," of "the doctrine of justification by a meritorious obedience to the law of Moses." (p. 29.) And that, in Rom. vi., vii., viii., we have "the *other half*," or "its *other phase*." This is, he tells us, "the doctrine of justification by a grace which suspends on the condition of 'a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness,' the justification which it offers," &c. And that it is "salvation, doubtless by grace through faith, but the *object* of faith, a Saviour associating sinners in His life, and conforming them to His image, and the *act* of faith accordingly, the act of expecting pardon through His blood, on the condition of welcoming His Spirit, and minding His directions."* (p. 29.)

Our previous remarks will suffice to overthrow the premises upon which this conclusion is founded, respecting the meaning of justification by faith only, as taught by the Apostle. And we consider that Mr. Faber's reasoning upon the question of Rom. vi. 1, upon which "Catholicus" comments as above, is not invalidated by anything which he has here advanced.†

He then proceeds to argue that, as regards the personal comfort to be derived from the doctrine of justification by faith only, as insisted upon by bishop O'Brien, there is considerably more comfort to be derived from his own view.‡ Now, we are not disposed to enter into any lengthened argument upon this point, since the true question is, "What saith the Scripture?" and not, which of the two doctrines is the most comfortable to the holder? We think that Mr. Faber has very satisfactorily disposed of this department of the case in his valuable treatise, to which we have had frequent occasion to refer. He argues that justification by our own inherent [or by imparted] righteousness necessarily involves a question of amount. Whereas sanctification, as an evidence of justification, involves no question of amount, but only one of actuality, and as a qualification. If it be real, then, although it may be low in degree, yet the spiritually sanctified individual is a genuine child of God, and may accordingly enjoy a legitimate peace and comfort and confidence in believing. (See Faber, chap. viii., pp. 259, 260, note.)

* Another writer of the same school, bishop Bethell, thus describes the process of justification:—"Man is justified in baptism, and continues to be justified whilst he is contending strenuously against sin, and praying for the forgiveness of his daily trespasses." (On Regeneration, ix. p. 148.)

† See Rev. G. F. Faber, ch. viii. pp. 253, 254.

‡ "Catholicus," at p. 30, note, thinks that he perceives a discrepancy between the doctrine of justification, as held by *bishop O'Brien*, and by Rev. J. Garbett. *In the review of "Loss and Gain"* [? by Dr. J. H. Newman] in our No. for November, 1848, pp. 767, 768, attention was directed to its effort to prove the existence of doubt and discrepancy among Protestants as to the nature of justifying faith. We venture to submit to our readers that, at the present time, a little attention should be given to this subject in sermons and at clerical meetings. It is most desirable, by mutual conference, to avoid even the *appearance* of teaching conflicting views as to the nature of justifying faith, and its connexion with justification before God.

One proof of the reality of the work of grace would, of course, be the earnest desire and effort to advance in holiness. (See Phil. iii. 12—14.) This view, we humbly think, is far more calculated to confer peace than the one which "Catholicus" advances for that purpose, viz.,—the personal conviction of offering "a sincere and real, though to the last defective, repentance and obedience," &c. (p. 33.) Is there no risk of self-flattery and self-deceit as to the *sincerity* and *reality* of this "defective obedience" of which "Catholicus" speaks? Is there no room for serious doubt as to the amount of defect which is consistent with safety? So that, after all, as was before observed, it is most undesirable to shift this important subject from the region of biblical criticism to the fluctuating standard of personal experience and personal feelings. "Catholicus," it is true, lays some stress on the lack of assurance of salvation, which is admitted to exist among those who hold the Evangelical view. (pp. 31, 32.) We must be careful to distinguish assurance of salvation, which is personal assurance of possessing a saving faith, from "the assurance of faith," or firm and assured faith, of which the Scripture speaks. One cause of the lack of assurance of salvation is well described in Dr. I. S. Spencer's Pastoral Sketches: "She distrusted herself, but not God. She was afraid to believe that she was a believer. She was so tremblingly afraid of getting wrong, that she dared not think she could possibly be right." (p. 276.) So, in the same volume, we read of another who expressed herself in this way:—"Oh, sir,—it is all dark to me!—faith—I cannot—understand it!" (p. 40.) We think that these two passages form a good index to the tone of mind which is in many cases the true cause of doubt, and of the lack of a personal assurance of salvation. But we will not pursue this branch of the subject any further.

We have allotted so large a space to this very small volume by "Catholicus," that the only remaining point in it to which we shall now refer is a remark in his "Postscript, 1862." He asserts that "the doctrine of the Redeemer's intercession,—a doctrine denounced by Mr. Maurice," is "without a place in that system of theology of which" bishop O'Brien again appears as "the deliberate and persevering advocate." (p. 38.) He must be strangely ignorant of the theology of those upon whom he ventures to fix this stigma. If he will only turn to the "Treatise on Prayer," by the late Rev. E. Bickersteth, of Watton, he will find an entire chapter devoted to "The Intercession of Jesus Christ." If he will turn to the volume of "Discourses for the Festivals," by the Rev. J. B. Marsden, in the sermon for Ascension-day he will find this important doctrine strongly and practically insisted upon. Many other like passages might be adduced from other evangelical authors.

But these will suffice for our present purpose.* We have selected them as the two which most readily occur to our mind, as evidence to disprove the rash charge of our author.

THE GOSPEL IN MADAGASCAR.

I. THE SEED TIME.—A.D. 1818—1838.

A TRAVELLER of our own day has well denominated Madagascar "the Great Britain of Africa." It deserves this name in several respects. Geographically, if we bring the south pole in a globe to the top, instead of the north, and then turn to Africa, we find this noble island occupying exactly the same position, with reference to that continent, which England does in our ordinary maps with respect to Europe. In actual extent, too, in square miles, there is a like similarity. The population, also, like that of England, is composed of three or four different races. Where, in the one case, we find an intermingled mass of Britons, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, in the other we have the Hovas, the Sakalavas, the Betsileo, and the Betanimena. The general term of "English" embraces the one; the common name of Malagese, or Malagasy, includes the other.

Of these, the Sakalavas and the Betsileo are black, while the Hovas and the Betanimena are of olive complexion. The Sakalavas, like the Saxons of England, are a numerous tribe, and are deemed "the finest race in Madagascar." The Hovas may stand for our Normans of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They are few in number; but they appear to be a branch of the great Malay family which is found in so many places in the Indian Ocean. With the usual energy of that race, they generally occupy, like the Normans of old, the seat of power, both in Madagascar and in most other places.

Fancy, too, prompted by hope, may find a resemblance to England in another respect. Most Englishmen are apt, while acknowledging the sins and shortcomings of their country and its government, to think that, in spite of these, the hopes of Europe and the world depend greatly upon England's advance and England's influence. Now, although the moral distance between England and Madagascar is enormous,—a distance of many centuries,—still it may be true, that what England is to Europe, *that* Madagascar may easily become for Africa,—a

* Archbishop Sumner's work on justification, (No. 619 on the list of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,) is a very useful tract. For practical purposes, "The Anxious Inquirer," by the late J. Angell James, (published by the Religious Tract Society,) will, perhaps, be found the best exposition of the evangelical doctrine of justification by faith only.

source of light, of energy, and of civilization. Such a prospect may indeed be faint and obscure; but we know nothing fraught with so much hope for Africa as the rapid rise of Madagascar.

All the history of this fine country that we possess is wholly modern. At the opening of the present century its condition resembled that of most parts of the African continent; tyrannized over by native chiefs, cursed by the slave trade, and possessing no unity or nationality of any kind. But among these chiefs there arose one, the father of the late king Radama, whose penetration and ambition inspired him with the idea of unity and royal power. Dying in 1810, he bequeathed this thought or purpose to his son, and by that son, Radama, about forty years since, it was successfully carried out. An able and enlightened Englishman, governor Farquhar, of Mauritius, gave him aid. A small body of disciplined soldiers, under the command of Brady, an English non-commissioned officer, was lent to Radama as a nucleus and a model. After this pattern he formed a small army, and this soon gave him the regal authority in Madagascar. In the next place, Mr. Farquhar, employing his influence wisely and patriotically, proceeded to suggest to Radama a firm alliance with England, and a suppression of the slave trade.

These wise and benevolent purposes were ultimately effected; but many difficulties protracted the necessary changes. The slave trade, wherever it exists, is sure, from its gainful character, to enlist on its side some powerful friends. Radama, however, was not deterred; and on the 23rd of October, 1817, he signed a treaty at Tamatave, the chief port of Madagascar, by which he covenanted to suppress the slave trade absolutely and for ever; governor Farquhar agreeing, on the part of England, to make an annual present to the king, in recompence for the profits which he was thus giving up. Mr. Ellis, in recording this transaction, adds:—

"No act of Radama's life will be remembered with so much satisfaction and pleasure as the abolition of the slave trade; and when the difficulties attending it are considered, it exhibits in the king a firmness of purpose, a decision of character, and a confidence in the integrity of the British government, which have rarely been surpassed."

The next circumstance in this history is of a less pleasing character. Governor Farquhar returned for a time to England; and the person who, in his absence, exercised the authority of governor, repudiated the treaty, and refused to fulfil England's part in the agreement. The British name was thus dishonoured, its influence was lost, and the slave trade again raised its head. But Mr. Farquhar returned to his post; the treaty was renewed; and on the 11th of October, 1820, proclamation was made that

the slave trade must from that time cease, and that traffic in human beings would be held a crime. Radama now advanced a new request, and one exhibiting an enlightened and patriotic mind. He desired that twenty young men, selected by himself, should be sent, one half to England, and the remainder to Mauritius, that they might be instructed in the arts and in the customs of Europe. His own brother-in-law, Rataffe, who had married his sister, had already departed for England, in order to learn, from personal inspection, something of a country whose power was now so extensively felt; and he had succeeded in gaining access to King George IV., and in becoming personally known to the committee of the London Missionary Society.

This Society was now actively engaged in plans for the diffusion of the Gospel in Madagascar. From its very formation, in 1795, this interesting island had attracted its attention. In 1799, 1800, and 1801, correspondence and inquiries were carried on by Dr. Vanderkemp, at the Cape of Good Hope; and that zealous evangelist formed a resolution to pay a visit to the island with missionary views. But his labours on the main-land claimed his whole energies, and it was not until 1810 that he was able to resume his original intention, and to begin again to inquire after means of reaching Madagascar. His illness and death put an end to all these plans and purposes; but almost immediately after, light sprang up in another quarter. The island of Mauritius, lying opposite to Madagascar, in the Indian Ocean, fell into the hands of the English, and thus a standing-place was gained, from whence visits to, and inquiries concerning, Madagascar itself could with increased facility be made. This opening was speedily perceived and taken advantage of in England. In 1814, a missionary, Mr. Le Brun, was sent to Mauritius, and was established there; but his instructions distinctly apprised him that "an important object of this mission was to prepare the way to the great island of Madagascar." Information was not long in reaching England, that Mr. Farquhar, the governor of Mauritius, had established friendly relations with Radama, the most powerful chief in Madagascar, and was pressing upon him the suppression of the slave trade. This news arrived in England in 1816, and it determined the committee of the London Missionary Society at once to go forward. Two young Welsh students, Mr. Jones and Mr. Bevan, were set apart for the mission in 1817, and early in 1818 they sailed for Mauritius. They arrived in that colony at an unpropitious moment. The *pro tempore* governor, who occupied Mr. Farquhar's place, had broken off, as we have already stated, the friendly relations which had existed, and Radama had felt himself unjustly treated. It seemed doubtful whether English missionaries

would now be received. Messrs. Jones and Bevan, therefore, only paid a visit of inquiry to the island, and returned to Mauritius until the prospect should become more clear. Soon after, however, being properly anxious to begin their work, the missionaries removed, with their wives and children, to Madagascar, hoping that God would "open a door for them." But it pleased Him to order matters differently. The fever of the country quickly seized upon the whole missionary party, and Mr. Bevan and his wife and child, and Mrs. Jones and her child, speedily sunk, leaving Mr. Jones, weakened in body and crushed in spirits, to return to Mauritius in search of renewed health and strength for labour. By these losses and sufferings the mission was wholly suspended during 1819, and the greater part of 1820.

The letters of the surviving missionary possess much interest. He appears to have been an earnest, simple-minded young Welshman, trained up, probably, under the eye of the Welsh apostle, Thomas Charles, of Bala. He was about to be employed in the work of rearing up a temple to the Lord, and, as is not unfrequently the case, he was exercised by sufferings as a preparation for his labours. He describes his landing, in October, 1818; and how, a month after, his wife and child, as well as himself, were all seized with fever. On the 13th of December the child died, and on the 29th his wife also was taken from him. Early in January, his colleague, Mr. Bevan, landed, and, on inquiring after his friends, was told, as an ordinary piece of intelligence, and without the slightest preparation, that "Mrs. Jones and her child were dead," and that "Mr. Jones was dying." Struck to the heart by this intelligence, the young missionary, while weeping for his friends, expressed his conviction that he should quickly follow them. Still, having put his hand to the plough, he refused to turn back. He landed his wife and child on those fatal shores, and addressed himself to his work. In less than a week, himself, his wife and the child, were all seized with illness; and on the 24th the child died. Mr. Jones was still struggling with the disease; but Mr. Bevan told him with decision, "I shall die, but you will recover, will go on with the mission, and will carry it to success." This conviction, whether fanciful or prophetic, was realized. On the 31st of January, Mr. Bevan died, and on the 3rd of February, the corpse of his wife was laid beside him. Of four adults, who had formed the little "forlorn hope" of this mission, three lay on the field, and the sole survivor, after long vibrating between life and death, retired to Mauritius for the restoration of his health.

But his hope and resolution never gave way. In Mauritius he taught a school of seventy slave-children, and prosecuted his study of the Malagese language. A permanent appoint-

ment was offered him in Mauritius; but he declined it, deeming himself to belong to Madagascar. In May, 1820, he prepared to return to the scene of his losses and sufferings, to the field where his three friends lay buried; but several weeks passed away before an opportunity presented itself. At length, in September of that year, "the cloud" was clearly "taken up," and he set out for Madagascar.

The treaty with England had been renewed, and Radama had expressed his desire for the return of the British agent, Mr. Hastie, and also, that "the English teacher" should accompany him. Both, therefore, sailed from Mauritius, and were present in Madagascar, when the treaty with Great Britain, and the abolition of the slave trade, were proclaimed together. Of this great event, Mr. Jones thus writes to governor Farquhar's secretary:—

"Had his excellency witnessed the transports of joy shown in the countenances of thousands when the proclamation was made, when the British flag, united with that of Madagascar, was hoisted, while the guns fired a salute, the bands played, and the people hailed their freedom as the gift of the British nation, the scene must have filled his heart with pleasure. When I went out to see the flag, and the people beholding it with smiles, my heart was full of joy, and my eyes of tears. A wide door for Christianity is opened. A powerful king has become the patron of Christian missions, instead of a patron of slave-dealers. I seem to hear the voices of children, crying out with joy, 'We shall no more be snatched from our parents' arms, and carried into slavery.'"

In another letter, describing the people as "more advanced in civilization than the inhabitants of some parts of Wales," he alludes to the king as "exceedingly kind and affable, and possessing great talents." He adds, "He is very desirous of the spread of education, and esteems the instruction of his people as of more value than gold or silver." "He has written a letter to the committee of the Missionary Society, asking them to send out as many missionaries as they can, and promising them all the protection and encouragement which they can hope or desire."

In a postscript to his journal, Mr. Jones adds:—

"King Radama is about thirty years of age, of an extremely affable and cheerful disposition, and of superior understanding and intelligence. He seems to possess considerable talents for governments; and although his intercourse with his subjects is characterized by remarkable freedom and affability, they nevertheless regard him with a respect and submission approaching to awe."

From this period, then, namely, December, 1820, the mission may be considered to have commenced. For three or four

months Mr. Jones stood alone, beginning a school in Antananarivo, the capital, a town less subject to fever than Tamatave. He opened this school with three children; but the numbers rapidly increased. In May his hands were strengthened by the arrival of two more labourers from England, Mr. and Mrs. Griffiths, and the mission began its course, which continued, through favourable and unfavourable circumstances, for about fifteen years, until it was closed, for a time, by the persecuting mandates of queen Ranavalona.

The single school, heretofore taught by Mr. Jones, was now divided into an upper and a lower; the first for those who had made some progress, the other for commencing pupils. The first was chiefly composed of the children of the chiefs, and was dignified by Radama with the title of "The king's school." Mrs. Griffiths also commenced a girls' school, in which she gave instruction in needle-work and other useful female attainments. As for the children, their eagerness was such, that often they were seen gathering round the schoolroom before daylight, waiting impatiently for the hour when the work of instruction would begin. Nor were the parents less intent on the advancement of their children. On one occasion, following the English custom of holidays at Easter and Christmas, the missionaries had proclaimed a holiday of a few days, whereupon the parents assembled, held a meeting, and sent a complaint to the king, who interfered, and desired to know why the children were not taught as heretofore.

In October the Mission received a further accession of strength by the arrival of two lay-assistants, Mr. Barnsley and Mr. Carvaille. Now, too, Rataffe, the brother-in-law of the king, returned from his visit to England, highly gratified with all he had seen and heard; and with him came a third missionary, Mr. Jeffreys, with his wife, and four artisans, Messrs. Brooks, Chick, Canham, and Rowlands. Two German botanists, also, Messrs. Boyer and Helsinburg, came from Mauritius. Radama received all with the greatest cordiality, promising to render to each all the assistance in his power.

In April, 1822, the Missionaries were called to witness another scene, quite new in Madagascar,—a grand "kabar," or assembly, with a review of 11,000 troops, who had been raised, armed, and disciplined within the last year. The king first ordered the soldiers to unfix bayonets, and form in close columns, in order that they might hear while he should pray. "His prayer consisted of a few sentences addressed to God, or the King of heaven, offering thanks for past goodness, and asking for future blessings." The soldiers then refixed bayonets, and paraded, when the king made them a speech which was loudly applauded. The missionaries give a qualified approval of these proceedings, adding,—

"We are fully persuaded that this is the only means to put an end to petty wars, to abolish the slave-trade, and to lead the way to the civilization of this people." . . . . .

"The sight of an assembly exceeding 80,000, and the hearing one speaker after another addressing with fluency an audience exceeding 30,000, made us look forward with ardent longings to the time when we shall address a similar audience on subjects infinitely more important, and, when understood, infinitely more attractive. O happy day! Hasten, hasten, oh, blessed Sabbath!"

In June, 1822, a public examination of the schools took place, the scholars being now eighty-five in number. In September, Mr. Jones, Mr. Griffiths, and Mr. Canham, with twelve of the more advanced of the scholars, made a tour of seventy miles, in order to obtain a knowledge of the country, and an acquaintance with the people, and with their manners and customs. In the following year a similar tour was taken, with the further view of fixing upon proper stations for schools, and of beginning a system of village-preaching.

In 1824 the king united the several missionary-schools at Antananarivo, the capital, in the new school-house just opened, and the first village-station and school was commenced at Ambatomanga, about twenty miles from the capital. Soon afterwards, seven villages were selected as proper places to receive schools, and native teachers were appointed to them. At this time the schools at the capital contained two hundred and sixty-eight children, forty of whom were acquiring English; while the district-schools in the surrounding towns and villages were growing in numbers and in efficiency. Meanwhile, during these earlier years of the mission, the missionaries were labouring with perseverance in the usual preparatory works. They were acquiring a knowledge of the language, so as to be able to translate the Scriptures into it; they began to construct grammars and dictionaries; they translated small catechisms and hymns into Malagese. Their Sunday services, up to this period, had been carried on in English, but some of their pupils were able to benefit by them. Their schools now became altogether about twenty-two in number; and, at last, in February, 1824, they commenced preaching to the natives in their own language, and invited questions after the sermon on the subjects discussed. At Ambatomanga, in the course of the same year, Mr. Jeffreys also began to address the natives; but his labours were concluded by his death, which took place in June, 1825. The committee in London quickly sent out Mr. and Mrs. Johns to supply his place.

Printing-presses were now sent from England, and a supply of paper; for the missionaries were able to report that the New Testament in the Malagasy language was at last ready for the printer's hand. Two or three more mechanics were also sent

out in the course of 1826. At this period all bore a promising appearance, *externally*. The king continued to encourage the mission. Bent upon the improvement of his people, he desired that the study of Latin and Greek should be introduced into the chief or Royal school. Many of the elder boys were now qualified to instruct others. What the missionaries chiefly lamented was the lack of a real interest in the Gospel. The attendants on the Malagese services, who at first were numbered by thousands, after the novelty had worn off dwindled away, and the people in general seemed to feel little interest in the "glad tidings." Still, the apparent and external work went on. The schools continually increased; in 1827 their number was stated to be thirty-one, and the pupils to be 1956. Eight of the most advanced of the scholars had been chosen to assist the missionaries as visitors and catechists. The people were being instructed in useful knowledge; very many could now read the Scriptures, whereas a few years before there were not half a dozen persons who knew a letter. In March, 1828, the schools were thirty-eight, and the scholars 2309, the teachers being forty-four. The king, ever earnest in this work, ordered fourteen new schools to be opened for 1400 additional scholars; and before the close of that year the total number approached 5000. Meanwhile the mission-press sent forth 800 copies of a hymn-book, 1500 of a catechism, 2200 of a spelling-book, and, in 1829, 3000 copies of the Four Gospels.

Yet, amidst all this apparent progress, there was abundant cause for doubt and anxiety. "The attendance at the mission-chapel was often very small, the people looking upon it as a part of the school, and as intended only for the children." Radama himself had become less earnest, finding that his people, in many parts, were alarmed at the rumoured "teaching of a new religion." He said, "Let me not go too fast, lest I miss my aim." The Church's enemy assailed him with the weapons which had been found effectual in too many other instances. Sensual enjoyments, and habits of intoxication, weakened and overcame one who was unquestionably endowed with many excellent gifts, and whose course, in many respects, had been one of enlightened patriotism. Very naturally, therefore, did the committee of the London Missionary Society say, in their Report for 1828:—"There is no part of the wide field occupied by the Society to which we look with greater anxiety than to the island of Madagascar."

Yet, in merely preliminary and preparatory work, much had been done. Thousands of the people had been raised from a savage state, and enabled to read, to compare, and to reflect. From 10,000 to 15,000 young persons passed through the

schools during the period in which they continued open. Upwards of 20,000 tracts were printed and circulated. The whole of the Bible had been translated, and a considerable portion of it put into circulation. The importance of all these steps none can fully estimate; but in the present instance the actual results, coming to light some years after, showed their real value to have been beyond all count. Yet often must the hearts of the missionaries have died within them, when, after seven or eight years' labour, they saw their chapel but scantily attended, and remarked the listlessness with which their few hearers received their warnings and their invitations.

A period of trial doubtless was needed, as, in 1552, such a period was judged necessary in our own country. The furious assaults of Satan, under an English queen then, and under a Malagasy queen more recently, were permitted in mercy, and were turned into blessings. First, as in England, a prince who favoured the Gospel was taken away. On the 27th of July, 1828, Radama died. Then followed, as in England, first, a disputed succession; then the murder of a rival; and then, after a pause, a bloody persecution.

The loss of such a prince as Radama, to a country in such circumstances as Madagascar, was very great. He has been, not improperly, compared to Peter of Russia. He possessed many of the natural faults of an uneducated, uncivilized, and despotic ruler; but he had also many and very remarkable excellences. He showed keen perception, shrewd judgment, and deliberate resolution; he had quick feelings, natural ardour, and vigorous promptitude in action. His superiority to the puerile superstitions of his country, his firmness in adhering to plans calculated to elevate the physical and moral condition of his people, and his faithfulness to treaties, were honourable traits in his character. Whether Madagascar ever possessed a prince of equal talent before him, may be questioned; but there can be no doubt it never possessed one who did so much for his country's improvement.

The various letters of the missionaries during the last two years of Radama's life have an air of constraint and sadness about them which is easily explicable. Their chief friend and patron, the king, was gradually falling into habits of self-indulgence, which naturally diminished both his zeal and his powers of usefulness. These habits seemed to blight all hopes of a real, substantial, change of heart. Meanwhile the people were advancing, certainly, in civilization, but not, apparently, in spiritual religion. There might be seed in the ground, but there was little of either blade or ear to gratify the eye. Hence, in the years 1826, 1827, and 1828, the missionaries were reduced to comfort themselves with statistics. "When I first came here," writes

one, "there were not six persons who could even read a line in their own language; now, there are four thousand who can write it." The Missionary School Society had raised in the island, in 1827, as much as 1739 dollars for the support of the schools. A public library was opened for the use of all who could read. Mr. and Mrs. Johns had arrived in Madagascar in September, 1826; and in the same month of 1827, the Rev. J. T. Freeman, with his wife and family, landed at Tamatave, and were greeted on landing by Radama himself. All was apparently prosperous; but Christian men, thoroughly in earnest, and listening in vain for the cry of the awakened heart, would inevitably speak with depression and uneasiness. The utmost that truth would allow them to utter, for the encouragement of their friends in England, was couched in such phrases as these:—

"We have reason to believe that *several* are savingly converted to God; that many more are convinced of the folly of idolatry and divination; and that great numbers are awakened to think and inquire." (Freeman's Narrative, p. 76.)

The personal histories of the missionaries to Madagascar resemble those of many other scenes of missionary labour. As at Sierra Leone and other places, many of the earlier messengers of the Gospel left their mortal remains on the spot where they had hoped to be allowed to labour. We have already described the early deaths of Mr. and Mrs. Jones and their child, and Mr. and Mrs. Bevan and their child. Of these six, one only remained alive at the end of the first twelve months. Soon after followed Mr. and Mrs. Jeffreys. He died in the third year of his labours, and his widow returned to England. Four lay assistants accompanied Mr. Jeffreys, two of whom soon died, and the remaining two were driven away in the time of the persecution. If "the blood of the martyrs is indeed the seed of the church," then we need feel no wonder to behold unexpected fruit springing up in Madagascar.

Of the immediate removal of the earlier missionaries we have already spoken. Not disheartened, the London Committee had quickly sent forth two other labourers, the Rev. D. Griffiths, and the Rev. J. Jeffreys. The first of these continued at his post until the queen's orders sent him from Madagascar; but Mr. Jeffreys, arriving on the field in 1822, was taken away by death in 1825.

During his period of labour he fully justified the character given of him by his tutor, the Rev. J. Fletcher: "None excelled him in application, in unaffected humility, in fervent piety, or in devotedness" to his work. His progress in the language was rapid; so much so as to astonish the natives. They used often to exclaim, "You have learned to speak very quickly!" And thus he was enabled, during the last year of his residence, to address the people each Lord's-day in their

own tongue. An extract or two from his journal will show his fidelity and his earnestness :—

"1823. Sept. 27. Left home after the morning service, with an intention of visiting a village about five miles distant; but I met a number of men who were going into the forest for wood for the king. It struck my mind, that an opportunity presented itself, and I asked if they could stay a short time to hear me speak of God. They assented, and I accordingly spoke to them of the great Creator, of His power, and wisdom, and goodness: then of man, his lost condition by nature, his need of a Saviour. Then of Christ, and His salvation, and of His willingness to save all who come to Him. They listened with attention and apparent interest. I trust I was faithful: my heart glowed with affection towards them, while it pitied their perishing condition. Thus nearly one hundred human beings heard the Gospel,—may it prove to be good seed cast into good ground!

"Oct. 12. This afternoon I preached in a neighbouring village, and found my spirits quite refreshed by the willingness with which the people came to hear. Having finished my sermon, I asked them to kneel down with me while I prayed. . . . . They all knelt: it was an interesting season; may it have been a useful one;—may some of these people be awakened to inquire, 'What shall I do to be saved?'"

In January, 1825, Mrs. Jeffreys was visited with an illness which induced her friends to urge the necessity of her taking a sea voyage, and residing at the Mauritius for a few months. Mr. Jeffreys accordingly secured a passage for her and for himself in a trading vessel, and quitted Tamatave in June, for what was meant to be a mere vacation. But it was his last earthly voyage. On the tenth day, Mr. Jeffreys and one of his children both complained of pain in the head. The little girl died on the next day, but Mr. Jeffreys lingered, without much pain, for two more days. As he evidently drew near his end, Mrs. Jeffreys asked him, "Are you happy in the prospect of death?" He answered, "Very happy; Christ is very precious: I love you and the dear children, but I love my Saviour more; to be with Him will be 'far better.' I leave you to God, who is the Father of the fatherless, and the God of the widow; He will take care of and provide for you." John Jeffreys rests, like William Johnson, beneath the billows which roll around the shores of Africa.

Previous to his departure from Madagascar, he had been called to preach the funeral sermon of a fellow-labourer. Mr. Brooks, an artisan, who had accompanied him from England, fell an early victim to the Malagasy fever. While having an interview with the king, Radama, he fainted, and fell down. Fever soon showed itself, and in little more than a week he was carried to the grave. His last words were, "Quite happy." Mr. Jeffreys delivered an address from the words of Elihu,

"Touching the Almighty, we cannot find him out." It was not long before the two, who had been fellow-labourers in Madagascar, found themselves fellow-worshippers "before the throne of God and the Lamb."

There is little in the external history of the Madagascar mission to distinguish it from many others. It had the advantage of a zealous and powerful native patron; but so have several other efforts of a similar kind. The people were more intelligent, less cruel, less profligate, than those of many other countries; but so were the New Zealanders, the Burmese, and others which might be named. It is not upon these, or similar, points, that the question of success seems to turn. Nor did the wonderful results which at last showed themselves arise from the peculiar skill or power of the agents employed. The several missionaries who followed each other in this work were, perhaps, more than usually free from blame, and preserved in or from temptation; but they were not faultless; nor were their talents or their devotion of any extraordinary kind. It is not by any circumstances of this description that the issue is to be accounted for. The simple, unostentatious, and for a long time ineffectual labours of the Madagascar missionaries seem to repeat to us, with great distinctness, the ancient lesson, "Not by might, nor by power; but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts."

DR. LUSHINGTON'S JUDGMENT: ESSAYS AND REVIEWS.

We have purposely abstained from making any remarks upon the two suits in the Arches Court against Dr. Rowland Williams and the Rev. H. P. Wilson. While they were yet in progress, common fairness dictated such a course; though it might expose us to the imputation of indifference on a subject of vital interest to the Church of England. Neither of the suits are at present closed; but they have arrived at that stage at which silence is no longer necessary. The learned judge, Dr. Lushington, has now delivered judgment, not upon the main questions submitted to the Court, but simply upon the preliminary one; namely, how far the Court over which he presides is competent to entertain the charges which have been submitted to it against the Essayists, by the bishop of Salisbury in the one case, and by a private clergyman, jealous of the purity of the Church of England, in the other. The determination of this preliminary question involves, no doubt, much more than lies upon the surface. We may now clearly

foresee what the ulterior judgment must be on those points on which the Court admits the articles alleged against the accused. We may see this, because Dr. Lushington has stated at length, and in a manner the most luminous, the reasons why he receives some of the articles, while he rejects others entirely, and directs that the rest should be "re-formed," *i.e.* presented to the Court in a more correct and accurate form. It is of importance that all this should be kept in mind; for the decision of the Court is very generally misunderstood. No final judgment has been pronounced. But certain principles have been enunciated from the bench, which are of the utmost importance as showing, in the first place, the authority of the Court itself, and the limits of that authority; and, in the second, the rules by which it is guided in forming its decision upon all questions of doctrinal Theology which may come before it.

First of all, then, the Court of Arches does not undertake, and is not competent, to try the question, Whether the Essayists are scriptural, and in that sense sound, divines? It can deal only with the more restricted and much simpler one, Are the writings of the seven Essayists at variance with the doctrines of the Church of England?—

"What has the Court got to try? Theological error in its general sense, *i.e.*, whether Dr. Williams is sound or unsound in his theological views; whether he has maintained doctrines inconsistent with the true doctrine of the Christian faith? Certainly not. The issue is, Has Dr. Williams promulgated doctrines at variance with the doctrines of the Church, as declared in the Articles and Formularies? To use the words of the judgment in the Gorham case, 'This Court has no jurisdiction or authority to settle matters of faith, or to determine what ought in any particular to be the doctrine of the Church of England. Its duty extends only to the consideration of that which is by law established to be the doctrine of the Church of England, upon the true and legal construction of her Articles and Formularies.' The Articles of Religion are enforced by the 13th of Elizabeth, cap. 12. The Liturgy is made a standard by the 1st of Elizabeth, cap. 2, and also by the Act of Uniformity. By the Act of Uniformity, 13th and 14th of Charles II., cap. 4, section 5, it is prescribed that every beneficed person shall, within a certain time after taking possession, openly and publicly before the congregation assembled declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things in the Book of Common Prayer contained and prescribed. Conformity to both the Liturgy and Articles is also imposed by the 36th Canon. The Canons are binding on the clergy. The Homilies are also a standard of doctrine, by virtue of the 35th Article of Religion. The authoritative definition, given by the Judicial Committee of the duties of the Court, clears the present case of various considerations that were brought to my notice in the course of the argument. It has been said that this volume has been censured by the whole Episcopal bench. Be it so. I cannot accede to the argu-

ment, that the mind of the Court should be influenced by that circumstance. Individually, I should receive with the highest respect the opinion of the right reverend prelates; as a judge, I can be guided by nothing but judicial authority. This is not a Court of Divinity, but a Court of Ecclesiastical law. Secondly, with regard to the opinions of theologians upon the matters in question. There is an abundance of sermons, lectures, and other works of very eminent divines of the Church of England. It may, perhaps, surprise some, when I declare my opinion that I, as judge of the Arches Court, cannot take for my guide the authority of even the most learned and orthodox divines of our Church. But so it is; it follows as a consequence of the duty of the Court, as defined in the Gorham judgment. The Court has to ascertain the true construction of the Articles of Religion and the Formularies, and that according to strict legal principles."

And this, to us, is perfectly satisfactory. It is all that the Court of Arches either can do or ought to do. For, let us put the case that the Court of Arches was competent to decide on questions of doctrine as judged of by their conformity with Holy Scripture, or their disagreement from it: then the judge is constituted an authoritative expositor of God's holy word. His exposition of it is binding on the Church of England. Would this be tolerated for a moment either from the Court of Arches or the higher tribunal of the judicial committee? No party in the Church of England, if their views of scripture doctrine or interpretation were condemned, would submit to it. Or, should they do so, then in the course of time the question amongst all parties would be the same: not, what saith the Scripture? but, what precedents are on the books? The Scripture itself would lose its authority, precisely as it has lost it in the Church of Rome; overlaid in their case by traditions of men, made of none effect in ours by precedents of courts of law. The learned judge, however, has spoken so distinctly here, that his own words ought to be transcribed:—

"Were I once to be tempted from the (39) Articles, and other parts of the Formularies of the Church, the Court could assign no limit to its investigations; it would inevitably be compelled to consider theological questions, not for the purpose of deciding whether they were conformable to a prescribed standard, but whether the positions maintained were reconcilable with Scripture or not. Pressed by these reasons, and urged by every motive to preserve peace in the Church, I will not be tempted in the trial of any accusation against a clergyman to resort to Scripture as the standard by which the doctrines shall be measured; and I may, with perfect truth, add, that were such a task imposed upon me, the want of theological knowledge would incapacitate me from adequately discharging it."

Dr. Lushington's decision, then, we hear it said, has decided

nothing, and the great questions at issue remain untouched. And this objection meets us from the most opposite quarters —from the friends of the Essayists, and from those who have been most alarmed by their audacity. We demur to the conclusion, whoever draws it. The Court of Arches has not made any compromise; it has yielded nothing; it has not, as the admirers of the Essays and Reviews tell us, been afraid to meet the Essayists on the only proper ground, the truth or falsehood of their statements. It has not (as some excellent persons maintain, who are by no means sorry to discover a weak point in the Church of England) left vital points of Christian doctrine to be open questions. But what it really has done is this:—In the first place, it has confirmed a principle, long and earnestly contended for by this journal, in common with many others, that the doctrines taught, whether from the press or pulpit, by the ministers of our Church, must be in accordance with the Thirty-nine Articles; and that, in the case of any presumed discrepancy between the two, the Articles come first and the Prayer-book afterwards. We now have this distinctly stated by Dr. Lushington. In ecclesiastical affairs, no dictum from the bench, in our time, has been of more importance than the few words which follow:—

"In all cases of doctrine the Court will look first to the Articles, then to the Book of Common Prayer. The Articles are the primary matter for consideration, because their special object was to prevent diversity of religious doctrines. The Liturgy was not framed with any such object, but for devotional purposes; or, to use the expression of the statute of Elizabeth, to establish an uniform order of Common Prayer, and of the administration of the sacraments, rites, and ceremonies of the Church of England. Hence a Court having to try a charge of false doctrine based upon the Liturgy, must exercise the greatest vigilance to see that the part of the Liturgy quoted is of a strictly dogmatical character, and does not consist of merely devotional expressions. With regard to the meaning of the act of subscription to the Articles, I have no hesitation in declaring my opinion that the subscription is a most solemn act, and that, though the Court cannot take cognizance of the intentions of a clergyman when he subscribes them, yet the law will hold him to have taken the obligation *secundum animum imponentis;* and that mind is the plain grammatical sense of the Articles themselves. The subscription to such Articles is a declaration by the subscriber of his conviction in their truth, and a promise to abide by them. With respect to the construction to be put upon the Articles and Liturgy, I again have the advantage of the authority of the Gorham case. 'The rules to be applied are the rules by law applicable to the construction of all written instruments. The consideration of external and historical facts is to be imported only so far as is necessary to understand the subject-matter and the meaning of the words employed. We seek the plain literal and

grammatical sense.' To the same effect is the higher authority of the King's Declaration."

Dr. Lushington has determined another point of even more importance. The Bible is to be received as God's written word; and the Bible means the whole of that which Protestants have always accepted as Holy Scripture—the whole of the Old and New Testaments. The declaration in the Ordination Service for deacons, in answer to the question whether the candidate unfeignedly believes in the canonical Scriptures, namely, "I do believe," cannot be interpreted to mean less than this: "that there must be a *bonâ fide* belief that the Holy Scriptures contain everything necessary to salvation, and that to that extent they have the direct sanction of the Almighty." Hence the learned judge concluded, that any clergyman who advisedly maintains, whether directly or indirectly, that the Holy Scriptures proceed from the same mental powers which have produced other works of genius, even with the qualification that these powers in the two cases differ in degree, impairs the Divine authority of Holy Scripture, and does in fact maintain that the Bible is not God's word written, but is the work of man; and this, said Dr. Lushington, contravenes the sixth and the twentieth Articles of Religion. This was followed up by some remarks upon the limits and the right of biblical criticism; where the learned judge remarked that he was wholly without legal authority or precedent to guide him. He thought that no clergyman was at liberty to reject the whole of any one book of Scripture; for, the sixth Article of Religion having declared that all the enumerated books are canonical, to reject one altogether as spurious would be to deny its canonicity, and, therefore, to violate the Article. But this rule would not hold in another case, in which a clergyman might maintain that any book is the work of some other author than of him whose name it bears; for the Article asserts nothing with respect to authorship. The distinction is clear, and not unimportant. Thus, doubts may be entertained with regard to the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, or of the second Epistle, generally called St. Peter's; and yet there may be no doubt whatever with regard to their canonicity or inspiration. Again, with respect to criticism as distinguished from interpretation, it may lawfully be held that certain verses or parts of verses, as for instance, the disputed passage in the first Epistle of John v. 7, 8, have been erroneously introduced, and are not really a part of Holy Scripture. But beyond such limits as these instances may be taken as illustrations of, no minister of the Church of England, having regard to his ordination vow on the one hand, and his subscription to the

Articles of Religion, and after them to the Formularies of the Church, on the other, can safely go.

Still, it is objected, a wide field is left for unsound doctrine, and even for covert, if not open infidelity, which even a person in holy orders may traverse with impunity; no law will reach him; no penalties will disturb him; and the Church of England is indifferent on every point on which she cannot punish the offender. But this again is a false conclusion. He is further amenable to conscience, to public opinion, to episcopal authority, and, Dr. Lushington adds, to the Canons. He is amenable to conscience. True it is, once more to use Dr. Lushington's words, that "what the law takes notice of in a clergyman is not the opinions which he holds in private, but the opinions which he advisedly upholds and promulgates. What opinions it is compatible with his profession privately to entertain, is a matter to be settled with his own conscience, not by law. There is no inquisitorial power." And if there were, we add, no inquisition can reach the conscience. Had Tycho Brahe been right and Galileo wrong, the Inquisition would probably have punished the astronomer with, if possible, even less success than that which follows when their impotence was so signally displayed. Obstinacy in a mistaken man is quite as potent against an Inquisition as confidence grounded onthe most conclusive evidence, in a wise and good one. The opinions we hold in secret may be heretical or worse, but conscience alone can deal with them; and conscience in general is here found to be a formidable tribunal. If not, the case is hopeless, and the dissembler may retain his standing in the Church, and basely enjoy the emoluments and honours to which he is not entitled. But this is not a state of things peculiar to the Church of England, or to any church, or to any one community, civil or religious. There is a large class of sins which human law cannot prosecute; there is a wide field in which villany can always disport itself unharmed of man. But it would be a strange conclusion that the society in which the offender lives is indifferent to his principles simply because it wants the power to change his heart. Yet such is the conclusion which the opponents of the orthodox faith, or of the Church of England, are attempting to draw from this admission.

The delinquent, again, is amenable to public opinion. Some may think this an uncertain tribunal, worse than none at all. On matters of plain common sense and upright dealing, we, on the contrary, entertain for it a very high respect, at least as it exists in England. No public man, whatever his talents, if found out to be a trickster, escapes what such men dread most, the contempt of all who know them. No station secures him from infamy. In the sacred profession the infamy

is deep in proportion to the reverence in which the ministry is held. In fact, this is a stronger safeguard in many an instance than higher considerations. It keeps the external conduct right long after the conscience has been depraved.

Then there is episcopal authority. Firmly exercised, and with due kindness, it can effect much, especially with the young clergy; and it is an absolute barrier against the intrusion of heretical teachers into the ministry, unless to heresy they are prepared to add hypocrisy. Episcopal power, indeed, is the one exception which Dr. Lushington himself makes to the case broadly stated, "that the law takes no notice of the private opinions of the clergy." "I take it," he says, "to be the undoubted law of England that, except on the occasions where examination of clerks by superior authority is specifically directed by law, a person in orders may hold what opinions he will, provided they are kept within his own breast." The Gorham case will occur to our readers as an illustration. The bishop of Exeter did not exceed his powers in refusing to institute Mr. Gorham until he had examined him; though, from the long standing and high character of that excellent person, such a proceeding was thought harsh and needless. His lordship's refusal to institute was set aside by the higher court on other grounds. Mr. Gorham's opinions were such as might lawfully be held.

Dr. Lushington further mentions the canons as binding upon the clergy. The question did not come before him, to what extent or under what circumstances the canons are imperative, or we should, no doubt, have had some more decisive opinion, such as we have long wanted. It is certain that all the canons are not binding; for some of them are inconsistent with later acts of parliament; and no man can legally bind himself, even were he disposed to do so, to obey a law or a canon which has been set aside by a later law with which it is at variance. Some of the canons, again, have long been obsolete; and some of them never were enforced, or attempted to be enforced. In short, all of them want revision; and in the meantime they can only be regarded as affording a general guidance to the bishops and clergy on disputable points; yet on many questions they may be consulted with advantage, and in the absence of a better code the bishops and clergy, as well as the churchwardens, over whom they have no authority, may submit to be directed and even controlled by them.

On the whole, then, we regard this decision with satisfaction, so far as it as yet extends. If it errs at all, it is on the side of too much latitude. So we believe the voice of the public has pronounced, after nearly a month's discussion. And yet, to what does this latitude amount? In a court which acknowledges its own incompetence to test theological doctrines by

the Holy Scriptures, it is determined that no person in holy orders is at liberty to deny the truth of any doctrine maintained in the Thirty-nine Articles, according to their plain meaning, interpreted according to legal construction; and, therefore, no clergyman may deny, first, that the Bible is the word of God in a sense, and not merely in a degree, true of no other book; nor, secondly, that the death of our Lord and Saviour is a real atonement for sin; nor, thirdly, the eternity of future punishment; nor, fourthly, the doctrine of original sin. And these are great points to have had established, points of vital moment. Nor is this all. Several of the Articles alleged, though not yet admitted, are not finally rejected. They merely require to be reformed or drawn up afresh; some of them because of their inaccuracy; one, at least, for a reason of which many others besides Dr. Lushington have felt the force. "If Dr. Williams," says the learned judge, "had studied to express his sentiments with ambiguity. I doubt if he could have been more successful." It must be further borne in mind, that many important doctrines did not, so to speak, come up for hearing before the Court, and, therefore, the omission of any mention of them in the judgment of Dr. Lushington, proves nothing either as to their validity or their importance.

The office of a public prosecutor is always a very painful—in theological questions, a very thankless one; and we are, therefore, the more anxious to express our own and the Church's obligations to the two "promoters" in these suits—the bishop of Salisbury, and Mr. Fendall, the vicar of Great Staughton. Nor do we overlook the duty of offering devout thanksgivings to Him who has thus far graciously protected the purity, and established anew in the affection of her members the best interests of the good old Church of England.

GREGORY I., BELLARMINE, AND DR. MANNING.

THE following extract from a publication by ex-Archdeacon Manning, whose secession to Romanism made not a little noise a few years ago, merits the reader's careful attention at the present time. It contains some curious quasi-prophetical anticipations, promulgated by certain Papal theologians, concerning a yet future expulsion of the Pope from the city of Rome, in consequence of a yet future apostacy of her citizens from the Christian faith, when Popish image-worship will, for a short space, be exchanged for Paganism, and the guilty and

doomed city be, through the divine judgments, utterly destroyed by fire:—

"The writers of the (Papal) Church," says Dr. Manning, "tell us that in the latter days the city of Rome will probably become apostate from the Church and Vicar of Jesus Christ; and that Rome will again be punished, for he will depart from it; and the judgment of God will fall upon the place from which He once reigned over the nations of the world. For what is it which makes Rome sacred but the presence of the Vicar of His Son? Let the Church of Christ depart from Rome, and Rome will be no more in the eyes of God than Jerusalem of old.

"The apostacy of the city of Rome from the Vicar of Christ, and its destruction by Antichrist, may be thought so new to many (Roman) Catholics, that I think it well to recite the text of theologians in the greatest repute. First, Malvenda, who writes expressly on the subject, states as the opinion of Ribera, Gaspar Melus, Viegas, Suarez, Bellarmine, and Bosius, that Rome shall apostatize from the faith, drive away the Vicar of Christ, and return to its ancient Paganism. Malvenda's words are—'But Rome itself, in the last time of the world, *will return to its ancient idolatry*, power, and imperial greatness. It will cast out its Pontiff, *altogether apostatize from the Christian faith*, terribly persecute the Church, *shed the blood of the martyrs more cruelly than ever*, and will recover its former state of abundant wealth, or even greater than it had under its first rulers.'"

We pause here for a moment, to observe that Dr. Manning has made use of less decisive language than the case appears to require. The words of Malvenda—we only look at his words, and leave a Jesuit's heart to the heart-searching and omnipotent Lord—the words of Malvenda would seem professedly to amount to an assertion that it was not merely "*the opinion*," but the solemn religious belief and conviction of himself, Ribera, and others, founded upon what they professed to regard as the unmistakable denunciations of the prophetic Scriptures of the Most High God, that a terrible apostacy would one day become for a time rampant and triumphant in that seven-hilled city, which not a few Anglican semi-papists in our days fondly designate as "the Saviour's holy home." But we proceed with our extract from the ex-archdeacon's book, who thus continues his quotations from the Romish writers whose views he is stating:—

"Lessius says:—'In the time of Antichrist Rome shall be destroyed, as we see openly from the seventeenth chapter of the Apocalypse.' And again: 'The woman whom thou sawest is the great city which hath kingdom over the kings of the earth, in which is signified Rome in its impiety, such as it was in the time of St. John, *and shall be again at the end of the world*.' And Bellarmine:—'In the time of Antichrist, Rome shall be *desolate and burnt*, as we learn from the *sixteenth verse* of the seventeeth chapter of the Apocalypse.'

On which words the Jesuit Ebermann comments as follows:—'*We all confess with Bellarmine*, that the Roman people, a little before the end of the world, will return to Paganism, and drive out the Roman Pontiff.' " *

The reader will better understand all this, when he calls to mind how deeply the Reformers were persuaded that the predictions concerning the mystic Babylon of the seventeenth chapter of the Apocalypse could only be, and must necessarily be, interpreted of the Papacy and Papal Rome. Accordingly, it followed as a matter of course, that they received, as a summons from heaven to quit the Papal apostacy, that solemn injunction which is found in the fourth verse of the following chapter:—" Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." By this procedure great injury was done to the cause of Popery; and Romish theologians, especially the Jesuits, found it necessary to meet the difficulty in some way or other.

At first sight we are tempted to feel surprise that a determined struggle was not made to rescue the city of Rome, as well as the Papacy, from the apocalyptic interpretations of the Reformers. But they could scarcely do this; with no hope of success, unless they could bring themselves to reject the Apocalypse from the canonical Scriptures, and deny, or hesitate to admit, its divine authority. But this would have been too bold a departure from long-established Papal admissions and arrangements to be safely ventured upon. Accordingly, when we look a little more closely into the subject, we cease to feel surprised that Bellarmine and other Romish controversialists, since they accepted the Apocalypse as a sacred book, containing, under a symbolic drapery, true and divinely inspired predictions of great facts to be one day certainly accomplished, should come to a conclusion so unwelcome to Papists. They were all familiar with the Roman classics from their boyhood, since were the educated laity also. Hence, as they read in the Apocalypse, how "the great harlot," sitting upon a scarlet beast full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns, symbolised that great imperial city, *seated upon seven hills*, which, in the days of St. John, "had kingdom over the kings of the earth," passages from the Latin poets, expressive of the rooted popular opinions of the Roman people, would force themselves irresistibly upon their memory, and leave them but little choice with regard to the path which they were to pursue as interpreters in reference to the seven-hilled city. The reader will not have much difficulty in understanding this from the following comparison:—

* *The Present Crisis of the Holy See tested by Prophecy.* By E. H. Manning D.D. pp. 87—89.

"And here is the mind which hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth. And the woman which thou sawest is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth." (Rev. xvii. 9, 18.)

"Septem domini montes."—*Mart.*

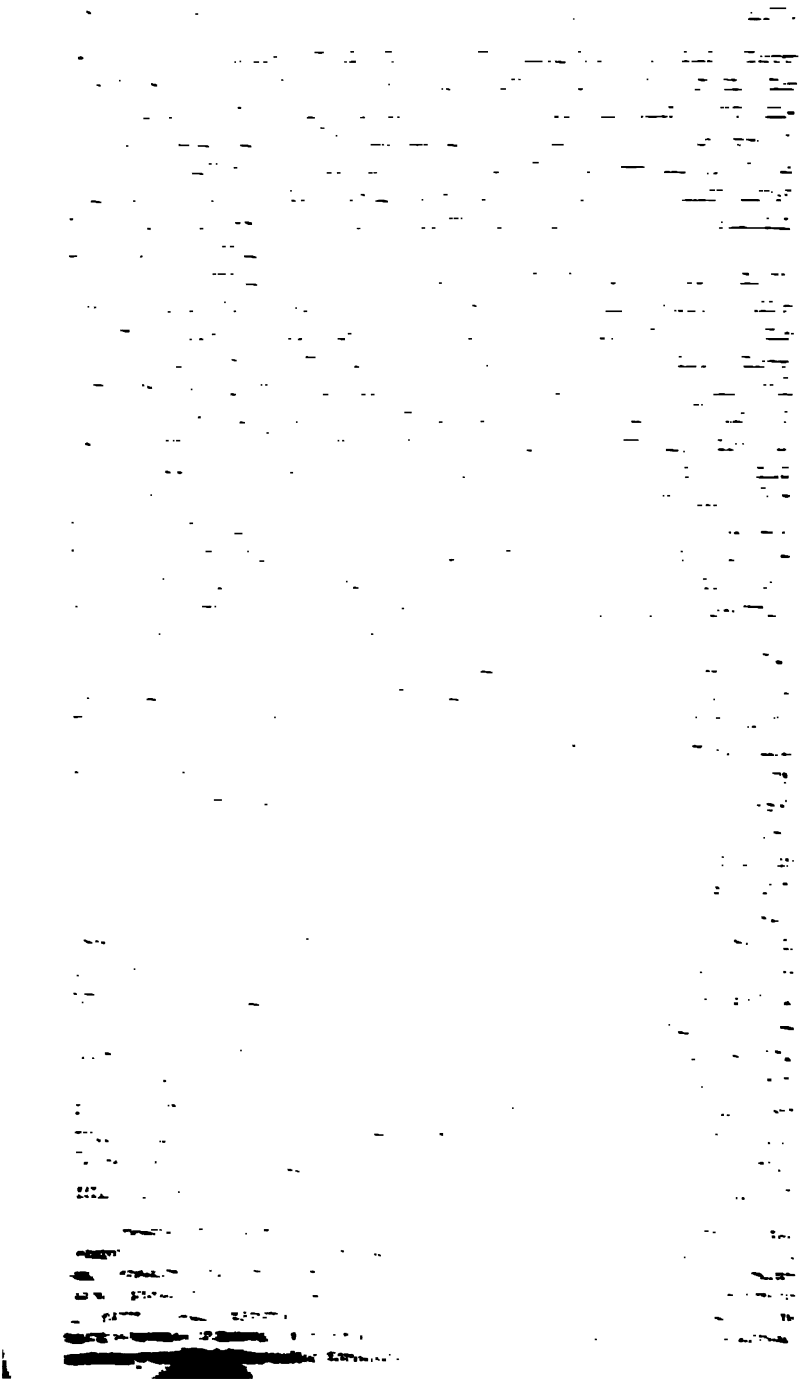
"Septem urbs alta jugis, toti quæ præsidet orbi."—*Propert.*

"Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,
Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces."—*Virg.*

When Symmachus, a prefect of Rome in the fourth century, speaks of a friend as being *de septem collibus virum*, commentators explain the expression as equivalent to *civem Romanum*. And afterwards, in modern Latin poetry, we find the formula, *urbs septicollis*, employed as a peculiarly suitable designation of the city of Rome.

Bellarmine, then, and the Romish theologians who agreed with him, do not appear to have attempted to evade the conclusion that the "woman upon the scarlet-coloured beast" was a divinely intended symbolic designation of the imperial seven-hilled city of Rome. Accepting this, they could not stop here, however desirous they might be of doing so, but were plainly obliged to advance a step further, and allow that the symbol also embraced the same city of Rome centuries after the Roman emperors, Pagan and Christian, had ceased to reside and reign there. For they who concede the woman on the scarlet beast to be the city of Rome, must concede that the final doom of that harlot, as denounced in Rev. xvii. 16, viz., "the ten horns upon the beast shall hate the harlot, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and shall utterly burn her with fire," is in reality denounced against the city of Rome. And we have seen that Bellarmine expressly teaches that a desolation and fiery destruction of this great city is predicted in the very verse in question.

But as it is manifest from history that no such utter and final destruction has befallen Rome since the days of St. John, the terrible prediction *has therefore yet to receive its fulfilment*, although it is more than 1380 years since Odoacer, chief of the Heruli, put an end to the Western empire, and assumed the title of king of Italy. And as Bellarmine and his followers could not help seeing from the Word of God that Rome is to be in a state of rampant impiety and apostacy at the time of this yet future destruction, how were they to explain the prediction so as to save the honour of the Papacy? They pursued the only path which was left open to them. Unable to bear the thought that a Pope, the supposed infallible Vicar of Jesus Christ, could ever become the blasphemous Antichrist of prophecy, yet, at the same time, having learned from the Word of divine revelation that there would assuredly be in the last days a fearful apostacy on the part of the Roman



reverence the Pope as the infallible vicar of the risen and ascended Lord and Saviour, the very centre of all pure Christian truth and doctrine, or as a sort of harbinger and near kinsman of Antichrist, or as being himself really and truly Antichrist?

Let us read carefully the following extract from bishop Hurd's sermon on the prophecies concerning Antichrist:—

"So early as about the close of the sixth century, Gregory the First, or the Great, as he is usually called, the most revered, and in some respects not undeservedly so, of all the Roman pontiffs, in a famous dispute with the bishop of Constantinople, who had taken to himself the title of Œcumenical* or Universal Bishop, objects to him the arrogance and presumption of this claim, and treats him on that account as the forerunner at least of Antichrist. His words are remarkable enough to be here quoted. '*I affirm it confidently*,' says Gregory, '*that whoever calls himself Universal Bishop, or is desirous to be so called, demonstrates himself by this pride and elation of heart to be the forerunner of Antichrist.*'† And again, '*From this presumption of his* (in taking the name of Universal Bishop) *what else can be collected but that the times of Antichrist are now at hand?*'"‡

We should perhaps feel the less surprise at Gregory's strong manifestation of displeasure, if, as he himself asserts in one of his letters, the synod of Chalcedon had offered the same pompous and unscriptural title to the Roman bishops, and they had not accepted it. And it might possibly be quite as much from a disdainful wish to contrast himself with the arrogant John of Constantinople, as from meek and genuine Christian humility, that he styled himself in his letters the "servant of the servants of God,"—a title which, strange to say, the popes of Rome continued to employ, even after they had added to the title of Universal Bishop a demand to be regarded and reverenced as the Vicegerents of God upon earth, and as the supreme and Sovereign Lords of all earthly kings and potentates.

We once more borrow from the work of Bishop Hurd:—

"Pope Boniface III.§ had not, it seems, the scruples, whatever they were, of his predecessor Gregory. He readily accepted, or rather

* The words, "all the world" Luke ii.1, are in the original, πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη, as if "the habitable world;" hence *œcumenical*, for universal.

The bishop of Constantinople, whom Gregory rebuked, was the well-known John, surnamed the Faster.

† Quisquis se universalem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione suâ Antichristum præcurrit. (Greg. M. Op. Ep. xxx. l 6.)

‡ In hac ejus superbiâ, quid aliud nisi propinqua jam Antichristi esse tempora designatur.

§ Boniface was the next successor but one to Gregory. The emperor Maurice was deposed by the army, who raised Phocas, a centurion, to the imperial throne. The usurper, not content with wearing the crown of his fugitive master, cruelly put him to death, and his wife and children. "Five of his sons were slain in his sight before he himself received the fatal stroke." Cyriacus, bishop of Constantinople, and successor of John, had incurred the displeasure of Phocas, by interesting himself for some members of the family of Mauritius

importunately begged, this proud title of *Œcumenical Bishop* from the Emperor Phocas, and transmitted it to all his successors. And now it might be expected that the Bishop of Rome would be Antichrist in his turn. But such was the fortune of that See, or the devotion of the faithful to it, that the charge was not presently brought against him; as if the spirit of dominion, which had so long possessed that city, were a thing of course, and could not misbecome the Bishop of Rome, though it looked so *anti-christian* in him of Constantinople."

Although, as Bishop Hurd says, the charge of resemblance to Antichrist was not *presently* brought against Boniface III., yet he tells us that afterwards, in the tenth century, Arnulphus, Bishop of Orleans—esteemed the wisest and most eloquent of all the Gallican prelates in his day—said in the synod of Rheims of Pope John XV., "What think ye, reverend Fathers, of this man, seated on a lofty throne, and shining in purple and gold? Whom do ye account him to be? Surely, if destitute of charity, and puffed up with the pride of science only, he is ANTICHRIST, *sitting in the temple of God, and shewing himself that he is God.*"

Again in the eleventh century, "the Papal power," says Hurd, "rose to its height, and all the characters of Antichrist glared so strongly in the person of Hildebrand, who took the name of Gregory VII., that the Roman historian, Joannes Aventinus * (in his Annals of Bavaria) speaks of it, as a point *in which the generality of fair, candid, and ingenuous writers were agreed, that* THEN *began the empire of Antichrist.*"

Even if we grant that these testimonies are, however serious and sincere on the part of their authors, somewhat oratorical in their character, it must be allowed that such charges from two able and learned Roman Catholics are by no means calculated to make us regard the Papacy with religious affection and reverence.

It is hoped that the reader will excuse this brief digression; and we will return to the question,—Would Gregory, were he to come back for a few weeks as a living man among us, and be allowed to study and digest, and compare with the New Testament, a faithful history of the Papacy since his death —would he, with Dr. Manning, Dr. Wiseman, and Bishop Dupanloup, revere the Pope as the infallible vicar of Christ, and exhort the Papal Zouaves to shed their blood in defence of the temporal sovereignty of Pio Nono; or would he deem the Papacy to be an approximation more or less near to the predicted antichristian apostacy?

This may have encouraged Boniface to make his application to Phocas, who deprived Cyriacus of the coveted title, and gave it to the aspiring Roman bishop. After the death of Phocas, the bishop of Constantinople again assumed the proud designation; and from that time forward there were two Universal Bishops—one in the East, the other in the West.

* The italics and capitals are Dr. Hurd's. Aventin flourished during the close of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth centuries.

Surely Gregory would not, if among us, be able, without gross inconsistency, to side with the three Romish Doctors who have just been mentioned, and the Papal Zouaves! Has he not left upon record his firm conviction that "Whoever calls himself Universal Bishop, in his elation foreruns Antichrist (in elatione suâ Antichristum præcurrit)"? Will bishop Dupanloup and his fellow Doctors venture to deny that Pio Nono both calls himself, and desires to be called by others, Universal Bishop? nay, that he would not scruple to anathematise all who deliberately and on principle withhold from him the proud and cherished, but unscriptural title? May we not then ask, not without wonder at their profane rashness, how it is that bishop Dupanloup and Dr. Newman, Dr. Wiseman, and Dr. Manning, dare trample under foot the memory and testimony of the Great Gregory—with all his shortcomings one of the most illustrious of the bishops of Rome—by calling Pio Nono, whom Gregory's solemnly-recorded testimony plainly declares to be one of the precursors or forerunners of Antichrist, the Holy and Infallible Vicar of Christ, the Vicegerent of God upon earth? Yes, it is plain that Gregory's solemnly-recorded opinion and episcopal verdict virtually declare the long succession of Popes, from the day when Boniface III. wickedly sought and obtained from the usurper and murderer Phocas the evil and unscriptural designation of Universal Bishop, to be neither more nor less than a long succession of precursors of Antichrist.

But it may be said that Gregory would regard the Pope as only a precursor of Antichrist, and that we have no right to think that he would go so far as the good, and just, and pious Sir Matthew Hale, who did not hesitate to say that, if St. Paul's description of the Mystery of iniquity were inserted in the public "Hue and Cry," any constable in the realm would be justified in seizing, wherever he found him, the Bishop of Rome, as the head of that Mystery of iniquity.* It is one thing, it may be said, to regard Pio Nono as a forerunner, bearing a more or less imperfect resemblance to Antichrist, and another to look upon him as a part and parcel of the very Head of the Mystery of iniquity. In the latter case, we seem

* Since writing the above, we have met with two passages in which language quite as strong as that used by Sir Matthew Hale is employed. The first is from the pen of the learned and pious Archbishop Ussher, and is found in the eightieth Article of the Church of Ireland wherein it is said that, "so far from taking the Pope for the visible head of the visible Church of Christ upon earth, we doubt not that he is that Man of Sin and Son of Perdition whom the Lord will consume with the breath of His mouth, and destroy by the brightness of His coming."

The second passage is found in the Assembly's Confession of Faith:—"There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ; nor can the Pope of Rome in any sense be head thereof; but is that Antichrist, that man of sin and son of perdition, that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ, and all that is called God."- Chap. xxv. Of the Church.

that this innovation is a proof of their belief that the Conception was immaculate, and accordingly he proceeds to reprobate that theory as absurd—for why, he asks, should not the same honour be assigned to the Virgin's mother, and so on, for ever?—as superstitious and presumptuous, because not authorized by the head of the church; and above all, as *new*."* In establishing this doctrine of Mary's immaculate conception, Pio Nono must appear to the majority of devout Protestants as the ignorant, ill-advised, and vain-glorious champion of that which is at once childish and absurd impiety, and fearful and satanic blasphemy.

[We must request that the opinion expressed as to the exact *Antichristian* character of the Pope, and the coming of a future and personal Antichrist, may be received as that only of the writer of the article. It is a point on which we wish to express no opinion.—EDITOR.]

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOME REMARKS ON READING ALOUD.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR.—A notice of the bishop of Rochester, on the subject of candidates for holy orders being examined as to their power of reading aloud, has given rise to considerable discussion. That some such measure was greatly wanted, few would deny. It has been said, however, that other bishops have required their candidates to be examined on the same point; and it is implied, with too much truth, that no clear improvement has followed. It is not difficult to account for this. When a man read badly, the aforesaid bishops probably said something to this effect: "Sir, your reading is far from good; you will do well to endeavour to improve it." But the man was ordained, nevertheless. It is to be hoped that the bishop of Rochester will say in a similar case: "Sir, your reading is so far from good, that you will not be able to receive ordination at present; we shall be happy to see you again next June."

Some persons have considered it a hardship that candidates for ordination should be expected to read well, when the means of instruction in the art are few, or none. It may be useful, therefore, to make known more widely some directions on this point which would probably enable any man of ordinary intelligence, with a small amount of painstaking, to read in such a manner as to gain the attention of his audience. The remarks referred to are to be found at the end of Archbishop Whateley's "Elements of Rhetoric." The gist of his system is, that reading, to be good, should be perfectly ***natural;*** i.e., the attention of the reader should be carefully withdrawn from his voice,

* Quarterly Review, June, 1865. p 154.

&c., and fixed on the subject-matter of what he reads. His mind should be absorbed in his subject, and his voice allowed to follow its natural course as in ordinary conversation. Any difficulty as to the loudness necessary is easily overcome by the reader's occasionally looking at the person farthest from him, and addressing himself to him. The whole of Archbishop Whately's observations, however, deserve to be most carefully studied by every man who has to read or speak in public.

It will be observed at once that the system completely strikes at the root of all affectation or acting, of which many are apprehensive (and with justice) when any mention is made of *instruction* in reading aloud. On this system the object is attained by the moral and intellectual elevation of the reader. It is not, of course, supposed that by following these directions all men will read equally well. The difference of their natural powers will prevent such a result. But it is believed that every man may bring himself to the greatest degree of perfection of which he is capable. A clergyman who has followed this system will not *read* the prayers, but *pray* them aloud. He will not murmur or shout the appointed passages of Scripture; but read them with such an intelligent interest as to draw the attention of his hearers, not to himself or his reading, but to the subject-matter of what he reads. To effect this object, every clergyman ought to study carefully every passage of Scripture which he reads aloud to the congregation. If it be a narrative, he should make himself thoroughly acquainted with its purport; if an exhortation, with its general tone; if an argument, with its drift, together with the objections of supposed interlocutors, and the answers to them;—if the passage be *dramatic* (like many portions of the prophetic writings), the reader should especially observe the change of speaker, or of the persons addressed. It is to be feared that not one clergyman in a hundred does this systematically.

It is, perhaps, allowable to add a few words on a cognate subject, Preaching; by which is here meant "Christian teaching addressed to a congregation acquainted with the facts of the Gospel." When the question is discussed, whether preaching from a MS. or extempore is the preferable plan, the disputants often fall into the fallacy of determining the question absolutely. Now, the fact is, that the question does not admit of an absolute decision, at least as far as any practical object is concerned. Probably few will deny that, *cæteris paribus*, extempore speaking is better adapted than reading to gain the attention of the audience. But such a decision of the question is of no practical value. First, the individual *preacher* must be considered. With many men no amount of practice would give even ease and fluency in extempore preaching. Shall we still say that it is the best mode of preaching for them? Secondly, the character of the *audience* must be taken into account. Where the congregation is wholly uneducated, a clergyman's poorest extempore lecture may be more profitable than his best written sermon. With a highly-educated congregation the statement may be, perhaps, exactly reversed.

Before, therefore, the question can be answered, whether a written or an extempore sermon is the more profitable, the question, "From whom?" and "To whom?" must be considered. To prevent mis-

understanding, it may be as well to observe here that the following observations relate entirely to the ***intellectual, not*** to the ***spiritual*** preparation necessary for preaching.

There will, probably, always be a large majority of our clergy, who will never find their extempore preaching profitable to their congregations. Our national character, our mode of education, our social customs, all forbid the expectation that more than a minority of our clergy should become generally effective extempore preachers. They must, therefore, write and read their sermons. But much, very much, may be done towards approximating the effect of a written sermon to that of an extempore address. A man may be quite unable to collect his thoughts on a given subject, and at the same time to express them in public. But he may divide the labour. He will, probably, find no difficulty in writing down in his study what he wishes to say in public. If he has accustomed himself to read to others, on Archbishop Whately's system, he will be able to deliver what he has written with an energy, a vivacity, and a natural expression which may be made to approximate closely, though, perhaps, never to equal those of extempore speech. If he is deeply interested in his subject, and in earnest in persuading or exhorting his hearers, his voice and manner will necessarily take much of the character of ordinary speech. Of course, what has been said relates only to the *manner* of preaching. But no manner, however attractive, would make many of the sermons we hear interesting or profitable. If, however, men of the most ordinary abilities would *think over* their text—would examine the context in the original language (at least, in the new Testament)—would try to write what they have to say in plain colloquial language, avoiding a superfluity of theological terms—would bring their observations to bear on daily life; and would seek the guidance and blessing of the Holy Spirit in the use of these means, remembering that they are only means—we should then hear less about the length of dull sermons, and the impatience of weary listeners.—Sir, yours, &c.

C. G. C.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

Sir,—Always refreshed by the calm and consistent tone of your advocacy of truth, I have, from many years' experience, accustomed myself to attach much confident reliance to such information and guidance as you judiciously give us from time to time, and am apt to seek sound information at your hands. Could you, or will some of your correspondents, enlighten me—an inquiring lay-Churchman—upon the claims of the Scottish Episcopacy on the sympathies of English Churchmen?

This question presses, by reason of some of the most able of our English prelates' obvious desire to raise the Scotch Episcopate from its low estate. In my simplicity I have always regarded this religious section, being north of Tweed, as respectable non-conformists, having, in fact, no part or lot in the Church as by law established. By the thirty-seventh Article of our Church, the supremacy of the sovereign

in all things appertaining to affairs civil and ecclesiastical is so distinctly set forth, that any deviation, even in form, fills a sensitive Churchman with alarm. This applies, *in fact*, to the Established Church of Scotland, and its value, as an element of security, is undoubted. Few who trouble themselves to think will hesitate on this point. Give our Church up to its spiritual rulers—remove the check of lay control—place it beyond the influence of civil restraint and the wholesome check of our civil jurisprudence, and we should soon realize the "facilis descensus Averni" into Popery. That some prelates should openly endeavour to throw down needful barriers in this direction, is a sign of our times, which may well make one jealous. I do not admire, for example, the Crown being advised to issue a license to consecrate a roving bishop for the islands in the Pacific; neither am I pleased with an American bishop being commissioned to exercise, among continental members of our Church, episcopal functions. And this is reported to have been done recently in Paris. Least of all can one commend the recognition of a Scotch bishop who, in the years 1860-61, traversed an English diocese, armed with power to discharge episcopal duties appertaining to a prelate appointed by the Crown, which alone authorises, in our Established Church, the exercise of episcopal functions. Thus, Mr. Editor, a Scotch bishop performed, under some pseudo authority from the diocesan, the rites of consecration of churches and burial grounds, and of confirmation. The case was submitted for the opinion of Dr. Travers Twiss. That learned civilian, with unmistakable distinctness, pronounced it illegal. I beg to subjoin a copy of his opinion.

My object in calling attention to this question is one of warning. The morbid love of what in itself is both ancient and useful—I mean the Order of Bishops—may become a fruitful source of offence, and result in serious injury to our honoured Establishment. If the intelligence of England's Churchmen were fairly tested, do you not think a large majority would oppose innovations of this kind?

It behoves the members of the Established Church, clerical and lay, to arouse themselves from that easy-going indolence which prevents, ever and anon, fair resistence to encroachment on the part of absolute power. It is almost an absurdity to talk of toleration in such matters. We may begin to suspect something unsatisfactory, when toleration is urged in extenuation of such illegalities as I have named. Coleridge (quoting, I believe, from Archbishop Leighton) puts toleration, when thus abused, in a very useful point of view:—"Toleration is a weed of spontaneous growth in the soil of Indifference, but the weed has none of the virtue of the medicinal plant, reared by Humility in the garden of Zeal."

A Lay Churchman.

"Copy Opinion.

"1st. I am of opinion that a bishop of the Scotch Episcopal Church cannot be lawfully appointed coadjutor of a bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland.

"2nd. I am of opinion that a bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland may commission another bishop, who is not disqualified by the law of the land, to hold confirmations within his diocese, notwithstanding anything in the 60th Canon.

"3rd. I am of opinion that the power given to bishops and priests of the Episcopal Church of Scotland under 3rd and 4th Vict. c. 33, to perform divine service, and to preach and administer the sacraments, does not extend to the exercise of episcopal functions in an English diocese. I think that a Scotch bishop exercising episcopal functions in an English diocese would be subject to the penalty imposed by 3 and 4 Vict. c. 33. s. 5.

"4th. I think a Minister of the Church of England would not be liable to ecclesiastical censure for canonical disobedience, if he were to omit to present any candidates for confirmation by a Scotch bishop under the circumstances stated.

"Doctors' Commons, Aug. 26, 1861." "TRAVERS TWISS."

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—I cannot help wondering whether "An Old Subscriber," your present July correspondent, does really believe that our Baptismal service, which is composed in terms having one positive sense literally and naturally, was intended to be clothed with another indefinite sense practically and hypothetically, by which, in fact, the former sense is destroyed.

However this may be, certain it is that the hypothetical cloak does not well cover the deformity of natural defect. And oh, what endless trouble and difficulty have been occasioned to the church of God by the constant efforts which have been used to make it do so!

How much more effectual, as well as easy, would it be ("lions" notwithstanding) to amend matters by verbal correction, rather than by theoretical supposition! What disputations it would save, what questionable assertions and doubtful arguments, what wounding accusations and resentments, with no good gained after all! The contest is quite as far from being *settled* in this way as it ever was.

Why, then, should we not draw all our studies and efforts *another* way, namely, the getting our questionable points in the Liturgy at once removed, and retaining nothing but unquestionable truth therein, conformably with the Articles? And, to go with your "Old Subscriber" to Baptism in particular, why not dispense with terms implying the new birth in baptism, and receive the child as a child of God in hopes expressed, without implying that he was born of the Spirit *in* Baptism, against which there is so much in Scripture which can never be satisfactorily refuted.

If this were done, the Sacrament would be both administered and received correctly and scripturally, as an effectual sign and seal of the birth, not as containing the thing itself. The idea of ritual baptism having *in* it the birth itself, "destroys the nature of a sacrament" as much as the idea of the body and blood and sacrifice of Christ being *in* the Lord's Supper destroys the nature of a sacrament therein. And so much evidence is there in Scripture of the separation of baptism from the new birth, that even John iii. 5 ("Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, &c.") cannot possibly prove a union between them, though it mentions them together. Moreover, if it

proved the point in one case, it must do so in all; which nobody could agree to.

To receive the child as a child of God in hope,—hope not supposed, but *expressed*,—would be right and scriptural, without affirming the questionable point. If he be presented by parents, or pro-parents, with and under their profession, we hope he is a covenant child of God with them (1 Cor. vii. 14), and herein lies the warrant for baptizing him. And we know that if he had died before being baptized, we should hope that he died God's child; which strengthens the ground for hoping the same of him alive. This also agrees with the Scripture fact, that all baptized adults were received as spiritually converted to the faith of Christ, and born of God (1 John v. 1), before they outwardly entered the kingdom by open profession in baptism.

Other omissions and corrections might be as easily and effectually made, both in this service respecting improper stipulations, and in others respecting the burial of the dead, and the absolution of the sick. But I must not be prolix, as I am well aware. I will only ask, therefore, in conclusion, how long shall we contend hopelessly for the old troublesome charitable hypothesis, when truth and peace might be so easily and securely won? If the use of a Revised Prayer Book were not enjoined upon any clergy at present in orders, or any chapters or colleges who did not adopt it voluntarily, I do not see what reasonable objection could be made to it, or to a regulation of this kind respecting it.

That any should object to allowing others the omission, for conscience' sake, of points which they themselves for conscience' sake may still retain and use as they are, would evidently be uncharitable. To insist upon the retention and use of them by objectors (who had no other reasons for seceding), on the plea of their being apparently vital, must evidently be unreasonable, *if they be proved to be contrary to the Word of God. And on such points only* is it important to ask for change, or likely that approbation of it should be general. But if such points, being at present objectionable to some, be removed, and none offensive to others be introduced, it is evident that room within our pale for men of various opinions becomes larger than it was before; and this will readily be approved by all but "party theologians," being consistent with retaining everything that can possibly be essential, as proved by the Word of God. I hope, Mr. Editor, you will let us both be heard.—Most truly yours,

P. Gell,
A Subscriber ab initio.

Duffield Bank, near Derby,
July 5th, 1862.

[We hesitated for a time whether to publish Mr. Gell's letter. But if any of our correspondents have a greater claim to be heard than others, the venerable father of the bishop of Madras is amongst the number. We can foresee the use which certain benevolent Bicentenarians will make of it; but the custom of the Christian Observer, "*ab initio*," has been to invite free discussion; and although we have felt it necessary to exclude the Revision of the Prayer Book controversy, we must be allowed to violate our rule in this instance, from the great respect we owe to our venerable friend.—Editor.]

PICTORIAL TEACHING.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—Pictures teach as well as books. Our schools show this; if not, why are our school-room walls so hung with pictures? Then pictures should be reviewed as well as books, and especially those which profess to represent Scripture subjects. In the present day, when religion and religious subjects are freely discussed, and there is a strong current of religious feeling running through our land, Scripture subjects are likely to become very popular in the hands of artists. It is well, therefore, to keep a watch over such productions, and to expose anything which may, directly or indirectly, teach unsound doctrine. Now, there is a picture in the International Exhibition which I think demands some consideration; for if the principle which I have laid down be correct, that pictures teach as well as books, this picture teaches unsound doctrine. I mean that picture in the British department of the picture gallery, numbered 580, entitled in the catalogue, "*The Light of the World;* by William Holman Hunt." It professes to be a representation of the Saviour as "the Light of the World;" and it presents a human figure with a light in a lantern. Now, I do not enter into its artistic beauties (much has been said and written on these), but it is to its theological teaching that I object; and on this point I conceive it is unsound and objectionable. The adorable Redeemer is Himself intrinsically the "*Light of the World.*" He does not carry a *divine light*, He is Himself "the *light of the world*"; and this is clear if Scripture has any authority, and the following passages are to be taken in their literal, *natural* sense:—John i. 4—9; iii. 19; viii. 12; ix. 5; xii. 35, 36, 46. To represent the glorious Redeemer as carrying a light, instead of being the *Light Himself*, is to present Him in a *Socinian point of view*, as simply a Divine messenger bringing to man the light from heaven. This is surely degrading to the intrinsic nature of the glorious, and now glorified Redeemer. It is, I say, looking at Christ from a Socinian point of view. The conception is wrong and unscriptural; and that impression which offends the discriminating theologian may mislead the unsuspecting admirer of the Fine Arts, and impart an unsound and degrading view of the real nature of the Redeemer. To depict Christ as "the light of the world," by a human figure carrying a light, is as far from giving a right view of His intrinsic nature, as to paint in the most glowing colours the disc of the sun, and then hang a lamp by the side of it. That radiant orb is the source of light and heat to the natural world; so Christ is to the spiritual. The quality is intrinsic; no adjunct is needed. It may be said, it is a symbolical view. The reply is, symbolical representations of the nature and attributes of the Deity are not desirable subjects for the artist's pencil; artistic beauty and imagery are very likely to invade Scriptural truth; then it ceases to be a Scriptural subject—it is inaccurate. To depict Christ with a Bible in his hand, and call it "The Word," would be as unsound. He is Himself "*The Word*," as He is emphatically "*The Light of the World.*" Socinianism is often received stealthily; unconsciously the distillation into the mind goes on, drop

by drop. We cannot be too much on our guard against this danger. I confess I am much offended by this picture; it is repulsive to my idea of my adorable Saviour, whose Deity I regard as the basis of true Christianity; and I cannot but be jealous of anything which would appear to rob Him of His Deity and intrinsic nature of "*Very God of very God, Him that is true, even* (God's) *Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life.*"

CLERICUS LONDINENSIS.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—Under the head of "Prayer-book Difficulties," one of your Correspondents ingeniously, and as well as the case admits of, argues for the *charitable hypothesis* explanation of our Baptismal Services. If he would carefully read Fisher's "Revision of the Liturgy," pp. 109—120, he will see, I think, some valid reason why this defence, fair enough when applied to general expressions in worship and devotion, fails when applied to affirmative statements like those in question.

My conviction increasingly is, that this is a weak and unworthy line of defence, and the sooner our Evangelical brethren agree to give it up, and take their stand where alone they are unassailable, viz., on the *conditional* theory, the better. It was here Mr. Gorham, and after him, Mr. Goode, made so successful a stand. Indeed, neither the bishop of Exeter on the part of the Tractarians, nor Mr. Fisher on the part of the Dissenters, has ever ventured to touch this point. They only endeavour to ignore it, by reiterating, without a word of proof, that the assertion of regeneracy is "absolute, positive, and unconditional."

But what are the facts of the case? Unconditional, indeed! What, then, is the first half of both Baptismal services? Is the solemnly-announced profession made before God and His Church a mere farce, to be ignored as soon as uttered? We would ask Mr. Fisher whether any of our judges would allow distinctly-expressed previous conditions in wills, even relating to minors, to be thus dealt with?

Here seems to be the whole pith of the matter. Baptism, whatever else it may be, is, according to Scripture examples and our Formularies, a profession of faith. After the New Testament model, the candidate, whether adult or infant, is interrogated as to his faith. "Dost thou believe?" has to be answered by, "I do." This same formula occurs in the complementary part of the office even for Private Baptism, showing that it is taken for granted in its proper place, even in that hurried and exceptional case. Indeed, there can be no adherence to Scripture practice, and early Christian practice, without this. It is, therefore, on the strength of this profession, personally and solemnly made, that the announcement of regeneracy proceeds. "Seeing this child [if the profession just made be sincere, or when it is sincere] is regenerate"—this is the true force of this expression, necessitated by the construction of the very service for infants itself, to say nothing of the Article, and the entire doctrinal scheme of the Church of England.

B.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—When I read the paper in your last Number on the Transfiguration, it was quite a new idea to me, as I found it to be to others, that this glorious miracle took place in the night; and I think I am not mistaken in understanding that the writer's meaning is that it took place in the darkness of night. This is the important consideration, whether it was dark or light at the time of the Transfiguration.

The chief arguments for holding that the Transfiguration took place in the night or dark, seem to be, that Peter, James, and John were heavy with sleep; and that in the 37th verse of the 9th chapter of St. Luke it is stated, that "much people met him" "on the next day when he was come down from the hill;" and it seems not an unfair inference that a night had been spent on the mount.* But it by no means follows that the miracle happened whilst it was dark. There are many indications in the narratives of St. Matthew and St. Mark that it was not very early in the day when Jesus rejoined the nine disciples who had been left below; and if the three disciples had been watching for a great part of the night in prayer, their sleepiness would, I am afraid, be too natural a fact to build any argument upon as to the time the miracle took place.

All must turn upon the more important facts of the narrative, and they, I think, show clearly that it was daylight; and very likely it might be soon after sunrise, which would fit in with all the facts already referred to. In Matt. xvii. 8, at the conclusion, after mentioning that the disciples fell on their faces at the voice out of the cloud, and that Jesus came and touched them, it is expressly stated that, "when they had lifted up their eyes, they *saw* no man save Jesus only," and this statement of what they saw immediately at the end of the miracle, is surely decisive that it was daylight. St. Mark's statement (ch. viii. and ix.) is stronger still: "That suddenly when they had *looked round about*, they saw no man any more save Jesus only with themselves;" and from St. Luke (ch. ix. 36) it is plain this was immediately after the voice was past.

It is of some importance that if this glorious wonder took place in the daylight instead of the dark, the fact should be appreciated; because it was a more transcendent display of power; and still more because it was open to much more observation. The glory which stood forth and manifested itself "when his face did shine the sun, and his raiment was white as the light" (Matt. xvii. 2), must have been far more striking if it overpowered the day, than if it were only viewed as against surrounding darkness. This, however, is of comparatively little consequence. But if the miracle took place in the day, all the accompanying circumstances, and the beginning, and the progress, and the end of the miracle, could be far better appreciated. And although I have pointed out what seem the decisive facts to show that it was daylight, yet there are many smaller cir-

* The expression, "the next day," is so indeterminate, that it really affords little or no ground for any conclusion; and if it were pressed, "the next day" would, in fairness, and according to common usage, relate rather to the last thing before mentioned, which is the Transfiguration itself, or to the end of the previous transaction rather than the beginning, if the ascent into the mountain be considered as the beginning.

cumstances which show that the disciples did observe the progress of the miracle; and some of these circumstances, if they did not absolutely require daylight, yet read so naturally with it, and are so opposed to previous darkness (subsequent darkness being, I think, out of the question), that the only conclusion seems to be that it was light all through. St. Matthew says, "he was transfigured *before* them," not appearing as an apparition in the night;—and "behold there appeared unto them Moses and Elias talking with him," and "a bright cloud overshadowed them," where it may be suggested that it would be much more easy in the day to appreciate that it was a cloud and bright, than at night it was to ascertain that it was a cloud, although it was bright;—and, lastly, the voice is "out of the cloud," which, if we consider what we experience when in a cloud, would be much more felt by day than by night. St. Mark says His raiment "*became* shining exceeding white as snow," the word *became* rather indicating change gradual, or at least not altogether sudden, which the disciples perceived; and St. Luke's testimony is to the same effect (ix. 29), "as he prayed, the fashion of his countenance was altered."

Though some of these facts are stronger than others, yet it seems to me impossible to read them without feeling that they all indicate daylight; and indeed there are still other parts of the narrative which I cannot myself read without feeling it was day, but I have referred only to those which can scarcely be reconciled with darkness: and it is important to notice how much there is to strengthen, while I think there is really nothing which contradicts, or is in the least at variance with, the inevitable conclusion that it must have been daylight, which is forced upon us by the statement, that suddenly, when they had "looked *round about*, they *saw* no man *any more* save Jesus only with themselves."

On reading over these remarks to a biblical student, I found he had before seen it suggested that the Transfiguration took place by night, and it seemed to have made some impression upon him; the idea may prevail extensively, and it really deserves attentive consideration whether it were night or not. G. S.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

La Lorguette de l'Ermite; par E. Adelar. Paris: Librairie de Ch. Meyrueis et C^e^., Editeurs, Rue de Rivoli 174. 1861.

Un Domino; par E. Adelar, auteur de La Lorguette de l'Ermite. Bonce, Librairie de Adolphe Marcus. 1862.—We can recommend the above works to those who wish at once the amusement of reading fiction, and the advantage of reading it in pure and modern French. French fiction is so generally objectionable in its sentiments, that we are happy to be able to mention works which are written with Christian piety, and animated with a desire of recom-

mending truth. As the author continues to write, he will write more artistically; but there is enough both in the incidents and the imagination, especially in the first-mentioned work, to recommend them to our younger readers; and they will hardly find any in which the French is more pure, and full both of the phrases and *tournures* of its modern style.

North America; by Anthony Trollope. Two vols. Chapman and Hall. 1862.—Thirty years ago, Mrs. Trollope gave the world an amusing account of American life and manners: her son has now traversed the same wide field, and these volumes contain the result of his adventures. We opened them with the intention of giving them a prominent place amongst our reviews this month; for the subject is of intense interest, and Mr. Trollope's powers of description are well known. But we soon closed the book disgusted. A few pages were enough to satisfy our curiosity. Describing the money-loving propensities of New York, Mr. Trollope thinks it becoming to introduce and to ridicule the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus. He has the assurance to tell his readers that Dives, because he was a rich man, was condemned to everlasting misery; and that Lazarus, because he was a poor man, was taken into Abraham's bosom. And he intimates, in a style worthy of Tom Paine himself, that all those who profess to believe the story, or rather the moral it conveys, are fools or hypocrites, or both at once. Mr. Trollope had the advantage of a good education. In his youth he had, if nothing more, at least a smattering of the Greek Testament. His father was a scholar and a gentleman; and such an insult to his readers has not even the poor excuse that he knows no better. We are sorry that one who can write so well, or that any man who can write at all, should expose himself to a censure which few deserve, even of the lowest class of those who contribute to our worst newspapers.

The Papal Criminal History: preceded by De Romanorum Religionis Origine, &c. &c. by Dr. Beggi, Commissary-Director of Police in the city and province of Modena in 1848, *&c. &c. London. Printed for the Author.* 1862.—Dr. Beggi is a foreigner imperfectly acquainted with our language, and still more so with our English habits of thinking and writing. We regret that he had no wise friend at hand to revise his manuscript, and fit it for the press. Here is a mass of learning, but sadly wanting compression and arrangement. Still, to those who will be at the pains to study it, the work is a store-house containing materials of the greatest value. The documents he quotes are given in the original Latin, and it is shown conclusively that the history of papal Rome is indeed a criminal one, the Newgate calendar of a debased Christianity. Those who would know by what baseness, falsehood, tyranny, and treachery the popes obtained that secular power of which it is not unlikely that they may shortly be deprived, will find the whole story amusingly told, shocking as it is, by Dr. Beggi.

Amongst new editions and reprints we must notice a monthly issue of *Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, by Adam and Charles Black, Edinburgh*, at the moderate price of half-a-crown. Of course we do not hold ourselves responsible for every criticism, or the correctness of every statement, but we are sufficiently acquainted

with it to say at once that it is a work of sterling worth and vast research. It is illustrated by numerous cuts or lithographs, and well printed on good paper. Nor is it merely what its title imports. It includes much that the title would scarcely lead us to expect. It is a biblical geography, and it includes biographical notices of biblical critics and travellers in oriental parts. Such a work deserves encouragement, and will, no doubt, meet with it in proportion as its merits are made known.

Female Life in Prison. By a Prison Matron. In 2 vols. small 8vo. Hurst and Blackett. 1862.—Truth is strange, stranger than fiction; far more thrilling, and often far more terrible. Here we have, from one who simply relates what she has seen and heard, enough to satisfy the longings of those who read for mere excitement; and those who are panting for a field of action where something may be done worthy of living for, may ponder well these records, and then ask themselves, can nothing be done to save these wretched creatures? We shall make few comments, but give our readers, in the well-written periods of a Prison Matron, an account of what passes in the gloomy walls of Millbank Penitentiary.

Here then is the first day of prison life:—

"The outer bell is rung, the gate-keeper unlocks and swings open the great gates, inner grated gates of iron work are unfastened by second gate-keepers, and the cab or omnibus or prison van passes through to the door of the reception-room, where a matron is ready to hear from the custodian of the woman or women he or she may bring, the name, age, nature of the crime, and length of the sentence—all of which being duly entered in the register, the new arrivals are formally delivered over to the Millbank authorities.

"The first inexorable rule to which the new prisoner has to submit, and which is a trial that is always one of the hardest to bear, is that of having the hair cut. With a woman new to the rules, a comer who has not sat in that room before, with the scissors of Atropos snipping round her head, it is seldom performed without a remonstrance. Women whose hearts have not quailed, perhaps, at the murder of their infants, or the poisoning of their husbands, clasp their hands in horror at this sacrifice of their natural adornment—weep, beg, pray, occasionally assume a defiant attitude and resist to the last, and are finally only overcome by force. It is one of the most painful tasks of the prison, this hair-cutting operation—moreover, it is, in my own opinion, at least, a test of character.

"One woman will be resigned to her fate on the instant, and, with a Socratic stoicism, will compress her lips and submit herself to the shears, and march away to her bath afterwards in a business-like manner. A second will have a shivering fit over it, a third will weep passionately, and a fourth will pray to be spared the indignity, and implore the matron on her knees to go to the lady-superintendent and state her case for her.

"Some women are impressed with the idea that coaxing will go a long way towards softening the matron's heart, or at least obtain a variation in the rules, and a less length of hair from their heads; and consequently bestow many 'my dears' and 'God bless you's' on the operator.

"The greatest trouble in my experience of prison life was with an old woman of sixty years of age, and with about the same number of grey hairs to her head. She was an old prison-bird—had spent two-thirds of her life in prison, and was as vain of her personal appearance as any girl of seventeen.

"'No, Miss B.,' she said to the operator, after catching sight of the scissors, and drawing herself up with the haughtiness of a duchess—'not this time, if you please, Miss B. It can't be done.'

"But Miss B. replied it could be done, and was absolutely necessary to be done before the prisoner left the room.

"'Things have altered a little, Miss B., since I saw you last, I can assure you. You've no power to touch a hair of my head, mum.'

"'How's that?'

" 'If you please, mum, I'm married,' and the old woman regarded the matron with undisguised triumph.

" 'And what's that to do with it?—sit down—you really must sit down.'

" 'What's that to do with it!' shrieked the old woman indignantly, '*why, it's my husband's hair now*, and you daren't touch it, according to law. It belongs to my husband, not to me, and you've no right to touch it. Lord bless you, the Queen of England daren't lay a finger on it now.' " (pp. 12—14)

" I can remember one prisoner delirious for a day and a night after the operation —the mortification of 'losing her hair,' or the impression made upon a nature more highly sensitive than ordinary, tending to that unfrequent result. She was a young fair Scotch girl, and her 'Dinna cut my hair—oh! dinna cut my hair!' rang along the deserted corridors with a plaintive earnestness.

" Still in reality it is not a barbarous ceremony; it is essentially necessary for cleanliness, and the hair is not cut to an ungraceful shortness. But the impression left upon the prisoner's mind is not a pleasant one, and I am inclined to think that there are really a few who are more sullen, more doggedly obstinate, or more ferocious, according to their respective natures, from the moment their locks of hair are strewing the floor of the reception room.

" Woman's vanity, that regard for personal appearance which is inherent in most of us, I suppose, does not grow less within a prison; at a more advanced stage, I shall be enabled to offer many curious illustrations of prisoners' vanity, under those difficulties which may be readily imagined.

" A registry of name, a shortening of hair, a tepid bath, a change of the dress in which they are received to the brown serge, blue check apron, and muslin cap of prison uniform, the key turned upon a cell in 'the solitary ward,' and 'one more unfortunate' is added to the list." (pp. 17, 18.)

These poor creatures, then, are women still. The womanly instinct lives. Perhaps her nobler qualities may return.

" A woman will break a window for a piece of glass, secure the largest piece in her bed, and mourn over the seeming accident with a display of feeling verging on the histrionic. The accident is often excused, and the cell searched for all the pieces—as a rule, the woman contrives to conceal one piece, despite the most rigid scrutiny. With a background to her glass—a black piece of cloth filched from her work, or the glass smoked over the gas or candle in her cell—the woman contrives an apology for a looking-glass, and guards her treasure with a jealous care. The possession of a trifle of this kind will often keep the worst woman patient for many weeks—the confiscation thereof will transform her to a Pythoness." (pp. 112, 113.)

There is quite a series of fashions through the year:—

" The prison bonnet is detested. The cap is more in favour as not unbecoming; and one woman will start a new border, or new tucks and pleats behind, or introduce a piece of wire for the better shape thereof, and the same, if generally approved of, will be immediately imitated by the women. To such an extent did this love of display assert itself, that the Director threatened that white night-caps should be substituted in their place—a terrible threat which convulsed the prisoners with horror, and had it been carried out, would have brought about more mutiny than even the Director might have bargained for. Fortunately the threat was not carried out; and the women, I believe, wear the same caps to this day. So, in the midst of this grim prison life, and the duties appertaining to it, the woman's love of dress and the natural desire to make the best of her appearance, flash out in strange places and at strange times, and are not to be kept down."

There are days on which the friends of the prisoners are admitted. Harrowing are the scenes that often follow:—

" The prisoner is a young, pale-faced girl: the prison visitor, a poor, old, tottering, decently clad woman. The mother cries very bitterly at the first sight of her daughter, and makes frequent use of a very clean pocket handkerchief; the prisoner bites her lips, which will quiver in spite of her, and bursts out at last with—

" 'Dontee cry, mother!—I be very comfortable—there's such a little to cry about!'

" 'Oh! dear—it's very sad!'

"'Did you come up to-day?'

"'Yes, by the early train. I suppose I can't shake hands with my girl, anyhow, miss?'

"'It is against the rules here.'

"'Very well, miss,' she adds, with a sigh.

"It is the daughter in this instance that asks all the questions, and tries to distract her mother from the dark thoughts born of such an interview.

"'How are you getting on, mother?—How's Uncle John, and all his little ones?—Has Jemmy come back from sea?—Have you heard from Jemmy?—Is Sarah Ann married yet?'

"The old lady gathers more nerve as the interview proceeds; dries her eyes, and answers all her daughter's questions—becomes at last very garrulous, and details all the gossip of the far-away country village whence she has journeyed to see her imprisoned child.

"'Uncle John helped me with a couple of shillings, my dear, or I should never have been able to come and see you,' she adds; 'Uncle John 's always very kind, though he has a large family of his own to help, Martha.'

"'How did you get through the winter, now?' asks the daughter anxiously.

"'Poorly! poorly! My eyes went bad again—and there was no work about—and so I had parish relief, my dear.'

"'Ah! that's bad!'

"'I shall have to go into "the House" altogether soon.'

"'No, don't do that!' is the quick reply.

"'There's no help for it, Martha. It isn't,' she adds, in a sorrowful, almost a reproachful manner, 'as if I had my daughter to help me in my weakness and old age.'

"'Don't go into the House,' repeats the prisoner.

"'What can I do, my dear?'

"'*Come here!*'

"The old woman flings up her hands in horror, and the daughter continues in a strange, excited whisper—

"'You'll be treated well here. You'll have enough to eat and drink—you won't have any hard words here—they give you such blankets and sheets to lie on!—you can have the doctor every day if you like—and it's like heaven to be in the infirmary! Oh! mother, if you would only try and come here!'

"The mother stands behind the wire-work and seems to consider the matter; the daughter becomes more eloquent and persuasive—even begins to suggest the best plan to set about it—until the matron calls her to order, and reproves her for her wickedness.

"'It's not wickedness!' says the prisoner; 'it's the best thing, God knows, that can happen to us poor!'

"And the prisoner is not far wrong. And amidst the mass of our fallen sisters that Millbank and Brixton prisons contain, there are these strange, stern philosophers—women who have weighed all the chances between the workhouse and the prison, and who, being compelled to choose between one or the other, strike the balance in favour of the gaol. A little less liberty, but more kindness and attention; better food, and more friendly faces—only the key turned on them and their sleeping-chamber called 'a cell!' Step by step from Millbank to Brixton—perhaps from Brixton to Fulham, if they are young enough—books to read, good warm clothing, the chaplain to talk to them every day.

"I have often been tempted to wonder if the workhouses would be always full, if women would have to hesitate at all between the Parish and the Prison, if Government made no contracts with the slop-houses and the wholesale firms, and competed not so closely—so cruelly—with the honest and hard-working poor. There will be living illustrations to Hood's 'Song of the Shirt' to the end of time, if some better and more just system be not presently adopted. I cannot think it fair or humane to take contracts from such firms as Moses and Son, and others, at a price with which no woman who has rent to pay and a home to keep can possibly compete. Prisoners, especially female prisoners, should do prison work, army work, the binding of the prison books—even the printing of the innumerable forms might possibly be taught them—but no work beyond Government work, for the sake of those who desire to live honestly and resist temptation.

"I am conscious that I am not the first to raise my voice against this system; but the matter has long since dropped, and the system is at work still. It is a

system morally and radically wrong, and will fall some day, even if the nation has a small extra tax to pay. If Government would put the question to that nation I think its heart is large and sound enough not to shrink even from that ordeal, for the sake of the poor atoms struggling to be honest, and for the sake of Him who blessed them. In one year, by one female prison, and *for one firm alone*, forty-three thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight shirts were made; and the work is still done on as large a scale, and thus diverted from its proper channel." (pp. 181—186.)

Women are here for child-murder. One would think that even savages would quail under the recollection of the murder of their own offspring. No such thing. Sarah Baker is here for the murder of her, of course illegitimate, child. She had flung it down a coal-pit. She was a very young, delicate woman, and soon became distinguished from the mass as an obedient and even cheerful prisoner. Yet the Prison Matron is inclined to think that a great deal of public sympathy was wasted on her, and that for the crime itself and its consequences she felt little remorse. "I was obliged to throw the little beggar over," it is reported that she said one day to a woman to whom she was detailing the incidents of the dark past, "it made such an awful row." The past crime did not press heavily on her conscience; "but it is a remarkable fact that these serious acts seldom do. Women who are in for murder, especially for the murder of their children, are, as a rule, the best behaved, the most light-hearted prisoners. I may add here that with all the prisoners the crime is of little account, and the sentence for it only a subject to be deplored."

This is deplorable indeed! What a comment on the sacred text, "Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion upon the fruit of her womb? Yea, she may forget."

1. *Black Bartholomew; and the Twelve Years' Conflict. London: Elliot Stock.* 1862.

2. *Churchman's Duties with regard to the Bicentenary. By the Rev. William Milton, M.A. London: Wertheim.* 1862.—The first of these tracts affects great honesty. It is exactly the honesty of the school boy who should come to his master to complain that he had been well kicked and licked by the other boys, without saying a word as to the provocations he had given. Thus the author of Black Bartholomew finds it convenient to begin his story from 1660. True he gives, in five pages, a hasty sketch of the persecutions of the Puritans from the Reformation downwards, and he cannot avoid mentioning the famous Westminster Assembly; famous, amongst other things, for sitting by in silence, not interfering with one protest, or interceding with one prayer, offered either to God or man, when Archbishop Laud's head was sentenced to be cut off by a parliament sitting over the way at Westminster; when bishop Hall, of saintly memory, was hunted like a mad dog in the Close at Norwich; and while the other bishops were hooted and pelted by the apprentice boys of London. They who love truth more than they love a party, would make these facts stand out in the same strong relief in which they describe, and justly describe, the Black Bartholomew. On the other hand, men who wish to aggravate the differences of the church of Christ, and to "smite their fellow servants" with the tongue, if not with more effectual weapons, will write just as our author writes, apologising for the most wicked excesses of his own party, and holding

up the transgressions of the other to the abhorrence of his readers. Of the Westminster Assembly, who, in conjunction with the Kirk of Scotland, he admits, "if left without control, would have suppressed error, in their mistaken zeal, by the infliction of capital punishment," he can write thus: "Nevertheless, the more consistent their piety, the deeper their conviction of truth, and the greater the value attached by them to its maintenance, and the more liable they were to become intolerant in the exercise of state powers for its defence and extension."

2. In beautiful contrast is Mr. Milton's tract. He takes for his motto, "Seek peace, and ensue it;" and we think his few pages, which are the substance of a paper read before the Church of England Clerical and Lay Association, at their third annual Conference, held at Nottingham, 17th and 18th of June, 1862, are amongst the best which this needless, senseless controversy has provoked. In general, our own friends have been too sensitive with regard to this Black Bartholomew. It was a deed of atrocious wrong and outrage. Why should we deny it? What is it to us, that the parliament of 1661 was tyrannical; that Charles the Second was a knave; that his bishops, like the restored Bourbons, took the earliest opportunity of showing that "they had learned nothing and forgotten nothing" in their exile? We knew a witty controversialist some years ago, who was asked, on the eve of a public disputation with some Romish priests, how he meant to conduct it, having had little or no time for preparation. He replied, "Oh! I shall scrape a sack of soot out of the Pope's chimney, and fling it in their faces; infallibility will make it all stick." Now there is *soot* enough in Black Bartholomew, but no infallibility to make it stick to our faces. We abhor the deed. And the only injury that it can possibly do us, must be done in consequence of our own childish sensitiveness in attempting to excuse it. As if we, forsooth, were responsible for the conduct of a set of men who were dead a hundred and fifty years or more when we were born! Mr. Venables' excellent tract, "*How did they come there?*" is a little faulty in this respect as well as in another. He assumes that the majority of the two thousand had not received episcopal orders. This it would be difficult to prove. The best men amongst them were certainly episcopalians; at least, the most eminent were; for obscure piety may still be of the highest worth and of the greatest usefulness. Nor is he quite correct in assuming that they were dispossessed to make way for the old and rightful incumbents. Few of these were restored to their livings. Most were old men; not a few were dead; almost all were now forgotten. Burnet testifies that the places of the ejected ministers were filled up, in too many an instance, by worthless and ignorant fellows ordained for the purpose; men whose incapacity and sloth were scandalous even in the days of Charles the Second. We wish we could now persuade our brethren of the clergy to let this matter rest. Dissent will gain nothing by it, and we may lose much, if we are diverted from our proper work, our success in which has, we have no doubt, provoked this burst of bitterness. "Unjust accusations," says Mr. Milton, "are rarely believed even by those who make them, and by-standers generally observe who are endowed with the most

excellent spirit. . . . If in the heat of this commemoration any non-conformist brethren accuse us of dishonesty and untruthfulness, nay, of perjury, let us not render evil for evil, nor railing for railing, but contrariwise, blessing. Let us acknowledge and rejoice, that in spite of all that is defective, unlovely, unchristian in them, they are, nevertheless, Christians, dear to our Saviour, and who, therefore, ought to be dear to us."

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

AMIDST a thousand calls for thankfulness, a certain gloom hangs over us—the weather has been cold and sunless, and it is now, we fear, almost certain that the harvest, though not at present materially injured, will be deficient both in weight and quality. The absence of the Queen on all public occasions is deeply felt. Her sorrows have added to a profound loyalty a still deeper sentiment of personal sympathy, and a whole nation seems to have lost its buoyancy and healthy cheerfulness, while its head still mourns in solitude. The distress in Lancashire and the cotton districts deepens; thousands are added every week to the numbers of the unemployed. A subscription upon a very liberal scale has been, at length, begun by the great landowners of Lancashire and Cheshire; but these, it is admitted, will not reach the dreadful necessities of the case. Parliament is now engaged in revising the machinery of the poor-law, so as to include a wider area in the districts in which a rate in aid may be raised; but even this, if the distress should continue through the winter, will not be sufficient, and we are glad to find even Mr. Cobden supporting a suggestion which we have thrown out more than once, that a loan of a million should be granted from the national treasury, to be repaid by the distressed districts when better days return.

But we are ashamed to complain when we look abroad. We are a united and a happy people. Under all our hardships we are prosperous. Commerce slowly recovers from the stroke it has received, scarcely less from the Federal tariff than from the Federal blockade. New markets are daily opened, and with the exception of cotton, our manufactures are reviving. We may have trials before us, but we shall meet them firmly; and strange will be our insensibility, if, seeing as we do the awful chastisement which national pride has brought on other lands, we do not receive them, too, in a chastened and humble spirit.

Protestantism owes much to the House of Commons, and the Church of England still more to the House of Lords, for their conduct during the last month. In the Commons, Mr. Hennessy has been obliged to withdraw his bill for the appointment of Roman Catholic chaplains to our gaols; vesting, as it did, the appointment of the chaplain, not in the visiting justices, but in the Roman Catholic bishops! It was a curious argument in favour of the measure, that the majority of culprits in English prisons are Roman Catholics. The purest church in the world, nay, the only pure church in the world, amongst other triumphs, boasts of the greatest number of criminals; and this in a

country where they are not one in ten to the heretical majority. In the House of Lords, the bishop of Oxford's bill for creating bishops in foreign parts to preside over missions to heathen people, met with a somewhat ignominious fate. The Lord Chancellor himself felt it his duty to move the amendment that it should be read that day six months. It would have enabled any future archbishop of Canterbury to appoint a foreign bishop, and to send him out without the royal mandate; indeed, without any reference whatever to the crown or the home government; and it would have placed such foreign missions absolutely under the controul of a bishop thus appointed. The supremacy of the sovereign, as temporal head of the church, would have received a severe wound; some of our evangelical church missions perhaps, in time, a fatal one. This, however, is not the first attempt of the extreme High Church party to invade the royal prerogative in things spiritual; and we have much more to dread from such quarters than from any spiritual authority ever vested in the Sovereign before or since the Reformation. Tractarian bishops in Canada and some other places, have already shown us how much disaster one self-willed, wrong-headed person may have it in his power to effect, when removed from the wholesome controul, and the healthful breezes of public opinion. Dr. A. J. Stephens is, we hear, preparing a bill which is to reduce to order that perplexing chaos of inconsistent or unintelligible legislation, the church building acts of the last half century. This work accomplished, we hope his attention may be officially directed to the state of our canon law, and of all acts of parliament affecting the constitution and government of the Church of England. It is high time something of this kind were done, when even in the House of Lords it is made a question whether the sovereign may claim the headship of the Church. We are afraid there is an uneasy feeling on this subject, by no means confined to ultra-churchmen. To the latter it may be enough to cite an authority with which they at least ought not to quarrel, the authority of Convocation. In 1531, the Convocation of Westminster, then, declared the king of England to be the supreme head of the Church; but mark the qualification, "so far only as the law of Christ permits," *unicum et supremum Dominum et, quantum per Christi legem licet, etiam supremum caput.*"

This is all that even the imperious king Harry claimed. It was a concession made by Convocation after their quarrel with the king, consequent upon his own quarrel with the pope; and it was satisfactory to his highness; since he accepted their submission, (after inflicting a fine of one hundred thousand pounds,) and granted them a pardon for their contumacy. It was alleged in the debate, that the Act of Supremacy of 1534, by which Henry claimed to be the head of the church, was repealed by an Act of Mary, and never re-enacted. The Lord Chancellor showed, however, that the Sovereign is still, and has been ever since the Reformation, the head of the Church; arrogating no power of determining matters of faith further than they are involved in the Articles and in the Liturgy. The oath of supremacy acknowledges this headship. The Queen's Majesty is "in all causes within her dominions, ecclesiastical as well as civil, supreme." In spiritual matters, as the Lord Chancellor stated, "the word spiritual is to be taken not as

regarding faith or doctrine, but as regarding jurisdiction." Queen Elizabeth, it is well known, was unwilling to assume the *title* of Head of the Church; and those who have since been decried as Genevans and ultra-reformers, Sandys, Cox, Jewel, and their friends, relate the story of her reluctance with many apologies, and with unfeigned regret. But since her time it has been used by the Sovereign, in the sense, of course, in which the Convocation of 1531 explained it, and is in fact to be met with in several acts of parliament; in one, at least, of as recent a date as the beginning of the last century.

In short, the matter stands thus:—In stat. 2 & 3 Anne c. 11, s. 1, the following words will be found: "your [Majesty's] most religious and tender concern for the Church of England (whereof your Majesty *is the only supreme head on earth*)."

Queen Elizabeth, it is true, would *not* take the title of "Supreme Head," but adopted that of "*Supreme Governor*" (*vide* Stephens' Eccles. stat. 358 *in note*) as less offensive to the popish party.

"Le Roy est supream ordinary." 2 Rolle's Abv. 232. What can be more express?

For our own part, far from regarding this as impious or unbecoming, we are thankful for an ecclesiastical constitution so wisely framed, and have no more scruple in acknowledging that the Queen is the supreme head of the church, *quantum per Christi legem licet*, than we have in calling her Majesty our supreme earthly Lord and Sovereign ruler. We see quite as much impiety in the one as in the other.

Of foreign affairs we have little to say. The French make little progress in the conquest of Mexico; and our own troops are said to have been repulsed in China. In Italy Garibaldi is restless; and the Pope is disquieted with just alarms. But while the French troops remain he may calculate with some confidence on his precarious sovereignty. The rest of Europe may be described as in an uneasy state, but nothing seems to portend immediate changes. Canada has disappointed the mother country by its reluctance to raise troops for its own defence in sufficient numbers. But the matter is taken up far too peevishly by our public writers, and with too little consideration for the real state of the Canadian people. They have had everything done for them. Now, in a crisis requiring the greatest exertions, it is unreasonable to expect that they should all at once do everything for themselves. We place the highest value on our connection with Canada; and those who affect indifference to it may express their own opinions, for ought we know, correctly, but they are certainly profoundly ignorant of the national feeling of all Great Britain.

In America the tide of war has turned; and the campaign, which seemed six weeks ago to promise the conquest of the South, closes with a series of disgraceful and humiliating defeats to the Federals. We need not repeat the details which must be known to all our readers. The grand army of the Potomac, beaten in four successive battles at the end of June and beginning of July, has been driven with dreadful losses from its position in front of Richmond, and now lies under the protection of Federal gun-boats on a peninsula of the James river. Other defeats in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Western Virginia, have added to the misfortunes of the Federal cause; and

the conquest of the South is clearly impossible by any force which the Federals can now bring against her. Yet the telegraph from New York, received while we are writing, tells us that they are madly bent on prosecuting the war, while ruin stares them in the face, and a national bankruptcy is already coming into view. Foreign intervention is denounced with gratuitous indignation, or rather, if our suspicions are correct, with the well-worn affectation of it. Of armed intervention they have heard nothing from European shores, and from this they have nothing to dread. On this point they may bluster safely; not without a secret hope, perhaps, that the noise they make may call attention to the subject, and induce European States to compose their differences by a peaceful mediation. Mr. Thurlow Weed, who has just returned from this country, has published in New York the most calm and sensible statement we have met with on the present state of English feeling towards America. On one point, however, he is decidedly wrong. He thinks that when the war broke out England was predisposed to blame the Northern States. The truth is precisely the reverse of this; it is the subsequent behaviour of the Federals, and that alone, which has led us to view their conduct, as we now do, no doubt, with great dissatisfaction. But they must still take considerable pains before they stir up this country to a serious quarrel. We pity them and blame them too; and it is not our character to be silent, or to pretend indifference, when we feel indignation; but we have not forgotten the ties of kindred, or the friendships of the past. England, from the first, foretold all that has come to pass; the enormous debt, the national degradation of character, the unutterable domestic misery, the social hatreds, and the final disruption. The last step alone remains. All besides is in awful progress, or has had its terrible completion; in every case, indeed, the facts have far outrun our gloomiest anticipations; and yet, at present, so America tells us, there is no sorrow for the past, no intention of amendment.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Rector of Kinwarton is under an erroneous impression. *We* did not call his attention to the Review of the "18 Years of a Clerical Meeting," of which he is the Editor. He is mistaken, too, in his supposition "that the Reviewer had only read the heading, and not the contents of the Volume." We do not doubt that amongst the members of the Meetings "there have always been men of very deep piety;" but sincere and even very deep piety may be misinformed, or very partially enlightened; and if so, just in proportion to the excellence of the man is the danger of his influence.

In answer to another correspondent, who wishes to be informed whether St. Peter ever visited Rome or not, we can only say in general, that it is always very difficult to prove a negative, which in this case can only be done by proving an alibi. Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, and one or two others, admit the fact, as do Cave and Lardner. We cannot conceive it to be of the least importance, except as a matter of historical interest, nor are the testimonies of the fathers, after the first and second century, of any value. What would be the weight of the unsupported assertion of any historian of this day with regard to an event which took place two hundred years ago? It is curious that the Roman Catholic writers, finding nothing else in the recorded life of Peter to bear out the assertion, have taken refuge in the supposition that the church of Babylon (1 Peter v. 13) was no other than the church of Rome.

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THE GOSPEL IN MADAGASCAR.

II. The Blight.

A.D. 1828—1835.

When we speak of the period on which we are now entering as a period of blight, it must be borne in mind that a blight is an external visitation. It is a trouble or calamity which visits a tree or plant, and which is not inconsistent with life and growth. It loosens and throws off the weaker blossoms; but the tree may still grow, and become stronger. So was it in Madagascar. The seed having been sown, and the leaf and blossom beginning to appear, a blight,—an unhealthy atmosphere, first tried the life and strength of the plant; and this was followed, after a time, by a biting frost of persecution, which soon destroyed, to mortal eye, all the promise of the infant tree.

Radama, the first king of Madagascar, who, by his ability, energy, and patriotic views, had conferred great benefits on his country, died, it is to be feared, the premature death of a victim to sensual pleasures, in July 1828. Solomon, who himself had tried to "give his heart to wine, without losing his wisdom,"* had warned men, many centuries ago, that "wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging: whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise." † He had told us that "at the last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder." ‡ It had slain Alexander of Macedon, and many other men of note; it now slew Radama of Madagascar.

The scenes which followed, too, remind us of those which were witnessed on the death of the great Macedonian. No son stood ready to take up the sceptre of Radama. His nephew,

* Eccles. ii. 3. † Prov. xx. 1. ‡ Prov. xxiii. 32.

Rakatobe, the eldest son of his eldest sister, was the rightful heir; but a woman of strong mind and will, Ranavalona, one of Radama's wives, was on the spot; and by the help of two or three of the chief officers of the court, she succeeded in grasping the reins of power, in seizing the palace, assembling troops, and being proclaimed queen. As is usually the case in barbarous or half-civilized countries, all persons who were deemed likely to be rivals to the usurping queen were quickly despatched. Rakatobe, to whom the crown rightly belonged, was sought for, and instantly speared. His father, Ratafe, or Rataffe, whose visit to England in 1821 has been mentioned, was summoned to court, charged with deserting his post as commandant at Tamatave, and on this pretence was immediately put to death. His wife, who was Radama's own sister, could not decently be slain by the sword: so she was confined in prison, and there starved. Two or three other relatives of the late king, being open to no accusation, were got rid of in the same manner. And thus, in the space of a few weeks, every competitor was removed, and queen Ranavalona stood, unmolested, the indubitable ruler of this fine country. A young officer, named Andriamihaja, had been her principal agent and adviser in all these proceedings; and in a few months he received his appropriate reward. In a fit of jealousy, the queen ordered his execution. He was poignarded in his own house, but allowed the rites of burial. The queen's son, who was born nearly a year after the death of Radama, was believed by many to be also the son of Andriamihaja. After this favourite had been got rid of, two brothers, Rainiharo and Rainimaharo,—the one commanding the army, and the other governing the queen's household—became the actual rulers of Madagascar. To them, in the popular belief, all those despotic and cruel measures were to be ascribed of which we shall presently have to speak.

The character of the queen, Ranavalona, seems to have been compounded of ignorance, bigotry, and a strong will. Her advisers, however, thought it expedient to proclaim, on all occasions, as the policy of her government, that "nothing is to be changed." It was repeatedly declared, that whatever Radama had ordered, or established, was to remain. Hence the missionaries and their schools were assured at the outset that they would be protected as heretofore. But at the same time there was an avowed attachment to the idols, and to the traditions of Madagascar—a feeling which, in Radama's time, was absent; and this idol-worship necessarily came into collision, on many occasions, with the teaching of the missionaries.

The government of the queen, too, was of a wholly different character from that of Radama. It was soon found to be despotically cruel and tyrannical; in short, it quickly became a

reign of terror to Madagascar. The military power which Radama had created for the purpose of maintaining one central, royal authority in the island, was soon, by the queen's advisers, largely augmented, for the purposes of the most terrible oppression. The army was raised by forcible impressment to 25,000 or 30,000 men; and frequent warlike expeditions were sent out, to different parts of the island, to ravage the country and subdue its inhabitants. Thus, in 1831, Rainiharo led a force to the South, into the Betsileo country, surrounded a village containing above 1000 people, killed all the men, and took the women and children captives. Another general, Ravalontsalama, marched to the West, where he was still more successful, bringing back some thousands of captives. In the next year, Rainiharo and Ramboasalama marched to Ivato, a very large town, where they had the pleasure of killing some thousands, and of carrying off 13,000 prisoners. In 1833 Ratsimanisa led a new expedition to the South, killed many, and brought back 2000 captives. In 1834 the force sent out was still more successful, bringing home nearly 10,000. In 1835, a very large expedition, commanded by Rainiharo, was, comparatively, a failure; the army being too large, it suffered much from want of provisions. About 1100 of the soldiers died, and the prisoners taken were only 1000. By these continual warlike expeditions it has been computed that, during the first ten or twelve years of the queen's reign, not fewer than 100,000 of the inhabitants of Madagascar were destroyed or reduced to slavery.

Such a government could not look favourably on Christian missions; but it was the policy of the queen and her advisers to profess to follow in the steps of the late king. In her speech at the ceremony of her consecration, she had said, addressing the people, "I will not change what Radama and my ancestors have done, but I will add to what they did." In accordance with this profession, she sent a message to the missionaries, assuring them of her intention to carry on the government on the principles adopted by Radama; and to support and encourage all the educational plans to which he had given countenance. But while these were the general professions of the new rulers of Madagascar, their deeds soon showed a totally different bias from that which had been manifested by the late king. For six months the schools were closed, as a part of the public mourning. They were then allowed to be re-opened; but soon after, about seven hundred of the native teachers and elder scholars were withdrawn as recruits for the army. Then came a prohibition to hold any school in the villages where the idols were kept. Under all these circumstances, it is not surprising that the schools exhibited a decline, or that, at the close of 1829, there were less than half of the numbers under instruction that had been found eighteen months before.

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This unfavourable aspect of the mission had one natural effect. Deprived of many channels of usefulness, some of the missionaries began to doubt the propriety of consuming the funds of their supporters in England, while it was difficult to find opportunities of labour. In the autumn of 1829, Mr. Freeman sailed for Mauritius, where he remained a short time, and then left for the Cape of Good Hope, from whence, however, on hearing more pleasing accounts from Madagascar, he returned in 1831. For now, as it not unfrequently happens, discouraging prospects from without began to be balanced, and more than balanced, by new hopes springing up from within.

It was in the latter part of 1830 that a new spirit of attention and earnestness became visible among the people. Probably the precarious nature of their own position had made the missionaries, since Radama's death, more serious and impressive in their appeals to the consciences of the people. The chapel in which Mr. Griffiths preached was filled to repletion every Sabbath-day, numbers being unable to find entrance; and many of the hearers flocked to the houses of the missionaries, with the all-important inquiry, "What must I do to be saved?" Hence another chapel was commenced in the northern suburbs of the capital, which was opened in June, 1831, and in which Mr. Johns proclaimed the glad tidings of salvation. Meanwhile the artisans attached to the mission were exerting themselves in their several departments: Mr. Cameron alone, as an engineer, having often as many as 600 young Malagese employed under him. In September of that year a room in the centre of the capital was obtained, and here both the missionaries, and also some native preachers, often addressed the people on the great subjects of their mission. Now, too, some of the more earnest of the inquirers began to ask for baptism; and, before complying with their request, the missionaries applied to the government to know if Her Majesty would renew the permission which had been given by Radama, for any of the natives who desired it to adopt the religious customs of the missionaries. The queen, caught by the reference to Radama, replied, that she "did not wish to change the words of the late king; hence, all that wish are at liberty to be baptized, commemorate the death of Christ, or marry according to the customs of the Europeans." This permission was justly deemed "one of the most important benefits secured to the native Christians since the death of Radama."

Its first-fruits were immediately seen. On the 29th of May, 1831, twenty converts were publicly baptised in the Mission chapel, before a numerous congregation of Malagasay; and on the following Sunday, June 5, eight more were baptized in the

suburban chapel at Ambatonakanga. One of these had been, like Simon of Samaria, a sorcerer, an idol-priest, a deluder of the people! He had taken his place among the children in the school, had learnt to read the New Testament for himself, and had been thus "made wise unto salvation." He chose the name of Paul, and, with his wife, who received baptism at the same time, he continued to "walk in the ordinances and commandments of the Lord, blameless."

We have denominated this period that of blight, and we do so with reference to the wholly changed state of the political atmosphere after Radama's death. "This period," says Mr. Ellis, "was one of peculiar trial to the mission. Religious liberty had scarcely been guaranteed before it was effectually violated." Among those who were desirous of baptism, six or eight were, in different ways, connected with the court. Intimations of disapprobation were conveyed to them from a high quarter, and they deemed it unsafe to make a public profession. Contemptuous epithets began now to be frequently applied to the Christians; and soon after, on some pretext, the missionaries were ordered to discontinue the use of wine in the Lord's Supper. An official announcement was also made to them, that the systems of idolatry and divination, which had existed prior to the commencement of the mission, but which had been discouraged by Radama, would at once be restored.

This state of things differed from the next period, that of open persecution, inasmuch as a sort of formal patronage of the mission was still professed by the government. But there was just that sort and amount of discouragement which shook off the wavering and uncertain, as a blight destroys the onward progress of the tender blossom. The scholars who were under the influence of the court were now privately warned, that a change of religion was displeasing to the queen. Many were positively forbidden to receive baptism; and others, who had been baptized, were ordered to abstain from the Lord's Supper. It was in November, 1831, that this order was given; and at the first celebration of the Lord's Supper after the issue of this order, "the soldiers connected with the church were obliged to sit in silence, while their brethren joined in the commemorative service." After that day, no one employed in the army, or by the government, dared to present himself for baptism, or openly to connect himself with the congregation.

Not long after this, Paul and his wife were accused of witchcraft, and were obliged to submit to the ordeal of the "tangena," or poisoned water; from which, however, God in His providence mercifully delivered them.

In May, 1832, a public examination of the schools was held, and the queen's approbation communicated. But it soon

appeared that secular improvement was the sole object; for, not long after, a new order was given, prohibiting, under heavy penalties, all teaching of the slaves. Two school-teachers, Mr. and Mrs. Atkinson, had recently arrived from England; but when the government found that they knew no mechanical arts, and could only teach reading, writing, and the lessons of Christianity, they were ordered to leave the island at the expiration of the first twelve months. Shortly afterwards Mr. Griffiths was similarly ejected, and, in 1834, Mr. Canham.

The blight was now doing its work, and hollow and unsound professors were easily shaken off; hence the minds of the missionaries were divided between hopes of increasing seriousness and sorrow for frequent desertions.

The committee of the London Missionary Society, in their Report for 1832, remark that—

"The occurrences of the past year have been such as to excite feelings of deep and painful interest, so far as the proceedings of man are concerned. . . . . It is the painful duty of the directors to report that Mr. and Mrs. Atkinson have been obliged to leave Madagascar. The mission has been thus enfeebled, and the introduction of the infant-school system prevented. The government has also prohibited the natives from receiving at the hands of the missionaries the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper. No master is permitted to allow his slave to learn to read, on pain of forfeiture; and no slave is allowed to learn, under the heaviest penalties. Painful as these events are, they should excite to earnest and persevering prayer, rather than dismay, the friends of the missionary cause. They are not beyond the control of Him to whom all hearts, as well as all events, are subordinate; who worketh all things according to the counsel of His will, and is able to overrule events apparently the most unpropitious, for the promotion of His own glory."

Encouragements and discouragements now began to go hand in hand. The pressure of the government grew constantly more and more heavy, and it became more and more evident that anything savouring of a living Christianity was disliked at court. But as repression thus increased on the one hand, instances of real conversion became more frequent and more manifest on the other. In the same year in which the London Committee expressed its deep anxiety, in the passage which we have just given, a poor Malagese died a peaceful and happy death:—

"He was enabled to receive the gospel of Christ like a little child. He felt himself to be a lost sinner, and he found in Jesus a Saviour just suited to him. He believed on the Saviour, rejoicing that He had died to save sinners, and was able to save to the uttermost all that came to God by Him.

"While religion wonderfully improved his intellectual and moral character, it imparted new vigour to all his actions and habits. He became increasingly diligent as a servant. His mind seemed to expand, and his faculties to be enlivened. There was in his character a union of the utmost humility with a degree of manly sentiment and aspiring hope. He would say, 'I am only a poor slave; but I trust I love the Lord Jesus.'

"Rabenohaja was among the earliest and most zealous of the believers. He became one of the most active—teaching some to read, persuading others to attend divine service, and assisting at the native prayer-meetings.

"After a while, he was sent to teach a school in the country. Here, while engaged in elementary tuition, he ever sought to leaven his instruction with the life-giving power of the Gospel; and in his leisure hours, by conversation and prayer-meetings, to convey to the adults around him a knowledge of the same eternal truths.

"His conduct having long been truly ornamental to his Christian profession, he was admitted to baptism on November 5th, 1831. Immediately after he returned to his post. He had twice had the fever of the country, and had recovered from it; but he had an apprehension that a third attack might prove fatal. He even ventured to say to some of his friends, on leaving the capital, 'I think we shall not see each other's faces again on earth: I believe Jesus will soon fetch me.'

"A few weeks after, he wrote for a fresh supply of spelling and reading books, and for some time longer accounts were received of his increasing activity and zeal. At last the tidings came, that the fever had seized him. Two of his scholars walked to the capital expressly to carry to the missionaries the tidings of his death. He was ill only three days, during which he repeatedly exclaimed, 'I am going to Jesus; He calls me. I do not fear.' His last words were, 'I do not fear.'

"'These simple words,' remarked the missionary, 'presented as strong a contrast as human language can admit to the common feeling of the people. Those who have seen the strongest men in Madagascar die, know how, when stretched on a death-bed, they will exclaim in the anguish of despair, while the big tears trickle down their cheeks, 'I die! I die! O father, O mother, I die!' And hence, universally, the natives shun all reference to death, as a subject the most repugnant to their feelings. How inestimable, then, is that Gospel which could enable a poor Malagese to look death in the face, and to repeat, again and again, 'I do not fear; Jesus is taking me;—I do not fear'!"

The native Christians were naturally struck with this expression, and with the sight of the first peaceful death-bed which had been known among their race.

About this time an attempt upon the heathenism of Madagascar was made from a different quarter. A messenger from the court of Rome landed at Tamatave, calling himself Henry de Solage, vicar apostolic. He stated himself to be the bearer of communications from Charles X. of France, and from the Pope.

He insisted on seeing the queen, and pressed on towards the capital. But the royal permission not having been obtained, his bearers were afraid to proceed, and left him in the midst of the journey. Here he died, probably from the fever of the country.

During 1833 and 1834, there was a large increase in the demand for books. Some thousands had now learned to read, and a growing desire for religious knowledge became apparent. Large editions of spelling-books, reading-books, and hymn-books were demanded. In the course of 1833, as many as 15,000 small books were produced, and upwards of 6000 were eagerly taken by the people. The native Christians, armed with these, and with copies of the Gospels, went everywhere spreading the knowledge of the truth. The missionaries wrote home:—

"Many of the people, both in the capital and in the provinces, are learning to read, and this creates a great demand for books. A few days ago, we were much struck by two young persons, who came to us with a slate in their hands, on which one of them, a respectable young female from the country, had written,—

"'I have long lived in darkness, and am now most desirous of being brought into the light, that I may know about God and his Son Jesus Christ. Oh, pity me! have compassion on me! give me a copy of the New Testament. I am greatly in need of it; be merciful to me, and grant, if you possibly can, my request.'"

In this silent way was the Holy Spirit now working. The public services were not many, nor intrusive; but the missionaries seem to have been earnestly at work. In the Mission-chapel about 300 or 400 natives voluntarily attended, and their general aspect was that of serious and devout attention. A prayer-meeting was held each Sunday afternoon, at which, besides the missionaries, a native Christian would sometimes speak. On Wednesday a service was held at a village three miles distant. In several private houses prayer-meetings were held by the native Christians themselves. A spirit of inquiry visibly increased. The natives frequently called on the missionaries, bringing their New Testaments in their hands, and eagerly turning to some passage on which they required information.

"'I have frequently been surprised,' says one of the missionaries, 'at the readiness with which they have collated passages, comparing spiritual things with spiritual. Many of them, too, have never been in our schools, but have learnt to read of their own accord. I trust they are guided and enlightened by that Spirit who causes light to shine out of darkness.'"

A year later, in 1834, the Committee were able to report, that—

"A strong desire prevails among the people, to be in possession of

some part of the Scriptures; and when they have obtained it, they return, in many instances, with increased eagerness to possess themselves of the rest. Several hundreds are voluntarily learning to read.

"At the Mission chapel the attendance is very good, and the chapel is sometimes crowded to excess. At Ambatomanga, two services are held every Sabbath, and one every Thursday afternoon. A native engages in prayer at the Sunday morning service, and gives an address in the afternoon. Two natives engage in prayer on Thursday afternoon, and their devotion is encouraging. On the Sabbath evenings, the natives come to the dwellings of the missionaries, for reading and examining the Scriptures. They have also prayer-meetings in their own houses. At another village, three miles from the capital, there are two services every Sabbath, and two pious natives often take a part. Books and tracts to the number of 21,200 had been printed, of which 12,270 were already in circulation."

At the end of that year, the missionaries report, that, besides the usual agencies, of chapels, schools, &c.,—

"God appears to manifest His purposes of mercy towards this people in raising up an agency of His own among themselves, to carry on His own work. He is preparing His own instruments, giving them zeal and knowledge, imbuing them with love to the truth, and thus supplying the exigencies of His cause, and compensating for our lack of service.

"As a single instance, we may remark, that in a village sixty miles from the capital, a small chapel has been erected by the zeal and devotedness of the natives; chiefly, indeed, by the exertions of a pious female. A delightful spirit of inquiry is awakened in that district; and several of the natives, men of rank and importance, conduct prayer-meetings with much fervour and propriety. Another chapel is also rising in a district 120 miles to the south. Public worship, chiefly prayer and the reading of the Scriptures, is held in many parts of the country, principally by those who were formerly scholars or teachers in the missionary schools. Applications for books, and especially for the Scriptures, are very numerous."

It was just at this period, however, when the hopes of the missionaries began to rise high, that the adversary prepared to put forth all his power. His first device was, to sow tares among the wheat; a plan which is seldom found to fail.

One of the keepers of idols, appointed and maintained by the government, was named Rainitsiandavaka. He had realized some property, and was living in comfort. About the year 1832, he experienced many calamities; the death of his wife, the death of his child, and the loss of some of his slaves. He became melancholy; and while in this state of mind, he met with the native Christian, named Paul, of whom we have already spoken. The conversation of Paul produced a deep effect on him. He accompanied his new friend to the capital,

and attended the services at the mission-chapel. He then called on one of the missionaries, and conversed with him. But, instead of betaking himself to a patient study of the Scriptures, he caught up a few ideas which were novel to him, and went about everywhere declaiming on the general resurrection, the day of judgment, and the millenial state. His friends believed him to be deranged. Paul entreated him to be silent, until he had mastered for himself the gospel message. But Rainitsiandavaka could not be quieted. He went from village to village, conversing with every one he met, on the descent of mankind from Adam and Eve, the day of judgment, the resurrection, and the millenium. His zeal and eloquence had one natural result; in about a year, as many as two hundred persons became his followers. But he vainly endeavoured to unite the worship of God with the worship of his idol; and thus a sect, resembling some of those in the apostolic times, was rapidly springing up.

This zeal, too, was mingled with no little fanaticism. The new leader proceeded, at last, to the capital, and announced that he had a message to deliver to the queen. As he was followed by a number of persons, the government became suspicious and angry, and queen Ranavalona issued orders to put the new prophet to death, and to seize and sell his followers for slaves. The poor man was quietly buried alive, with three of his adherents, and the rest were sold. The queen and her officers made a gain of some thousands of dollars by the whole transaction. This incident both irritated the queen against "the new teachers," and also whetted her appetite for plunder. At this period, as might have been anticipated, "a number of the natives who had hitherto attached themselves to the missionaries from mixed or inferior motives, withdrew themselves, and returned back into the ranks of the heathen." The latter, too, had their expectations excited by the evident tendency of the court. The queen was a zealous votary of the idols; and her favourite ministers encouraged and made use of this propensity to superstition. Hitherto they had thought it prudent to profess a kind of friendship for the missionaries; but at the period at which we have now arrived, this simulated friendship began to be thrown off. A disregard of the idols had hitherto been winked at; it now began to be treated as an offence.

Early in 1835, a young man, a native Christian, was called on by one of the chiefs to take part in a sacrifice to the idols. He refused, and his refusal excited great anger among those highest in power. Enemies of the native Christians now found that an eager ear was lent in the queen's household to reports to their disadvantage. A preacher had said, in one of his sermons, that ere long "God would punish all workers of iniquity, and reward those who loved and served Him." A

casual hearer reported this to one of the officers of the court, who told it to the queen. She desired a watch to be kept, and a report to be brought to her. The next sermon was on the Resurrection, and parts of it were repeated to the queen. "How should they know," exclaimed Ranavalona, "that God will raise the dead? I myself never heard such things as these; and if they were true, I must have heard of them."

Shortly after this, a young man, Andriantsoa, who was a Christian, was called on to keep Saturday as a holiday to the idols. He refused, and continued planting his rice-ground. A hubbub arose, and Andriantsoa was accused to the judge that he paid no regard to the idol, nor regarded its "fady," or sacred day. The judge referred the matter to the queen, who ordered the tangena, or poison-water, to be administered, to try if Andriantsoa was a sorcerer. He recovered, and was declared to be innocent. The native Christians, overjoyed, made a kind of procession to welcome him back again. The queen saw this procession from a distance, and was highly offended at it, regarding it as a triumph over *her*. In this way, both Ranavalona and her principal ministers became more and more inimical to the proceedings of the mission.

The officer who had brought the accusation against Andriantsoa, felt himself defeated and disgraced by the latter's acquittal, and it became known to him that the queen shared in these feelings. He soon ascertained that charges against the Christians would be received with favour. He went one day to one of their chapels to listen. A native Christian read Joshua xxiv. 14, 15: "Now, therefore, fear the Lord, and serve Him in sincerity and truth; and put away the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the flood, and in Egypt, and serve ye the Lord," &c., &c. The preacher urged his hearers to quit the practices of idolatry, and to serve the Lord Jehovah and His Christ.

The very next day an accusation was lodged with one of the queen's ministers. "There are," said the accuser, "certain people in and around this capital who are bent on changing 'the customs of the twelve sovereigns.' They despise the idols of the queen and the customs of their forefathers; they treat them as nothing. They are in league with the English; they hold assemblies in the night; and they do all these things without permission from the queen. The end of all this will be, that the kingdom will be transferred to the hands of foreigners."

The queen listened to this, and then burst into tears and cried a long time. She then swore by the name of Andrianimpoina that she would put a stop to these things, even if it were by the shedding of blood. She ordered a kabary, or great assembly, to be summoned for the 1st of March.

Rumours naturally began to fly about, of the queen's wrath, and of her dire resolve.

It was now the middle of February. On Sunday, the queen ordered all her "sewing women" to attend in the court-yard of the palace to sew. These women had been taught in the mission-schools, and most of them were in the habit of attending public worship in the chapel. She passed them in the court-yard, and said scornfully, "Had you not better go and ask the English to give you leave to work for me?" In the evening, returning from some field-sports, she passed near the chapel, and heard the singing, when she remarked, "These people will not leave off till some of their heads are taken from their shoulders."

The chapel was crowded that day at both the services. The daughter of an old judge was in the habit of attending, and he warned her in the morning not to go, as the queen did not approve of it. After he had gone out, she slipped away to the chapel. Returning and finding her absent, he went to the chapel to seek for her. Astonished to see so large an assembly, he remarked, "You will never see such a congregation in that place again."

On the following Tuesday, orders were given to make a list of the houses where prayer-meetings had been held, and another list of all persons who had been baptised. The officers were summoned, and the lists were given in at a sort of council held in the palace. The queen was astonished at the length of these lists, and swore by the name of Andrianimpoina that she would put the owners of these houses to death. She now appeared exceedingly violent, and her attendants scarcely dared to speak. At last one of the council, Rainingitabe, rose and said, "Take courage, madam, we are here, ready to put to death all who seek to overturn your government. Still, I would entreat you to consider well what you propose to do with these people, who have learned to pray. I have watched them for years, and I have not seen any among the people more upright, more diligent, or more trustworthy than those who have attended the meetings to pray. They also have more knowledge than most others of the people. Your predecessors, madam, set a great value on faithful subjects. And I fear that if you should put to death any of these young people, who have received instruction from the Europeans—I fear, I say, that you, madam, will be the loser, and will be sorry for it. These are my thoughts, madam, and I cannot conceal them, whatever may be the consequences."

The queen seemed mollified, and said, "I thank you; you do not conceal from me what you think will be of service to the kingdom. We will consider well what is to be done with these people."

Seeing this improved feeling, Andrianisa next rose, and said, that he highly approved of the advice which had been given; that almost all the new things that had been introduced for the good of the kingdom had been introduced by the English; and that, if any of the natives should be put to death for adopting their customs, the teachers would be grieved, and reproach would fall on the queen's government.

Two or three others concurred, and the queen now seemed shaken in her determination to make some terrible examples. But the church's enemy saw his opportunity, and he eagerly pressed his advantage. A chief of rank presented himself at the palace, and requested an audience of the queen. Being admitted, he said: "I am come to ask your majesty for a spear, a bright and sharp spear." Being asked, for what? he replied, that he had seen the dishonour done by the foreigners to the idols, the sacred guardians of the land, and to the memory of her majesty's ancestors; that the hearts of the people were already turned from the customs of their ancestors, and from her majesty, their successor; that this would end in the arrival of foreigners to take possession of the country; and, he added, "as I do not wish to see this, I ask for a spear, that I may pierce my own heart, and die before that evil day comes."

The queen was greatly moved; but still she saw no plausible ground on which any one could be put to death. Her advisers thought it best, therefore, to begin by restriction and prohibition. Meanwhile the court and palace put on the appearance of terror and alarm. Music and dancing were forbidden, silence reigned in the royal abode, and frequent consultations were held, as though some great peril were impending over the nation.

At last, on Thursday, the 26th of February, 1835, the first blow fell. Service was held that afternoon in the mission-chapel; and it proved to be the last public service ever held there. The deepest apprehensions were felt by the missionaries of some immediate evil, and the text chosen was, "Save, Lord, we perish!" Immediately after, a body of the queen's officers appeared, bearing a communication from the queen. There being no room for the interview in a private house, it took place in the chapel. Ratsimanisa, a known enemy of the mission, was the bearer of the royal letter, and he delivered it with an exhibition of malignant feeling which left no room for hope. The mandate was in these words:—

"I inform you, my friends, with regard to the disposition you have manifested towards my country, in teaching the good disposition and knowledge, I thank you for it; it is highly acceptable to me..... And I also inform all you Europeans, that, while you reside here in my country, you may observe all the customs and religious observances of

your ancestors, without fear, for I do not change. . . . But I tell you explicitly, that if these people of mine should change the customs of their ancestors, ... I utterly detest it; for that which has been established by my ancestors I cannot permit to be changed. I am neither ashamed nor afraid to maintain the customs of my ancestors. If there be good disposition or knowledge that may be beneficial to my country, *that* I assent to; but the customs of my ancestors I cannot allow to be changed.

"Hence, then, with regard to religious worship, and the practice of baptism, and the keeping up a society (i.e., a church), these things cannot be done by my subjects in my country. But with regard to yourselves, as Europeans, do that which accords with the customs of your ancestors. And if there be knowledge of the arts and sciences which may be beneficial to my subjects, teach *that*, for it is good. This I tell you, my friends, that you may hear of it.

"Saith Ranavalo-manjaka."*

Here was a distinct prohibition of the missionary work, of the most total and peremptory kind. And the ruling idea throughout the whole was, "Nothing shall be changed; the customs of our ancestors must be adhered to." At one blow, therefore, the whole mission was declared to be illegal, and an offence to the government.

After a few hours spent in consultation and prayer, the missionaries ventured to forward the following reply to the royal mandate:—

"To Ranavalo-manjaka.

"May you attain to old age, not suffering affliction. Madam, may you equal in length of days the human race.† We have received your letter, brought to us by the officers of the palace; and we are happy to find that the disposition we have manifested in your country, and in teaching the good disposition and wisdom, has been acceptable to you.

"Nevertheless, we are exceedingly grieved respecting your word, which says, that religious worship is not to be performed by your subjects. For we know and are assured, that the word of God is beneficial to men, and the means of making them wise, and that it renders prosperous those kingdoms which obey it. And this teaching of ours, the word of God, together with teaching the good disposition, and the arts and sciences, are the purposes for which we left our native country.

"We, therefore, most humbly and earnestly entreat your majesty not to forbid our teaching the word of God, but that we may still have the means of teaching it, together with the useful arts and sciences, &c. &c.

"(Signed) JOHNS, FREEMAN,
CAMERON, CHICK,
KITCHING, BAKER."

* Agreeing with "Victoria Regina."

† The customary compliments of Madagascar.

In two days the following reply was sent:—

"Health to you. I have heard the message in your letter, and I say to you: Did I not expressly tell you, that with regard to the customs of your ancestors, they are not changed, that is, among yourselves, while you are here in my country? . . . . . But I tell you, as I have already told you, that my people are not to do these things, for that which was done by my ancestors cannot be changed.

"Such is the message of the sovereign, which she has directed to be sent in answer to your letter.

"RAINIMAHARO, } Officers of the
RAINISEHENO, } Palace."

The first of March had now arrived, and the great kabary, or assembly, was gathered together. Fifteen thousand troops were paraded, and the concourse of people was estimated at from 100,000 to 150,000 persons.

The judges, generals, and chief officers of the court appeared, and presented a royal message, which was then read to the assembly. This document is too long to be given entire, consisting too, as it largely does, of Malagese common-places and high-sounding protestations. The pith of it was found in the following passages:—

"I announce to you that I am not a sovereign that deceives, or is deceived. Who, then, is that man that would change the customs of our ancestors, and of the twelve sovereigns? . . . . .

"Now, on the subject of reviling the idols, treating the divination as useless, and throwing down the tombs of the Vazimba, I abhor that, saith Ranavalo-manjaka.

"As to baptism, societies, places of worship (chapels), and the observance of the Sabbath,—how many rulers are there in this land? Is it not I alone that rule? These things are not to be done, they are unlawful in my country, saith Ranavalo-manjaka. . . . . .

"Now, then, as to those who have observed baptism, entered into societies, and formed separate houses for prayer, I grant you one month, saith Ranavalo-manjaka, to confess. And if you come not within that period, but wait to be found out, I denounce death against such; for I am not a sovereign that deceives, or that will be deceived. Mark, then, the time; it is one month from this day that I give you to confess. . . . . .

"You change the customs of the ancestors, for you do not invoke the idols, or the twelve sovereigns. Is not this changing the customs? I detest that; and I tell you plainly that such things shall not be done in my country, saith Ranavalo-manjaka."

After this edict had been once formally read, Ratsimanisa repeated the substance of it with all the eloquence and force he could command. It was then usual for some of the headmen of districts to speak in reply; and one, from Ambohimalaza, expressed himself as follows:—

"May you, madam, attain to old age, &c. &c. First of all, we

express to you our thankfulness. . . . . You are a sovereign not condemning hastily, but examining matters well. . . . . Who are these fellows that presume to change the customs of our ancestors and of the twelve kings? Let them be delivered up to us, and we shall put every one of them to death. Take courage, Ranavalo-manjaka, they shall not annoy you; we are ready to destroy them."

The principal officer of the army, Rainiharo, then followed in the same strain, ending thus:—

"Unless they come forward by this day month to confess their faults, we are ready, Ranavalo-manjaka, to cut off their heads."

With this 1st of March, 1835, therefore, the period of blight, or discouragement, ceased, and that of open, declared, and most determined persecution commenced. It lasted for a quarter of a century, during which the sufferings of the poor Malagese Christians were very great. But this part of the story will naturally form the subject of our next paper. At present, we need only remark, that this period of mere toleration, mingled with much discouragement, was evidently given, in the providence of God, for most important good. Seriousness increased; a large amount of instruction was given; much of which we now know to have been a real planting of Divine Truth in the heart; and, together with this, there was that kind and degree of discouragement from the government, which shakes off and repels false professors, and limits the church, in a great degree, to those who are really in earnest in seeking for salvation.

JOHN RUSKIN AS A RELIGIOUS WRITER.

1. *Modern Painters. In Five Vols. Smith, Elder, and Co.*
2. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture.*
3. *The Stones of Venice. In Three Vols.*
4. *Lectures on Architecture and Painting.*
5. *The Two Paths.*
6. *The Harbours of England.*
7. *The Political Economy of Art.*
8. *Thoughts on the Construction of Sheep-folds.*
9. *Selections from the Writings of John Ruskin, Master of Arts. Oxon.* 1861.

GENIUS, though the noblest, is one of the most dangerous of endowments, and seldom contributes to the happiness of its possessor. Like Joseph's coat of many colours, it excites the hatred of all his brethren, and not unfrequently ends in his being

stript of it, and cast into a pit. For Genius will have its "dreams" of magnificence and of coming elevation; and these dreams it is, though the subject of them is often himself the least conscious of their meaning, that provoke the envy and draw forth the disparaging reflections of the less favoured among mankind. There are two things, indeed, which the world never did, and never will, endure—until they are dead, and then it will build a monument to their honour;—these are, superior genius, and superior goodness. The sun, unnoticed at its meridian, or even shunned for its glare, is admired at its setting.

"Behold, this dreamer cometh," is the kind of reception which we continually see given to the future ruler of Egypt. Though not outspoken, it is the latent language of many an affectedly just critique upon a distinguished author's productions. To find fault, or to "damn with faint praise," is the special vocation of that large tribe of literary carpers, whose appetite is envy, and whose daily bread is disparagement of all that rises above, or stretches beyond, their own stunted and straitened conceptions. And the worst of it is, that the world at large is usually misled in its judgment by these self-constituted critics, until it is too late to repair the wrong which their error, or their envy, has inflicted. It behoves every one, therefore, to remember that it is not what a man censures, but what he praises, that best proves his own discernment.

No author of our day has at once excited more admiration, and yet been assailed with more violent censure, than John Ruskin. By one set of men he has been extolled as a writer of transcendent ability, whose judgment upon almost all questions may be safely followed. By another, he has been treated as a presumptuous sciolist, who knows very little even of the particular subjects on which he has made free to give his opinions. Neither of these parties seems to us to have hit the just mean. As a *writer*, there cannot be a doubt that John Ruskin is entitled to a very high place. The eloquence with which he dilates upon every object that he admires, the splendour of colouring with which he invests it, as well as the trenchant and scathing manner in which he condemns what he dislikes, marks him out as a master in composition. Even those who disparage him in other respects, admit his superiority in this. There is a luxuriant freedom, and, at times, a stately grandeur in his style, that reminds us of our own Hooker; and no one can read his writings without feeling that he is under the spell of a power that commands beauty at a touch, like as the sun at a glance enrobes the clouds in crimson. Even Jeremy Taylor falls short of the richness and magnificence of some of his descriptions. Of the soundness and competency of his judgment in those special subjects of

which he treats,—most of his works are on Art,—it is out of our province to speak. We cannot, however, but admire the fearless honesty with which he expresses his opinions; so different from that prudent moderation which, in this prudent age, most people observe alike in what they praise and what they condemn. This is, we have no doubt, the secret of much of his eloquence,—eloquence consisting simply in *speaking out*. No man could write as he does upon questions of Art who was greatly ignorant of his subject; and we must, therefore, conclude, that much of what has been set down as the author's ignorance has arisen in his censors from an ignorance of his understanding.

The particular point of view in which we propose to look at John Ruskin is as a writer who frequently touches upon religious topics, boldly advancing opinions upon questions that come more properly within the province of the divine. His opinions in this department of human thought are not the less worthy of consideration because they are those of a layman; but the rather deserve attention, as they are the less liable to be biassed by professional prejudice, or to take their colour from life-long prepossessions. Whatever he says, we may be sure he says honestly. He is far too earnest a man to trifle on any subject, and least of all on a subject so sacred as that of religion. The most valuable element in his writings, in our estimation, is the large mixture of moral and religious matter which he has infused into them; all serious in tone, if not all quite sound in principle. His views are often most striking, always beautifully expressed, and highly suggestive. No one can very well read him without being set a thinking. He is so great an authority with many persons on all questions of Art, that he is not unlikely to be taken as an equal authority in Theology; especially as he never hesitates, nor darkens a single opinion of his own with doubt, but speaks as dogmatically as "one having authority, and not as the scribes." The question, therefore, very naturally arises, how far may he be trusted as a safe guide? May his opinions on these questions be implicitly received? or do they require to be weighed in the balances of the sanctuary, and that which is base in them separated from that which is sterling?

It is an opinion we have more than once expressed, that men, either of great natural genius or of great learning, are, as a rule, the least to be trusted as safe guides in questions of religious doctrine. Carried away by the cometic impulse of their own ardent minds, or lifted up into supercilious conceit by fancied attainments, they are too apt to launch boldly into depths they have never fathomed, or to dogmatize upon points they have never taken the trouble thoroughly to understand. It requires a comprehensive rather than a quick mind to see a question in all its relations; and calmness rather than

conceit to ken the moral difficulties that lie deep alike in the ocean of the Infinite that is above, and the Infinite that is beneath us. Natural genius is serviceable to mankind rather for the flashes of light that it throws out in its passage through our atmosphere, than to act as a standing Pharos. Genius is, in its own nature, deeply, intensely feminine; quick in its instincts, keen in its sensibilities, strong in its apprehensions, precipitate in its judgments—not always discriminating. Mr. Ruskin's mind is specially so; but it has not always the balance to be found in minds where the faculties are all more evenly developed. He can give utterance, and often does give utterance, to truths that are oracular in all but their ambiguity — truths that shine with as fixed a light as diamonds, and are as stars amid the murky darkness around us. It is these that give a peculiar value to his works; but then it requires a discriminating eye to make the selection, so as not to pick up pieces of shining coal and mistake them for diamonds. The tone of dogmatism that runs through his writings has prejudiced many against him, and awakened much of the opposition that he has had to encounter. There is nothing men will so unwillingly forgive, as the calling in question of their own judgments on matters in which they pride themselves upon their perspicacity. To give power to what a man says to sink into men's minds, it must be weighted with humility. Positiveness repulses, rather than wins confidence. Our office will be not to detract, but to do justice.

That John Ruskin is a man of great natural genius, admits not, in our opinion, of the shadow of a doubt. He has thrown an entirely new interest into Art, and everything connected with it, in this country; and the improvements in style that are everywhere to be witnessed in our churches and public buildings of late years, are, beyond question, very much owing to him. But what is of even more lasting moment, he has introduced Christian ethics into Art, by making war, persevering and relentless, upon whatever is false or factitious, showy and empty. Of his eloquent indignation on this point, the following is a specimen:—

"Exactly as a woman of feeling would not wear false jewels, so would a builder of honour disdain false ornaments. The using of them is just as downright and inexcusable a lie. You use that which pretends to a worth which it has not; which pretends to have cost, and to be, what it did not, and is not; it is an imposition, a vulgarity, an impertinence, and a sin. Down with it to the ground, grind it to powder, leave its ragged place upon the wall, rather; you have not paid for it, you have no business with it, you do not want it. Nobody wants ornaments in this world, but everybody wants integrity. All the fair devices that ever were fancied are not worth a lie. Leave your walls as bare as a plain board, or build them of baked mud and

chopped straw, if need be; but do not roughcast them with falsehood." (Seven Lamps of Architecture, ch. ii. § 19.)

It will be seen from this that our author is one who does not hesitate to call things by their right names. He has, indeed, none of the false delicacy and factitious refinement of modern society, which is first-cousin to falsehood. As things are, so he speaks of them. And how forcibly does he remark, in another place, "Nowhere in God's world can you find a lie; it must be made by you, if a lie is to exist"!

The influence of such a writer, one so very generally read, must, in a moral point of view, be highly salutary, as in all such passages as this he is teaching a double lesson. It is not the lovers of art only he is correcting, but all lovers of falsehood, in whatever form. We here see the immense advantage there is in such subjects being discussed by a man whose mind is saturated with Christian sentiments, and who cannot look at Art but as the handmaid, not the mistress, of religion. Greatly as Mr. Ruskin admires works of true Art, he never turns them into idols, but looks at them in their true æsthetic relations to the human soul. Of this we shall see abundant proofs in the passages we shall have to quote from his writings. The felicitous way in which he manages to interweave Christian allusions and Christian sentiments with discussions on points of Art is so noticeable, that one of the first acts of justice we must do him is to give an instance of it. He has been discussing the question of æsthetic culture in relation to life's duties, and in reference to this he makes the following striking observations:—

"I believe that the root of almost every schism and heresy from which the Christian church has ever suffered, has been the effort of men to earn, rather than to receive, their salvation; and that the reason that preaching is so commonly ineffectual is, that it calls on men oftener to work for God than to behold God working for them. If, for every rebuke that we utter of men's vices, we put forth a claim upon their hearts; if, for every assertion of God's demands from them, we could substitute a display of His kindness to them; if, side by side with every warning of death, we could exhibit proofs and promises of immortality; if, in fine, instead of assuming the being of an awful Deity, which men, though they cannot and dare not deny, are always unwilling, sometimes unable, to conceive, we were to show them a near, visible, inevitable, but all-beneficent Deity, whose presence makes the earth itself a heaven, I think there would be fewer deaf children sitting in the market place. At all events, whatever may be the inability, in this present life, to mingle the full enjoyment of the Divine works with the full discharge of every practical duty, and confessedly in many cases this must be, let us not attribute the inconsistency to any indignity of the faculty of contemplation, but to the sin and suffering of the fallen state, and the change of order from the keeping of the garden to the tilling of the ground. We cannot

say how far it is right or agreeable to God's will, while men are perishing round about us; while grief, and pain, and wrath, and impiety, and death, and all the powers of the air, are working wildly and evermore, and the cry of blood going up to heaven, that any of us should take hand from the plough; but this we know, that there will come a time when the service of God shall be the beholding of Him, and though in these stormy seas where we are driven up and down, His Spirit is dimly seen on the face of the waters, and we are left to cast anchors out of the stern and wish for the day, that day will come, when, with the evangelists on the crystal and stable sea, all the creatures of God shall be full of eyes within, and there shall be 'no more curse, but His servants shall serve Him, and shall see His face.'" (Modern Painters, ii. Pt. iii. sec. i. chap. xv. § 11, 12.)

The exceeding importance of the principle here enunciated, as well as the beauty of the passage, will excuse its length.

Mr. Ruskin tells us in one place that he has been found fault with for so much intermixing moral and religious reflections with his observations on Art. To this objection he gives the following most pertinent answer:—

"We treat God with irreverence by banishing Him from our thoughts, not by referring to His will on slight occasions. His is not the finite authority or intelligence which cannot be troubled with small things. There is nothing so small but we may honour God by asking His guidance of it, or insult Him by taking it into our own hands; and what is true of the Deity is equally true of His revelation. We use it most reverently when most habitually; our insolence is in ever acting without reference to it; our true honouring of it is in its universal application. I have been blamed for the familiar introduction of its sacred words. I am grieved to have given pain by so doing; but my excuse must be my wish that those words were made the ground of every argument, and the test of every action. We have them not often enough on our lips, nor deeply enough in our memories, nor loyally enough in our lives. The snow, the vapour, and the stormy wind fulfil His word. Are our acts and thoughts lighter and wilder than these, that we should forget it?" (Seven Lamps of Architecture, Introduction, p. 5.)

Such is the narrowness even of the greatest human mind, that intense devotion to any one object will almost invariably exclude all others from their due place; or give such a colouring to that one, that all others shall be thrown comparatively into the shade. Worse, often, even than this, they will take its tinge, and appear exactly in the same light in which this is seen. This being a law of our weak nature, we might have expected that such an adorer of true Art as Mr. Ruskin is, he would, as others have done, have confounded the sentiment of admiration which the finest works of Art inspire, with the principle of religious worship, and have viewed, as the Israelites of old did, the golden calf as a god. Far, however, from this being the effect of high æsthetic culture on his mind,

he never fails to distinguish the two, and to guard his readers from a false conclusion on this point. His own discriminating judgment will be best seen by our quoting his own words:—

"German critics have ingeniously and falsely ascribed the system of aspiration, so called, to a devotional sentiment pervading the Northern Gothic. I entirely and boldly deny the whole theory: our cathedrals were for the most part built by worldly people who loved the world, and would have gladly stayed in it for ever; whose best hope was the escaping hell, which they thought to do by building cathedrals, but who had very vague conceptions of heaven in general, and very feeble desires respecting their entrance therein; and the form of the spired cathedral has no more intentional reference to heaven, as distinguished from the flattened slope of the Greek pediment, than the steep gable of a Norman house has, as distinguished from the flat roof of a Syrian one. We may now, with ingenious pleasure, trace such symbolic characters in the form; we may now use it with such definite meaning; but we only prevent ourselves from all right understanding of history, by attributing such influence to these poetical symbolisms in the formation of a national style. The human race are, for the most part, not to be moved by such silken cords; and the chances of damp in the cellar, or of loose tiles on the roof, have, unhappily, much more to do with the fashions of a man's house-building than his idea of celestial happiness or angelic virtue." (Stones of Venice, vol. i. p. 146.)

Again, he says at another place:—

"There is no sacredness in round arches, nor in pointed; none in pinnacles, nor in buttresses; none in pillars, nor in traceries. Churches were larger than most other buildings, because they had to hold more people; they were more adorned than most other buildings, because they were safer from violence, and were the fitting subjects of devotional offering; but they were never built in any separate mystical and religious style; they were built in the manner that was common and familiar to everybody at the time." (Stones of Venice, vol. ii. p. 99.)

Such a statement as this is of great value as coming from such a man, for it sweeps away at a stroke a deal of the false sentiment of our age. And he follows this up by a most candid confession—a confession as honourable to the author's modesty as it is true to fact:—

"The more I have examined the subject, the more dangerous I have found it to dogmatize respecting the character of the art which is likely, at a given period, to be most useful to the cause of religion. One great fact first meets me. I cannot answer for the experience of others, but I never yet met with a Christian whose heart was thoroughly set upon the world to come, and, so far as human judgment could pronounce, perfect and right before God, who cared about art at all." (Stones of Venice, vol. ii. p. 103.)

That Mr. Ruskin is perfectly correct in what he here states, and that it must necessarily be as he states it, appears to us to

follow inevitably from the fact, that every person, when his mind is intently engaged in the act of devotion, or is thinking deeply upon any subject, shuts his eyes, or, which is the same thing, even if he keeps them open, sees without seeing, being what we term "abstracted." It would be a strange law of contradiction, indeed, if the spiritual could take its rise out of the material, and that which is visible to the eye could body forth that which is essentially invisible. God being a Spirit, must be worshipped in spirit; and to worship Him in spirit, is to worship Him in truth. The fact is, that the human imagination can best supply, and alone supply, what is wanting to the conception of divine realities, and all attempts to represent these by works of Art must necessarily be unsatisfactory to the soul, as falling infinitely short of the magnificent real which is the counterpart to the ideal; and so religion suffers its worst injury, not from too much imagination in men, but from too little. Idolatry may, in some cases, be the child of the imagination; but if so, it is a child that has forgotten its parent.

It is much to be regretted that Mr. Ruskin is not always consistent in his remarks in reference to the point now under our consideration. Such is his admiration for Gothic architecture, that when he comes to speak separately of it, he forgets all that he had before stated about its utter impotence in regard to the kindling of pure religious emotion in the lapsed human spirit. Thus, in the very next volume of the Stones of Venice, he bursts out into the following rhapsody upon the power of stones, when cut into artistic shapes, to produce the highest effects of spiritual religion. Gothic architecture is, he says,—

"An architecture that kindles every faculty in its workman, and addresses every emotion in its beholder; which, with its every stone laid in its solemn walls, raises some human heart a step nearer heaven; and which from its birth has been incorporated with the existence, and in all its forms is symbolical of the faith, of Christianity."

If this were the power really exercised by Gothic architecture, we ought to multiply churches in this style (a style we admire quite as much as John Ruskin) to the greatest extent, and to plant them all over the country, while our cathedral towns ought to be found to be the very gates of heaven for the purity of their morals, and the spiritual elevation of the feelings of their inhabitants. We need not stay to ask, is it so?

There have been men whose love of Art has lured them into the Romish church. Overbeck was one of them. We might have expected the same result from Mr. Ruskin's intense admiration of those monuments of Art of which the Church of Rome possesses so large a share. But, happily, he seems to have been provided, either through stronger sense, or education in better principles, with an antidote in himself against such a morbid tendency. It is a wholesome element in all his

writings, that he can distinguish between what is good in Art, and its religious abuse. No man has levelled more felling blows than he has against the Romish system of worship; and from his writings may be selected some of the most eloquent denunciations ever penned against the spiritual harlotries of the great Mother of Abominations. In estimating the religious position of Mr. Ruskin, we shall not be doing justice if we pass these unnoticed; and they are of such intrinsic value, that we feel we shall be rendering a service to the cause of true religion by quoting portions of them. It is thus grandly he traces the points of contrast between the Protestant principle that awoke at the Reformation, and that corrupt Church:—

"On the one side stood there animated faith, in its right hand the Book open, and its left lifted up to Heaven, appealing for its truth to the word of the Testament and the power of the Holy Ghost. On the other stood, or seemed to stand, all beloved custom and beloved tradition; all that for fifteen hundred years had been closest to the hearts of men, or most precious for their help: long trusted legend; long revered power; long practised discipline; faith that had ruled the destiny or sealed the departure of souls that could not be told for multitude; prayers that from the lips of the fathers to the children had distilled like sweet waterfalls, sounding through the silence of ages, breaking themselves into heavenly dew to return upon the pastures of the wilderness; hopes that had set the face as a flint in the torture, and the sword as a flame in the battle; that had pointed the purposes and ministered the strength of life, brightened the last glances and shaped the last syllables of death; charities that had bound together the brotherhoods of the mountain and the desert, and had woven chains of pity or aspiring communion between this world and the unfathomable beneath and above; and more than these, the spirits of all the innumerable undoubted dead beckoning to the one way by which they had been content to follow the things that belonged to their peace. These all stood on the one side; and the choice must have been a bitter one even at the best; but it was rendered tenfold more bitter by the natural but most sinful animosity of the two divisions of the Church against each other.

"On the one side, this animosity was, of course, inevitable. The Romanist party, though still including many Christian men, necessarily included also all the worst of those who called themselves Christians. In the fact of its refusing correction, it stood confessed as the church of the unholy; and while it still counted amongst its adherents many of the simple and believing men unacquainted with the corruption of that body to which they belonged, or incapable of accepting any form of doctrine but that which they had been taught from their youth, it gathered together with them whatever was carnal and sensual in priesthood or in people, all the lovers of power in the one, and of ease in the other. And the rage of these men was, of course, unlimited against those who either disputed their authority, reprehended their manners of life, or cast suspicion upon the popular methods of lulling the conscience in the lifetime, or purchasing salvation on the death-bed."—(Stones of Venice, vol. iii. pp. 102, 103.)

With reference to the methods employed by the Church of Rome to produce a factitious devotion, Mr. Ruskin most truly remarks:—

"Darkness and mystery; confused recesses of building; artificial light employed in small quantity, but maintained with a constancy which seems to give it a kind of sacredness; preciousness of material easily comprehended by the vulgar eye; close air loaded with a sweet and peculiar odour associated only with religious services; solemn music, and tangible idols or images having peculiar legends attached to them—these, the stage properties of superstition, which have been from the beginning of the world, and must be to the end of it, employed by all nations, whether openly savage, or nominally civilized, to produce a false awe in minds incapable of apprehending the true nature of the Deity, are assembled in St. Mark's (at Venice) in a degree, as far as I know, unexampled in any other European church. The arts of the Magus and the Brahmin are exhausted in the animation of a paralyzed Christianity; and the popular sentiment which these acts excite, is to be regarded by us with no more respect than we should have considered ourselves justified in rendering to the devotion of the worshippers at Eleusis, Ellora, or Edfou."—(Stones of Venice, vol. ii. p. 20.)

It will be seen from this, that the Romanizing or Tractarian party in England cannot claim Mr. Ruskin as an advocate of their principles. Whatever he may be besides, he is, at all events, thoroughly Protestant. With what a scathing power of ridicule he shows up the weakness of those who have been drawn into the Church of Rome by her outward and visible pretensions, in the following passage:—

"Fatuity!" he exclaims, "to seek for the unity of a living body of truth and trust in God, with a dead body of lies and trust in wood, and thence to expect anything else than plague, and consumption, for worms undying, for both. Blasphemy as well as fatuity! to ask for any better interpreter of God's word than God Himself, or to expect knowledge of it in any other way than the plainly ordered way: 'If any man will *do*, he shall *know*.' But of all these fatuities, the basest is the being lured into the Romish church by the glitter of it, like larks into a trap by broken glass; to be blown into a change of religion by the whine of an organ pipe; stitched into a new creed by gold threads on priests' petticoats; jingled into a change of conscience by the chimes of a belfry. I know nothing in the shape of error so dark as this, no imbecility so absolute, no treachery so contemptible."—(Stones of Venice, vol. ii. p. 371.)

With a felicity of wit worthy of Sidney Smith, he exposes the hollowness of Rome's religious nostrums, when brought into contact with the stern duties of active life. He is speaking of the Venetians, who were always quarrelling with the Pope, and contending, as our own country at all periods more or less has contended, against his extra-national authority; and in reference to this he says:—

"Their religious liberty came, like their bodily health, from their wave-training: for it is one notable effect of a life passed on seaboard to destroy weak belief in appointed forms of religion. A sailor may be grossly superstitious, but his superstitions will be connected with amulets and omens, not cast in systems. He must accustom himself, if he prays at all, to pray anywhere and anyhow. Candlesticks and incense not being portable into the maintop, he perceives those decorations to be, on the whole, unessential to a main-top mass. Sails must be set, and cables bent, be it never so strict a saint's day, and it is found that no harm comes of it. Absolution on a lee shore must be had of the breakers, it appears, if at all, and they give it plenary and brief without listening to confession.

"Whereupon our religious opinions become vague, but our religious confidences strong; and the end of it all is, that we perceive the Pope to be on the other side of the Appenines, and able, indeed, to sell indulgences, but not winds, for any money. Whereas, God and the sea are with us, and we must even trust them both, and take what they shall send."—(Modern Painters, vol. v. pt. iv. c. iii. § 3, 4.)

In giving the history of the Jesuits in their relation to the, so to call it, royal Republic of Venice, which he does in his Stones of Venice, Mr. Ruskin traces the correspondence between the policy pursued by that State towards its decline, and that adopted of late days by our own. This part of its history is so full of admonitory instruction, that it may be as well that it should be made generally known. The decline of Venice began in 1508, *the very period in which she submitted to the Papal power, and abandoned the right of appointing her own clergy.* And the notable thing is, that while a "deep and constant tone of individual religion characterised the lives of the citizens of Venice in her greatness," that is, while she was virtually a monarchy, when she became an oligarchy and began to decline, the vitality of religion, though it remained in private life, died out in public policy. On this Mr. Ruskin makes the following remarks:—

"This stopping short of religious faith, when it appears likely to influence national conduct, correspondent as it is with our present English legislation, is a point of curious interest. . . . . The English legislature sacrificed (*i.e.* in 1829) their principles to expose themselves to the very danger which the Venetian senate sacrificed theirs to avoid."

It must be mentioned here, to make clear what Mr. Ruskin is aiming to illustrate, that at this time the Venetians effected what is commonly termed a separation of Church and State, by the absolute exclusion of the clergy from their senate. Respecting this, he observes:—

"If they were to blame in yielding to their fear of the ambitious spirit of Rome, so far as to deprive their councils of all religious element, what excuse are we to offer for the State which, with Lords Spiritual of her own faith already in her senate, permits the polity of

Rome to be represented by lay members? To have sacrificed religion to mistaken policy, or purchased security with ignominy, would have been no new thing in the world's history; but to be at once impious and impolitic, and seek for danger through dishonour, was reserved for the English Parliament of 1829."—(Stones of Venice, vol. i. p. 356.)

Such denunciations as these of wrong principles would be themselves denounced as bigotry, if they came from the clergy; but being the expressions of an enlightened layman, who has looked at history with an honest, independent mind; they have a peculiar value. Mr. Ruskin's independence of thought, and fearlessness in expressing it, continually comes out in his writings; and he often says things which the clergy would hardly dare to say, though they felt them to be true, lest they should give offence. Who that knows anything of the habits of society in the present day, can doubt the correctness of the following statement?—

"It has become a point of politeness not to inquire too deeply into our neighbour's religious opinions. The fact is, we distrust each other and ourselves so much, that we dare not press this matter; we know that if, on any occasion of general intercourse, we turn to our neighbour, and put to him a searching or testing question, we shall, in nine cases out of ten, discover him to be only a Christian in his own way, and so far as he thinks proper, and that he doubts of many things which we ourselves do not believe strongly enough to hear doubted without danger. What is in reality cowardice and faithlessness, we call charity, and consider it the part of benevolence sometimes to forgive men's evil practice for the sake of their accurate faith, and sometimes to forgive their confessed heresy for the sake of their admirable practice. And under this shelter of charity, humility, and faintheartedness, the world, unquestioned by others, or by itself, mingles with and overwhelms the small body of Christians; legislates for them, moralizes for them, reasons for them; and though itself, of course, greatly and beneficently influenced by the association, and held much in check by its pretence to Christianity, yet undermines, in nearly the same degree, the sincerity and practical power of Christianity itself."—(Stones of Venice, vol. iii. p. 109.)

It is not merely in powerful denunciation Mr. Ruskin excels; with equal force he can, when he pleases, set forth positive truth. Take (though it is somewhat long) the following instance of this:—

"They (the early Christians) never cared to expound the nature of this or that virtue; for they knew that the believer who had Christ had all. Did he need fortitude? Christ was his rock; equity, Christ was his righteousness; holiness, Christ was his sanctification; liberty, Christ was his redemption; temperance, Christ was his ruler; wisdom, Christ was his light; truthfulness, Christ was the truth; charity, Christ was love.

"Now, exactly in proportion as the Christian religion became less vital, and as the various corruptions which time and Satan brought

into it were able to manifest themselves, the person and offices of Christ were less dwelt upon, and the virtues of Christians more. The life of the believer became in some degree separated from the life of Christ; and his virtue, instead of being a stream flowing forth from the throne of God, and descending upon the earth, began to be regarded as a pyramid upon earth, which he had to build up step by step, that from the top of it he might reach the heavens. It was not possible to measure the waves of the waters of life; but it was perfectly possible to measure the bricks of the tower of Babel; and gradually, as the thoughts of men were withdrawn from their Redeemer and fixed upon themselves,, the virtues began to be squared, and counted, and classified, and put into separate heaps of firsts and seconds; some things being virtuous cardinally, and other things virtuous only north-north-west. It is very curious to put into close juxtaposition the words of the apostles, and of some of the writers of the 15th century touching sanctification. For instance, hear first St. Paul to the Thessalonians: 'The very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray that your whole spirit, and soul, and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is he who calleth you, who also will do it.' And then the following part of a prayer, translated from a MS. of the 15th century: 'May he (the Holy Spirit) govern the five senses of my body; may he cause me to embrace the seven works of mercy; and firmly to believe and observe the twelve articles of the faith, and the ten commandments of the law; and defend me from the seven mortal sins, even to the end."—(Stones of Venice, vol. ii. p. 314.)

The transcendent beauty with which Mr. Ruskin brings out, and—to use a term of Art—makes to stand out in *relief*, religious truth, can hardly be conceived of by minds habituated only to the dry formalisms of some of our dogmatic theologians. It might be well if religious teachers would take a lesson from him in this respect. What could be more striking, and beautiful, and impressive than language like this?—

"Repose is the especial and separating characteristic of the Eternal Mind and Power; it is the 'I Am' of the Creator, opposed to the 'I become' of all creatures; it is the sign alike of the supreme knowledge which is incapable of surprise, the supreme power which is incapable of labour, the supreme volition which is incapable of change. It is the stillness of the beams of the eternal chambers laid upon the variable waters of ministering spirits."—(Modern Painters, vol. ii. p. 60.)

Here is a description of truth, such as none but genius of the highest order could have drawn:—

"Truth, that only line of which there are no degrees, but breaks and rents continually; that pillar of the earth, yet a cloudy pillar; that golden and narrow line, which the very powers and virtues that lean upon it bend; which policy and prudence conceal; which kindness and courtesy modify; which courage overshadows with its shield, imagination covers with her wings, and charity dims with her tears." (Seven Lamps of Architecture, p. 27.)

We have felt it to be right to let Mr. Ruskin thus speak for

himself, as it is by what a writer says himself, and not by the construction which others put upon his sentences, he may be most truly judged. So far from complaining of the length of our quotations, we are persuaded our readers will thank us for them, not only as giving them an insight into the mind of an author of great repute, but also for the intrinsic value of the passages quoted, taken by themselves. As a writer, he is a silk-worm where other men are only spiders. It is from such an armoury as this religious writers should select their weapons, when they have to do battle with the shallow scepticisms and unthinking frivolities of the outside world. The very name of the author gives a weight to his sentiments with many persons, which would not attach to them if they came from a man of pronounced religious character. The secularity of his pursuits removes the honesty of his thoughts from suspicion. Mr. Ruskin's utter fearlessness of what the world may think or say qualifies him above everything to lay open the hollownesses that often lie covered over with the intertwined branches of religion and policy, and make that appear convex which is in reality concave. It was one of the strong sentiments expressed by the late Archdeacon Hare, that the men we want, in peace as well as in war, are the men who "fear no fire but hell fire;" and John Ruskin answers as nearly as any man we know of to this description. Hence his chivalry in the defence of Turner as a painter. Where shall we find anything like this in the present day between Christian men, in respect to the obscured worth of some Christian brother, even though Christians are required to be ready to lay down their lives one for another? Verily, as Burns the poet once said, even "the dogs put the Christians to shame."

But now comes the important question, "Can Mr. Ruskin be always implicitly followed in matters of religious opinion? Does he never advance sentiments which he appears not to have well weighed, and which must not, at all events, be received without examination?" We regret to say that this is occasionally the case. There is an evident precipitancy in his judgment now and then, and a disposition to dogmatize, which justly wakens alarm in minds timidly anxious to be right, and fearful at every step lest they should be misled. He has been more than suspected of late of inclining towards the Broad-church or Neologian school of divines; and this is just what, from his cast of mind, we should have affirmed beforehand would be his tendency. And yet, even against the false and superficial dogmas of this school of error, he has, in his earlier works, launched some of the most powerful sentences of condemnation that we have anywhere met with. What a pregnancy of true thought there is in the following passage:—

"I understand not the most dangerous, because the most attractive,

form of modern infidelity, which, pretending to exalt the beneficence of the Deity, degrades it into a reckless infinitude of mercy, and blind obliteration of the work of sin; and which does this chiefly by dwelling on the manifold appearances of God's kindness on the face of creation. Such kindness is, indeed, always and everywhere visible, but not alone. Wrath and threatening are invariably mingled with love; and in the utmost solitudes of Nature the existence of Hell seems to be as legibly declared by a thousand spiritual utterances as that of Heaven. It is well for us to dwell with thankfulness on the unfolding of the flower, and the falling of the dew, and the sleep of the green fields in the sunshine; but the blasted trunk, the barren rock, the moaning of the bleak winds, the roar of the black, perilous, merciless whirlpools of the mountain streams, the solemn solitudes of moors and seas, the continual fading of all beauty into darkness, and of all strength into dust; have these no language for us? We may seek to escape their teaching by reasonings touching the good which is wrought out of all evil, but it is vain sophistry." (Stones of Venice, vol. iii. p. 138.)

To this most striking passage there is appended the following note, which, had we not known who was its author, we might have supposed it was coined in the mint of Howel's thoughtful mind:—

"NOTE.—The love of God is, however, always shown by the predominance or greater sum of good in the end, but never by the annihilation of evil. The modern doubts of eternal punishment are not so much the consequence of benevolence, as of feeble powers of reasoning. Every one admits that God brings finite good out of finite evil. Why not, therefore, infinite good out of infinite evil?"

In another place Mr. Ruskin remarks:—

"In the present day it is not easy to find a well-meaning man among our more earnest thinkers who will not take upon himself to dispute the whole system of redemption, because he cannot unravel the mystery of the punishment of sin. But can he unravel the mystery of the punishment of *No* sin?" (Modern Painters, vol. iv. part v. chap. xix. § 32.)

If, as has been asserted, Mr. Ruskin is tending now towards the German school of theology (it may be that his association with Mr. Maurice, and his writing for a certain Magazine, have led to this inference unjustly), his works, at all events, contain strong antidotes to the poison of their opinions. In his own published volumes we are bound, in all candour, to acknowledge we have found very little of this kind, though it is in this direction, we have very little doubt, his danger now lies. It is rather of a certain rashness in advancing opinions in reference to theology occasionally we have to accuse him; and we are thus obliged to qualify the otherwise unqualified praise we should feel it but just to pass upon his writings. To wit, in his second volume of the Stones of Venice, he has a note full of

fearfully perilous error in regard to what constitutes idolatry. Though he admits that the Church of Rome does "distinctively violate the *second* commandment, the true force and weight of the sin of idolatry," he continues, "are in the violation of the first." . . . . "Idolatry is both literally and verily not the mere bowing down before sculptures, but the serving or becoming the slave of any images or imaginations which stand between us and God." Here we have polytheism and idolatry most manifestly confounded; and the violation of the second commandment excused by a mistake of the meaning and intention of the first. The very word "idolatry," derived as it is from *εἰδωλον*, from *εἰδω* to *see*, denotes some *visible object* set up as the means of worshipping the Invisible; so that, "both literally and verily," it is the bowing down to images in some sculptured or painted form, and not mere mental imaginations, which constitute idolatry. We are surprised that a man of Mr. Ruskin's acuteness should not have perceived the distinction; and we are still more surprised to find one who writes so strongly against the undoubted idolatry of the Church of Rome, going so far as to pronounce that a "guiltless ignorance" which the Almighty so clearly and positively forbids by the most fearful penalties for transgression. It may sound very prettily, as an antithesis, to say that "the errors of affection are better than the accuracies of apathy;" but we must not let antithesis pass for truth.

In another part of his writings he quotes the text, "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit *and* in truth," to put a gloss upon it by way of a sorry apology for Mariolatry. "The worshipping in spirit comes first," he remarks, "and it does not necessarily imply the worshipping in truth." This is an obvious perversion; for our Lord's words plainly imply, taken in connexion with the occasion which called them forth, that to worship God in truth, is to worship Him in spirit, and as a Spirit, and not as confined, like an image, to place.

Nothing could more strongly evince Mr. Ruskin's fondness for theological questions than his pamphlet entitled "Sheepfolds" (a title which, we have heard, has taken in more than one farmer), in which he has discussed some of the most knotty points of church government in his usual dogmatic tone, and yet with his usual graphic power of description. We shall never forget that master-touch of the poor sheep looking up with "eyes full of fear." Of course he has a right, equally with other men, to his own opinions upon the proper constitution of Churches. It is when he trespasses on such questions as the proper use of the word "inspiration," or presumes to decide that the Sermon on the Mount, which was obviously intended, in the first instance, to correct the practical errors of the Jews, comprehends all, or

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manifestation of your delight in your own laws, or your own liberties, or your own inventions; but in divine laws, constant, daily, common laws;—not composite laws, not Doric laws, nor laws of the five orders, but of the ten commandments."—(Stones of Venice, vol. i. c. xx. § 15, 16.)

If Mr. Ruskin cannot be taken as an entirely safe religious guide when viewed as a religious writer, it may be asked, of what use, then, are his writings in a religious point of view? Will it not be wiser for religious people not to read them at all, than to read them if there be a risk of being led by them into error? This would be a very narrow-minded mode of reasoning. Nothing human is perfect. God has appointed that we should be under the necessity of discriminating continually; and our duty is to choose the good, and eschew the evil. There are uses in books beyond learning religious doctrines. The prevailing atmosphere of Mr. Ruskin's works is beyond question healthful. They are remarkably free from all weak and mawkish religious sentimentalism. There is a decidedly *tonic* tone in them. In this respect, they are well suited to correct some of the tendencies of the age. The amount of good influence they must have diffused among artists and architects, and connoisseurs of Art in general, who are not apt to be given to religious reflections, must be very great. He has been called the "Luther of Art." He may truly be said to have baptized Art into Christianity.

It is, we cannot help thinking, one of the grand deficiencies in many good evangelical Christians, especially of the clergy in our day, that they confine their reading too exclusively to directly religious works, which have a stereotyped phraseology. Hence their own style becomes poverty-stricken, dry, jejune, and fails to excite, to interest, to impress. Only a short time since, in our reading of a lately published article, we came upon ten successive sentences, each of about the same length and construction, and all of which began with the definite article "*the.*" This betrayed an utter want of expertness in composition on the part of the writer. It is constant variety that relieves, and keeps up interest. The reading of such works as Mr. Ruskin's must be of great utility, if it be only to enrich the mind with thought and expression. They become doubly useful, if they are read thoughtfully, and with discrimination, with the view of gathering treasures, and storing a common-place book with passages worthy of being had in perpetual remembrance. In this way, a person's mind may be continually growing richer, just as a miser does by the continual accumulation of money. Mr. Ruskin's writings are full of gems of thought—full of pithy and pointed sentences. To give a few instances:—"Speaking truth is like writing fair, and comes only by practice." "True taste clasps all that it loves so hard, that it crushes it, if it be

hollow." "The finer the nature, the more flaws it will show through the clearness of it." Here is an admirable definition of wit:—"the power of playing with the lights on the many sides of truth." What a beautiful thought is the following:—"The angels who rejoice over repentance, cannot but feel an uncomprehended pain, as they try, and try again in vain, whether they may not warm hard hearts with the brooding of their kind wings."

The clergy have a special duty incumbent upon them to relieve their own compositions with variety, as well as to enrich them with beauty. They are to seek out "acceptable words" (Eccles. xii. 10)—"*words of delight*," literally. In the present excitable age, people will not listen to what is dry and dull, however sound and good. The sky was not beautified with ever-changing clouds, nor the earth broken into mountain forms, nor the valleys decked with flowers, for no purpose. What is the character of much of the prose composition of our soundest religious writers of the present day? Might it not be justly compared to the grass of a mown lawn,—nothing but grass, and all the blades of about the same height? This is not Nature, but the very worst form of Art. What we want is, to be more Gothic in our style of writing; for the Gothic is the best style here, as well as in architecture. It is what *stands out* that strikes. In the place, then, of our studied formalisms, our primnesses and precisions, let us have more of the sweeping freedom, and prickly independence, and bossy boldness in our compositions, of which Mr. Ruskin has himself given us such fine examples. His style writhes into every form of nervous entanglement, but even when most graceful is never languid. What a contrast are some of the passages we have quoted (and these are by no means the grandest) to our petty neatness, and formalized deformity, and shrivelled precision! He mixes sarcasm the most powerful with descriptions the most graphic, sentences the most condensed with others the most sustained, and sometimes rises to a force and a grandeur which throws into the shade the splendid declamations of Burke, and makes even the prose of Milton look tame, swelling into "a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies."

But to return to the point of Mr. Ruskin's religious opinions. It will have been seen, by the quotations we have given from his writings, that his tone is both Evangelical and Protestant on the whole. Direct doctrinal statements we could not expect to meet with in works such as his. We have reason to be thankful that a writer of such influence in quarters which we could never hope to reach, should have thrown so much of the rich azure of Christianity over regions usually relegated only to the barrenness of technical discussion and dry details of Art. Neither Hazlitt, in his "Picture Galleries of England," nor

Charles Lamb, on "The Productions of Modern Art," nor Wilkie, in his "Letters," nor Barry, nor Opie, nor even Sir Joshua Reynolds, in his "Lectures," has thought of illuminating Art by Religion. They have not even freed it, as John Ruskin has, from the repulsiveness of technical phraseology. He has taken it out of the narrow circle of the professional, and made it a subject of common interest. In giving to it, moreover, the stamp of religion, he has necessarily given to it the stamp of his own religion. This it is that makes his views upon that subject of such importance; for those who have begun to follow him here may be expected to follow him on wherever he leads. Whither, then, is Mr. Ruskin tending? His intense dissatisfaction with all that he sees around him, a dissatisfaction which is evidently growing, *may* lead him, and, we very much fear, will lead him, into the train of those who are proposing to give us a wholly new creed, or rather a faith that is without a creed, and that will evaporate in a vague humanitarian feeling of general good-doing. It is one of the penalties of Genius that, seeing so much further, and so much more deeply, than others, it should engender something like disgust at all the ordinary conditions of Humanity, and be driven by its own internal force into some eccentric opinion or course of action. In Mr. Ruskin's disgust at our own debasing architecture we heartily go with him. Our long rows of flat, square, loop-holed houses, without one feature to distinguish them; our miserable brick-and-mortar assembly-rooms of the last century for churches, stuccoed over to hide their poverty, and tell a lie at the same time; our want of all æsthetic taste in the forms and disposition of our edifices, are certainly as vulgarizing as anything could possibly be. In shocked feeling at the multiform social evils that are rife among us, we can also sympathize with Mr. Ruskin. We honour him for the boldness with which he has spoken out against these, and also against the various forms of corruption and abuse that disfigure the Church, and sap the vigour of the State. These, probably, strike him more forcibly than they do the minds of other men, because he looks at them with an eye undimmed by any contingent personal interest in the rewards of ambition in the place of merit, or of subserviency in the place of service. But we cannot, for ourselves, forget that the world has always been, in these matters, very much what it now is, and, while human nature remains the same, always will be. It would be folly, therefore, in us to make our religious belief to depend in any measure upon circumstances of this kind. We will be content rather, with our fathers, to believe that human nature is a noble thing in its essence, though a vulgar thing in its accidents, and that evangelical Christianity is the true remedy for its debasement.

When we see men "carried about with divers and strange doctrines," the explanation is, to our minds, very simple: they never had "the root of the matter in them." If Mr. Ruskin be, as we would fain hope he is, a true child of God, born from above, he will not be suffered to depart far from the right path. It can be no matter of surprise that men should change about from one opinion to another on the subject of religious truth, when their religion never was anything more than a matter of *opinion*. The only religion that will have fixity in it with growth, is that which developes itself from a germ planted within the heart by the Spirit of God. That which is assumed from without, and put on like one's clothes (and this we fear is the case with some of the evangelical profession of the present day, which accounts for its want of life and consistency), will change with fashion, being evangelical to-day and neologian to-morrow. It is *heart* religion that lives and grows; and if it changes at all, changes like the trees, only to gain greater strength and to put forth new greenness year by year, remaining ever essentially the same, until, having attained its full stature, it is transplanted to the soil of immortality, there to flourish, a thing of beauty for ever, in the Paradise of God. May all see to it, then, and Mr. Ruskin among the number, that such is their religion.

SPENCE'S AMERICAN UNION.

The American Union; its Effect on National Character and Policy: with an Enquiry into Secession as a Constitutional Right, and the Causes of the Disruption. By James Spence. Third Edition. London. 1862.

"SHALL the sword devour for ever?" is the hourly cry of our countrymen when new tidings reach them of this bloody war which is desolating the American States. The deep interest we have felt in it from the first, for the sake of our American kinsmen, and on grounds of Christian humanity, is now increased by the sense of a grave calamity which it has brought upon ourselves. But mere appeals to the feelings, in cases like these, are of little avail. Perverted conscience is the main source of this gigantic evil, which grows in its dimensions daily, and seems to defy every attempt at a cure. Wise advice, tendered long ago by the great majority of thoughtful and observing Christians on this side of the ocean, has been indignantly rejected by the Northern States, and resented as an intolerable wrong. Confident and boastful of their own irresistible strength to crush what they term a monstrous and

causeless rebellion, they would listen to no counsels of moderation and peace. The sad results are before our eyes. While re-union seems now more hopeless than ever, brother has been armed against brother, child against parent. To the bitterness and animosity of the two contending parties has been added an exasperation, hardly less intense, of the Northern press against our own country, for our strong disapproval of their conduct, and temperate maintenance of our own rights against the plainest wrong. The hospitals of America have been crowded with the sick and dying, and its plains been reddened, and almost deluged with blood.

Our government have proclaimed, and striven honestly to practise, a course of non-intervention and strict neutrality. If the object were, in part, to avoid causing irritation, the failure has been complete. The usual effect of a professed neutrality, where powerful passions are awakened, and great principles are at stake, is to offend both combatants, instead of one only. The policy in question may seem the easiest and most natural; but it may be carried to an extreme which is neither dignified nor wise. When civil war rages on so vast a scale, and affects so immediately our most vital interests, both social, moral, and religious, it must be a guilty negligence for the government of a country like ours to form no judgment on its real merits. To conceal such a judgment when formed, through fear of causing irritation, or losing the power to mediate at some future time, seems too much like an act of moral cowardice, which sacrifices a present duty, and abdicates, in part, a sacred trust, from motives of very doubtful expedience.

But whether the reserve practised by our government be wise or unwise, the duty of the organs of religious thought in our country is clear and plain. We are bound to form an honest judgment on the moral features of this civil war, and to express, temperately but firmly, the conclusions to which we are led. We are not the enemies of the Northerns, because we tell the truth. It is not by echoing blindly their own passionate war-cries,—as if we were under military law, and saw Fort Henry in the distance—but by uttering faithfully our own honest convictions of the folly and danger of their course, that we can hope to render them any real service. Our voices may be powerless at this moment, when passion still runs high, and they have worked themselves up into a bitter and causeless hatred of England. They may heap on us reproaches and invectives, and even charge us, in their passion, with being prostituted to a fiendish work of calumny, and voluntarily surrendered to the powers of darkness, and threaten us with a terrible revenge for the fearful iniquity of our plain-speaking. But the curse causeless, after all, may not come. There must, soon or late, be a pause in this fierce conflict, when words of

truth and soberness will be listened to once more. Till then, we must renew our appeal to the advocates of this ruinous and fratricidal war, in the words of Scripture itself: "Shall the sword devour for ever? Know ye not that it will be bitterness in the end? How long shall it be ere ye bid the people return from following their brethren?"

The work of Mr. Spence has already received a large share of deserved notice in the Times, the Quarterly Review, and other publications. It is marked by calmness, clearness, and logical power. Before reading it, we had reached, in substance, his main conclusions, and they have been only confirmed by his lucid statements. Personal considerations and valued friendships, he observes in the preface, would have inclined him, without exception, to the Northern side. The same remark applies, though perhaps in a less degree, to ourselves and other conductors of the religious press of England, of whom the writers and speakers of the North have complained so bitterly. The real fault, we suspect, has been of an opposite kind. In some religious circles, and with some religious journals, dislike of slavery, or respect and esteem for some excellent American Christians of the Northern States, have weighed too strongly, and made them less honest than the secular press in their condemnation of the present aggressive and fratricidal war. We are thankful to God that the Christian Observer, from the first, uttered no uncertain sound; and its honest remonstrance, more than a year ago, has had its truth and justice confirmed by the whole course of the war to the present day. Once more, in the sight of God, we feel bound to repeat our conviction, that the war to force the South into compulsory union, is unjust and suicidal; that it fights against a great law of Providence, and reverses and rejects one of the plainest and strongest precedents in the whole compass of the word of God.

Is Secession, or is it not, a constitutional right, involved in the nature of the Federal compact? This is the first main question to be answered. Even if there be no such right, a coercive war to restore to the Union States whose population exceeds that of England at the War of Independence, and whose territory is nearly ten times greater, may be highly criminal, from involving evils far greater than the impunity of a political crime. But if the right exists, and is a logical result of the actual constitution, the war is fundamentally unjust. After the most careful thought we have been able to give, this is our firm conviction. The Southern States are no more traitors and rebels than the Northern, who delight to load them with titles so novel and strange in American lips. They are practising, and perhaps with clearer warrant, the same principles on which all the thirteen colonies acted in the War of Independence, and

which have been the ground of American boastings without number down to the present day.

The thirteen States which formed the Union had been, some of them for nearly two centuries, distinct colonies. Their political existence was created by so many separate charters from the British Crown. They felt themselves aggrieved, and cast off their allegiance, making a confederacy to secure the success of their common effort. They thus became, *de facto*, distinct States, or political communities. What they had become *de facto*, they also claimed to be *de jure*, in their famous Declaration of Independence: "We therefore solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and *our sacred honour*." Thus, in the Declaration of Independence, each colony, having become a State, received a pledge, "on the sacred honour" of all the rest, that they would vindicate its claim to possess all the rights of a sovereign power. That pledge, on their "sacred honour," has been strangely redeemed by the Northern States in the present war.

The "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union," dated 1777—1781, during the progress of the war, are the next step in the growth of the actual Constitution. We read there as follows:—

"Art. 1. The style of this Confederacy shall be, 'The United States of America.'

"Art. 2. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not, by this confederation, expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

"Art 13. Every State shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled on all questions which by this Confederation are submitted to them. And the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and this Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, until such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and *be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every State*. These Articles shall be proposed to the legislatures of all the United States to be considered; and, if approved by them, they are advised to authorise their delegates to ratify the same in the Congress of the United States; which being done, the same shall become conclusive."

So far the case is plain. The thirteen colonies claimed to have become so many distinct and sovereign powers. They jealously reserved and claimed this separate sovereignty in the forefront

of their compact, and made it the formal basis of their mutual agreement for co-operation in the struggle for full independence. Each had its own Legislature and its own Executive; while the Federal power, in this first Constitution, was less completely organized, and had a Congress, and Committees of Congress, alone. They are spoken of throughout as many States, and never once as a single nation. The Articles become valid only when the legislature of every State has given them a distinct and separate sanction. The same consent of every State legislature is made essential to give binding force to every alteration. At the close of the war, the British Crown agreed to recognize the sovereign rights which had thus been claimed, each for itself, by every one of its thirteen separated Colonies.

A few years later, these articles were found too imperfect to meet the new wants of these rising States, and were replaced, in 1787, by a second Constitution. The plea of the Northern advocates of the war is, that the former basis was then changed, and a single nation formed out of the thirteen States, to which nation the full rights of sovereignty thenceforward exclusively belonged. But when the document is compared with the known facts of history, it seems strange to us how any one can accept such an interpretation. Almost every page supplies some argument to prove it wholly groundless and untrue.

And first, the office of the Commissioners who drew up the new Constitution was thus defined at their appointment: "For the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein, as should, when agreed to in Congress, and *confirmed by the States*, render the Federal compact adequate to the exigencies of government, and the preservation of the Union." Mr. Spence remarks on this, with evident truth:—

"There is clearly no authority here to frame a new system, or effect organic change; but simply to make 'alterations and provisions,' to effect a vigorous reform. There is no mention, too, of the people, but invariably of the States. The limits of their powers were not overlooked by the members, but are continually referred to in their debates. They could not desire to exceed their authority, seeing that the next step was to refer the instrument to Congress for its approval, the very source of their authority, whose sanction was essential to the success of their labours."

The sole object, then, of this Commission was to revise and improve an existing compact between thirteen States, whose distinct sovereignty was the basis of the compact, and therefore was made its first substantive article, on which all the others were to depend. Its office was defined also in the 13th Article of the same compact, as well as the condition to give validity to the changes proposed, the separate consent of each State by its own Legislature or Convention, acting thus as a sovereign

power. They would have exceeded their powers if they had sought to destroy the sovereignty of the separate States, and to fuse them into mere provinces of one great American Republic. The whole process by which they were appointed, and the new Constitution framed and ratified, was plainly borrowed from the thirteenth "Article of Confederation." Thus it assumed and implied the continued authority of those Articles, in all their provisions that were not expressly repealed, and especially of that second Article, affirming the sovereign right of every State, which is the political basis of the whole superstructure.

Again, there is no hint or trace of the repeal of this Article in the new Constitution. It renders the Federal trust more complete and more effective for great public objects of common interest to all the States; but simply as powers delegated by mutual compact, while the States reserve all their sovereign rights that are not delegated in express terms. In the ninth and tenth Amendments it is expressly stated, "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or to disparage others retained by the people. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." The right of secession from a Federal union, formed at first by consent alone, seems plainly included in these comprehensive terms.

The title, "the United States of America," or "the United States," occurs more than fifty times in the Constitution, and the American republic, nation, state, or nationality, are phrases that never once appear. A cession of the thirteen sovereignties to the central power, if really intended, would have been the most important feature of the new scheme, and have required, above every other, to be stated in express terms. But no trace of such a change appears in the whole document. The title was then new, and retained its natural meaning. It implied so many "States," claiming separately to be "free, independent, and sovereign," but still "united" to each other by the terms of a voluntary compact, and delegating certain specific powers or functions of sovereignty to a Federal government. The breach of such a compact might form a *casus belli* as from one State to another, but could never, without a gross abuse of language, involve a charge of rebellion or of treason.

The preamble of the Constitution reads as follows:—"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America." From this mention of the people it has been

striven to extract a proof that the separate sovereignties are here replaced by one sole power of the Federal government. But every word and clause protests against this grammatical torture, and must be put under military law, like Memphis or New Orleans, before it can be made to yield the sense ascribed to the preamble by the Unionists of the Northern States. The terms are borrowed from the previous Articles, which define their true significance. The "United States of America" will not bear the sense of an indefinite number of persons, living within certain geographical limits that have varied almost from year to year. It means plainly the "States" which were lately distinct colonies of England, but have already claimed and exercised "sovereignty, freedom, and independence," have "united" themselves by a compact, but retained "every power, jurisdiction, and right" not expressly delegated in the previous Articles, or in the new Constitution.

Mr. Spence states an historical fact which seems decisive. Objection was started to the preamble in the Convention of Virginia, as capable of the construction which the Northern advocates endeavour to force upon it, and Madison replied in these words:—"The parties to it are the people—not the people as composing one great society, but the people as composing thirteen sovereignties." Not content with giving the true meaning of the phrase, he adduced an argument to prove it. "If it were a purely consolidated government, the assent of the majority of the people would be sufficient to establish it; but it is to be binding on the people of any State only by their own separate consent." Now the Constitution was ratified and came into force only by the consent of nine States, of which Virginia was one; and that consent was only gained by a formal disclaimer of the very construction which now, after seventy years, is made the plea for a charge of treason and rebellion against Virginia itself and half a continent, and for ravaging them with fire and sword as a penalty for the imaginary crime.

Again, by Article IV., section 2, "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." This roundabout way of attaining an object, which would have followed of course from a fusion of the States into one sole republic, proves clearly the purpose of the Constitution still to recognise that the separate States were sovereign powers. The fourth section is no less explicit:—"The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the legislature or of the executive, against domestic violence." What could prove more clearly than this "guarantee of a republican form of government" that a direct right of sovereignty, in

every State, is formally recognised in the Constitution of 1787, no less than in the previous Articles of Confederation?

How did this Constitution come into force? It was a dead letter, while merely drawn up by the Commissioners, or approved by the Congress. It was never submitted to universal or to uniform suffrage throughout the whole territory. It was still without a grain of power when eight Legislatures, or Conventions, had given it a conditional assent. It was simply the act of the ninth State, in ratifying it by a State Convention, which gave it political force and being. Even then its validity was open to grave doubt, till the consent of the other four was obtained; for the previous compact made the consent of the Legislatures of *every* State essential to any change in its terms. And thus it is, in reality, the assent, in 1790, of North Carolina, one of the present seceding States, to which, for seventy years past, the actual Constitution is indebted for its moral force as a binding compact.

The case is further strengthened by the notorious fact that the right of secession has been repeatedly claimed by several of the Northern States, which now denounce it as an act of treason. "The State of Massachusetts has threatened, on four separate occasions, to secede from the Union. First, in the debates on the adjustment of the State debts; secondly, on the purchase of Louisiana, and its admission into the Union; thirdly, during the war of 1813; fourthly, on the annexation of Texas, when, we believe, one chamber of her legislature actually passed a vote of secession. On these occasions it was no mere act of excited individuals, but the general voice of the community. Yet this State is now the loudest in denouncing it, when inconvenient to herself; and a bastile is said to be preparing in the vicinity of Boston for the incarceration of those, as political prisoners, who simply utter the opinions which, when it suited, this very State has so often and so vehemently expressed."

The conclusion from these facts is plain. The present Constitution, like its predecessor, had its birth from the doctrine of the separate sovereignty of the thirteen States, and is guilty of political parricide when it is used to destroy its own parent.

It is true that the lapse of time, the growth of the Union, the formation and accession of twenty new States, the increase of foreign commerce, the relations of the central government with the European Powers, the use of a common language and literature, have all tended to develope the authority of the Federal legislature and executive, and to throw the reserved powers of the separate States, especially in the view of foreigners, comparatively into the shade. These may, possibly, supply weighty reasons why a third Constitution, more compact

than the second, might seem desirable, and all the States be invited to a distinct cession of their sovereign rights, so as to become simply provinces of one vast American republic. But then the same changes, by increasing the divergence of interests, in territories far more extensive than at first, and in a population tenfold more numerous, may supply reasons just as powerful, or even more powerful, for a peaceable separation into two or three immense Confederacies, each larger and more populous than the original Union. But even if we admit, what is hard to prove, that the reasons for desiring one compact and unbroken Union have the greater weight, they can never justify the Northern States in falsifying the facts of history, and altering or reversing the basis of a mutual compact. The new Constitution, it is certain, would never have been ratified at all, if the Conventions of the States, which separately ratified it, had supposed it to bear the modern construction, and that it required them to renounce that claim to be sovereign powers which was the very basis of their previous Articles of Confederation. But a right of sovereignty must involve a right to separate, when the professed objects of the Union, in the judgment of the separating States, are not fulfilled—a right subject only to a claim for just compensation, as between separate contracting powers, for injury thus inflicted on the Federal government, or the States from which the secession is made. The claim thus arising, in the case of a single State included between the others, would be so large in strict equity, as to make the exercise of the abstract right, except in some case of extreme and gross injustice, both a moral crime and a political suicide, and might naturally involve its restoration to the Union, no longer as a sovereign State, but as a conquered territory. But the circumstances of the present secession are widely different, and make a war of reconquest at once a political folly and a moral crime.

Secession is thus a constitutional right, deducible by a logical necessity from the origin and express terms of the Federal compact. But even if it were otherwise, and a plain legal offence, still a war to force back the seceding States into the Union would be a moral and political suicide on the part of the American government. Their Declaration of Independence, the language of the founders of the Union, the Fourth of July celebrations for eighty years, are all turned, by such a course, into so many strange and hollow mockeries.

The colonies were the children of England. To the mother country they owed their laws, their liberties, their language, their very population. By the blood of English soldiers their borders had been enlarged and their liberties secured from foreign conquest. They were subjects of a monarchy in which popular consent, though one main element, had never been

held to be the sole basis of the constitution; the people had rights, and the Crown its prerogatives. But they felt their growing strength. At a critical age they were unwisely governed. They had some real and many fancied grievances, and their complaints were harshly and blindly repelled. Self-interest, wounded pride, the consciousness of growing strength, the love of independence, all led them to cast off their allegiance. Their principles were moulded by their passions and their new position, and were embodied in their famous Declaration. They "assumed the separate and equal station to which," in their opinion, "the laws of nature and nature's God entitled them," and published these maxims as self-evident truths, and their new political creed:—"That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that governments derive their first power from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organising its power in such a form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." They declare, further, that "all experience has shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed."

Let us now compare the grounds of the original separation of the colonies with those of the actual secession of the Southern States. Nearly every reason which could be offered for the former applies also to the latter, and most of them with double force. Thirteen colonies took part in the first separation: the number of the seceding States is nearly the same. The population of the colonies was less than three millions, that of the seceding States is three or four times as great. The extent of their territory is also greater than the first extent of the whole Union. There was a strong loyalist minority in the colonies, but traces of a Union party in the Southern States can scarcely be found. The colonies revolted from a parent, whose authority was based on parental rights and royal prerogative, and never professed to be borrowed from their consent alone. The Southern States separate from other States, which are, most of them, younger sisters, and from a federation professedly based on the sovereignty of the people, which they joined freely, holding up before them their claim to distinct sovereignty; from a federation which owes its existence and authority to acts of their own State Conventions, and to these alone. The colonists complained that they were taxed without being represented; and the Act complained of was early repealed. The Southern

States complain that they have suffered for many years from oppressive tariffs, opposed to their interest, and to the spirit of the Constitution, and against which their representatives have protested in vain. The older colonies had been British dependencies for nearly two hundred years. The federal compact which the seceding States cast aside is barely seventy-five years old; and still, in this short space, the political changes, affecting the limits of the Union, and their own relative power, have been far greater than in the two centuries before. Except mere geographical distance, every other plea to justify the original separation applies thus with double force to the actual secession. A war of reconquest waged by the Federal government, with treason and rebellion for its chosen watchwords, must seem to Englishmen, who have reconciled themselves for years to the condemnation of Lord North's policy, and the praises of Washington, a strange and unaccountable form of moral suicide.

But the question of the lawfulness or necessity of this coercive war may be transferred from the terms of the Constitution, and the Declaration of Independence, to a wider issue. The crime of the Southern attempt to divide the Union has been urged on the ground of "manifest destiny." The indefeasible right of that Union to the full allegiance and submission of all the States has been written, it is said, by the hand of the Creator, on the mountains and rivers of the American continent. To such declamation it seems only a natural reply, that the writing is in invisible ink, and that a strong wash of pride and ambitious hope must be applied, before the characters can be seen. But let us follow the political question, thoughtfully and calmly, into this higher ground.

Destiny, whether secret or manifest, is the proper creed of heathens alone. Its substitute with Christian men is faith in the moral government of the living God, and in the great doctrine, that all power belongs to the risen Saviour both in heaven and earth. Ambition, from Nimrod to Napoleon, has often turned a course of temporary success into a "manifest destiny" of enlarging territory and growing dominion. The true law of Providence is different, and has been recorded long ago. "He increaseth the nations, *and destroyeth them;* He enlargeth the nations, *and straiteneth them again.*" Neither in the Old World nor in the New has the license ever been given to rend in twain this law of the Divine government; to retain the part which flatters our pride under the name of destiny, and escape from the force of the warning voice which completes the Divine message.

There was a time, four thousand years ago, when the sons of Noah, under the presidency of a mighty captain and conqueror,

thought it their "manifest destiny" to form one unbroken empire, and built for its metropolis "a city and a tower whose top might reach to heaven." The plan of God was different. When worldly union had bred sinful pride, humility was to be taught by unwilling and compulsory separation. They were parted into many communities, and scattered abroad on the face of the earth. With the same geographical centre, and greater success, Nebuchadnezzar renewed the scheme of universal empire. It was increased by the hand of the Almighty; but very soon, by the same power, it was "straitened again." After seventy years, the handwriting was seen on the wall; the kingdom was divided, and given to the Medes and Persians. The Persian empire, in its turn, with its hundred and twenty states, that spanned a continent, was broken by the he-goat of Macedon; and the kingdom of Alexander, in a few years, suffered a fourfold schism. Rome succeeded to the task of forming, out of many states of the Old World, one vast, united empire, and seemed for a time to prosper in the effort. "The empire was above two thousand miles in breadth, from the wall of Antoninus to Mount Atlas; it extended, in length, more than three thousand miles, from the Western Ocean to the Euphrates; was situated in the finest part of the temperate zone, between the twenty-fourth and fifty-sixth degrees of north latitude, and was supposed to contain above sixteen hundred thousand miles, for the most part of fertile and well-cultivated land." The geographical resemblance to the union of the New World is singularly close. This also lies between the twenty-fifth and fifty-second degrees of latitude, is three thousand miles in its greatest breadth from east to west, and fifteen hundred or more from north to south, and its extent nearly four millions of square miles, of which more than half is fertile, and admits of cultivation. The doctrine of manifest destiny found its natural expression in the words of the great Latin poet,—

> "His ego nec metas rerum, neque tempora pono,
> Imperium sine fine dedi."

But the true plan of God's holy providence was widely different from the fond hopes of the senate and people of ancient Rome. No sooner had the empire reached these giant dimensions, than opposite forces came into play. The great conflict of Christianity and heathenism within, the double need of defence from the Parthians in the east and the barbarians in the west, were causes more powerful to separate than all the military pride of Rome to secure the unity of the empire. First of all, the East and the West were parted asunder, and soon afterwards the Western empire fell, and many distinct and independent powers arose out of its ruins.

Such, in the Old World, has been the constant law of Divine Providence. Has the Union of America any claim, on moral grounds, to form a solitary contrast to this rule of all past history; to add State to State, annex territory to territory, till it rivals in extent the empire of Augustus; to span an entire continent, and grasp in its hopes the portions that still belong to other powers; and then to claim, as an absolute right, exemption from the natural results of its own developed interests and passions, and from that revealed law of God's providence, that "He increaseth the nations, and straiteneth them again"? What thoughtful Christian, whether in America or Europe, can admit so preposterous a claim? The spirit of boasting and arrogance, which has been a very natural, but still a very mournful effect of the rapid extension of the Union, and of its material prosperity, has long been ominous, to thoughtful and reverent observers of Providence, of the near approach of some humbling reverse. Even the form in which the discipline would come upon them has been foreseen, and one of our ablest historians, twenty years ago, expressed in these words a very general conviction of European politicians: —"It does not require the gift of prophecy to foretell, that a vast confederacy of separate States, each with its own legislature and armed force, and actuated, from difference of climate and situation, by opposite and conflicting interests, and held together by so slender a tie, is not destined to hang long together." (Alison, vol. x. p. 606.)

But besides these arguments, from the terms of the Federal compact, from the facts of American history, and from the fundamental laws of Providence, which fix the stamp of moral guiltiness on the coercive war now waging by the Northern States, there is a precedent in the word of God, which ought alone to be its decisive condemnation in the mind of every thoughtful Christian. The kingdom of Israel, in the days of Solomon, rested on Divine right, not on popular consent, but on the direct authority of God. It was one nation, but twelve tribes; and the strict subordination of the tribes to the nation was embodied in their origin and their very names. Israel was the common parent, and Judah, Ephraim, Benjamin, were his sons. Its metropolis, Jerusalem, and its royal line, the family of David, had already been set apart by the express appointment of God. Its population was six or seven times smaller than that of the United States, its territory two hundred times less. But fiscal burdens led to discontent, and this was aggravated by political jealousy, when the chief power seemed to have passed from Ephraim to the tribe of Judah. Rash and violent counsels completed the schism which other causes had begun. The ten northern tribes revolted from the central government. The stoning

of Hadoram, like the bloodless capture of Fort Sumter, kindled the passions of the young and rash counsellors of Rehoboam into a violent flame. There were loud outcries in Judah against the traitors and rebels, who had wickedly rejected a government founded on Divine right, and added the crime of murdering the king's officers to the heinous guilt of an impious rebellion. Those whose folly had precipitated the revolt were only too glad to blot out the memory of their own fault by a double fervour of patriotic zeal. Volunteers for the war came forward in great abundance; so that "Rehoboam gathered a hundred and fourscore thousand chosen men, which were warriors, to fight against Israel, that he might bring again the kingdom unto Rehoboam." But the seeming zeal for national unity, and for the punishment of an unjustifiable revolt, found no approval from the true King of Israel, but stern censure and condemnation. "The word of the Lord came to Shemaiah, the man of God, saying, Speak unto Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, king of Judah, and to all Israel in Judah and Benjamin, saying, Thus saith the Lord, Ye shall not go up, nor fight against your brethren; return every man to his house, for this thing is done of me. And they obeyed the words of the Lord, and returned from going against Jeroboam."

All the features of contrast between the attempted war of Rehoboam, and that which the Northern States are waging in America against their brethren, serve only to increase tenfold the force of this Divine precedent. It seems like a direct voice from heaven, to stamp this coercive war with the sternest reprobation. Palestine was a very small country, surrounded on every side by heathen neighbours. The union of all the tribes, on political grounds alone, seemed necessary to their existence. But there were still weightier reasons to be placed in the same scale. Jerusalem had been chosen, by the voice of God himself, to be the capital of the nation; and the line of David reigned by Divine right, with a promise of royal dignity through all later generations, sealed by a solemn oath of God. And still, even when the guilt of the secession of the tribes was plain and clear, and its results so fatal to the national greatness, so perilous to the safety of the whole people, the evils of a coercive war to restore the union by force are pronounced to be still greater, and the attempt, though veiled of course under titles of patriotism and piety, was denounced, by the lips of God Himself, as a positive crime. What excuse, then, in the face of such a precedent, can vindicate the present war? The population of the South is twice or three times as great, their territory nearly a hundred times greater, than that of all Palestine in the days of Jeroboam. The limits of the Union have altered twenty times within the last fifty years. It has no divine right, no royal line, no natural metropolis. Its government, instead of

a solemn oath of God, rests on the strife of contending factions, on caucus votes, and stump oratory. America, North and South, yields us counterparts in abundance of the secessionists of Ephraim, and of Rehoboam with his rash counsellors and eager volunteers. But we look in vain for one Shemaiah, wise and bold enough to withstand the current of their passion, and to utter once more the double message, "Return every man to his house, for this thing is done of Me. How long will it be ere ye bid the people return from slaughtering their brethren?"

Some voices have been heard in this country, which condemn the war as it is now waged; but offer their sympathy to the North, if they will turn it, even now, into a war of abolition. We differ wholly from this view, which seems to us more immoral than the war itself, and has not the same excuse of national excitement to plead in its favour. The moral relation between slavery and the present war, though prejudice and passion may throw a mist around it, is of the simplest kind, when we appeal to facts and documents.

The professed aim of the Northern States is to restore the Union, and punish those who have seceded from its authority. The Union is based on an express compact, which contains these words: "No person held to service or labour in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due."

The same law of God, which permitted and recognized the right of Jewish masters to have bondservants, contained the express provision—"Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant who is escaped from his master unto thee." There was here a Divine safety valve, to hinder a relation, prone to great abuse, but not essentially sinful, from breeding gross and intolerable oppression. The Federal compact, however, not only forbids the Central Government to meddle with slavery, but reverses this Divine safeguard against the abuses to which it commonly leads. The Southern States entered into the Union at first on these terms. If these are sinful in themselves, the remedy is plain. The Union, involving terms that are sinful, ought to be dissolved, and formed anew on a better footing. The Southern States, instead of being warred upon for leaving the Union, ought to be thanked, by all Northern abolitionists, for putting an end to a temptation which the North had never been able to overcome. They ought, even if they had not sought to secede, to have been released voluntarily by the Northern States from a compact which, on abolition grounds, could neither be made at first, nor upheld afterwards, without grievous sin. But the most immoral of all

courses would be to make war on others for the constructive and indirect breach of a compact, and to break the same compact openly ourselves; or to fancy that the North can neutralize the evil of denying the South a constitutional right, by a direct and flagrant contradiction of the very compact, the authority of which they pretend to vindicate and restore. The war, we believe, is criminal in itself. It must become doubly and trebly criminal, if the attempt be made to hallow and sanctify it by the perpetration of deliberate covenant-breaking on the largest scale.

On the other hand, if wiser counsels should prevail, and peace be restored on the footing of Southern independence, we believe that the blessing of God would return to a land, dear to us as Christians and as Englishmen by so many ties, whose very faults require from us humble and tender treatment, since they are, probably, in the sight of God, nothing else than a magnified reflection of our own. There may, perhaps, be a few Englishmen, here and there, who regarded the material prosperity of America, before this war, with a blind and sinful jealousy, and have now a selfish joy in their calamity. But their number, we are persuaded, is very small. The general feeling of our countrymen, even of those who have no claim to spiritual religion, is of a better and wiser kind. We desire from our hearts, that America may prosper. We believe that the time is come when it will prosper most by listening to the voice of Providence, instead of fighting against it, and developing its immense resources in the form of two distinct and rival, but not unfriendly Confederacies. The only sacrifice required is one of ambitious hopes, contradicted by the experience of six thousand years, that a Mammoth Republic, vaster than the Roman Empire in the height of its power, and expected to rival the population of Europe, can be permanently held together by universal suffrage, popular votes, and democratic institutions alone. We hope and believe that, when the fierce passions which are now at work shall have spent their violence, instead of one Giant Despot under the name and guise of democratic freedom, enacting fratricide towards its brethren, and threatening parricide to the country from which it derives its birth, two sadder and wiser Republics will emerge from the confusion. Two great idols, the War of Independence, and the Future Grandeur of the Union, had estranged the American people, to a fearful extent, from the lessons of Christian humility and of true wisdom. The Lord, whose name is Jealous, is now using these idols to shatter each other in pieces. The stern spirit of independence in the Southern States is encountering the pride of union in the North, and fearful indeed are the results of the collision. But when the strife shall cease, we trust that America will emerge once more, humbler in tone,

wiser in conduct, but more really prosperous than before, and obtain a full share in that blessed promise, "The work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever."

GAUSSEN ON THE CANON OF SCRIPTURE.

The Canon of the Holy Scriptures from the double point of view of Science and of Faith. By L. Gaussen, D.D., Geneva. London: Nisbet & Co. 1862.

THE object of this work, as clearly stated by M. Gaussen in a few introductory sentences, is to demonstrate from the word of God, and from history, the exclusive right of the thirty-nine books of the Old Testament, and of the twenty-seven books of the New, to a place in the list of inspired writings; and this he has undertaken to do, from history as regards the New Testament, and by doctrinal evidence as regards the whole Bible. Happily, for the bulk of Christian readers no such demonstrations are necessary; and to them, for their own sakes at least, M. Gaussen's is almost a superfluous treatise. They have the witness within themselves. The Bible has proved itself to them to be inspired by its effects. The medicine that has healed the wound must be the right medicine. The food which nourishes must be wholesome food, and they want no other—either food or medicine. If their experience goes a little further—if they have tried other food and other physic, and have found the one without nutriment and the other without healing virtue, they have the whole case before them, and their common-sense decision upon it is perfectly just, as well as perfectly philosophical. We will even venture to express a doubt whether any further evidence can add to the conviction thus produced in the mind of a sincere and enlightened Christian. The wider his range of observation, the more abundant are the evidences, positive and negative, that his conclusions are correct. For, in the first place, he sees the Scriptures, duly received, always producing the same results; and in the second, he finds that no other books in the world ever do produce them. From observation he flies to history; but history is only observation extended backwards through the means of credible testimony; a mental telescope bringing into sight the remoter fields cultivated by generations long since decayed. All this adds much to his knowledge, but very little to his confidence or faith. The

Bible is its own best witness, and it wants no other to him who uses it aright. The Bible would still be God's word to him, though no one but himself had ever seen it. It would not be the less true that he had been healed by the living waters and fed with the bread of life, though no other sufferer like himself had ever applied the one or tasted of the other.

Yet the work which M. Gaussen has undertaken is of great importance, and the way in which he has discharged his task entitles him to the gratitude of the Church of Christ. There may be times when even a stedfast Christian is overwhelmed with doubts. External evidences are often useful under such circumstances, as they contribute to the restoration of his faith. Insidious objections may be raised,—not to the Bible as a whole, for these he would instantly dismiss,—but to separate portions of it, to some whole book, perhaps, to which his attention may never have been specially drawn; and doubts once admitted, are but too apt to increase and multiply. Again, every Christian is bound to give a reason for the hope that is in him, and, to an unbeliever, the relation of his own experience may not be satisfactory, still less conclusive. And there are those again who must be led to the study of the sacred volume, in the first instance, by much lower considerations than those which chiefly influence the spiritual reader. Thousands in every age have been thus attracted; some by its high pretensions; some by its venerable antiquity; some by the remarkable consent with which its claims have been allowed, or even the pertinacity with which they have been resisted. A treatise on the canonicity of the Bible can never be unseasonable; and, unhappily, it seems at the present hour to be urgently required. The circumstances of the Church are such, that even the foundations have to be thoroughly examined, and their safety proved anew.

A work of this nature cannot lay claim to perfect originality. It must of necessity consist of the relation of facts which have long since taken place, and of arguments founded upon them, many of which will have occurred to other minds. The originality must be sought in the selection of the facts and the grouping of the arguments. Dr. Gaussen is rather prolix for an English reader. His facts might have been marshalled better, and his method simplified with advantage. But his arguments are powerfully stated, and to many of them we willingly concede the claim of novelty. He has produced a work of great value, and his treatment of the subject induces us to take him as our guide while we make the canonicity of Scripture the subject of some further observations.

The notion of a canon of Scripture, that is, of a collection of documents written by divine direction, and containing the whole rule or canon of almighty God; a rule perfect within itself, com-

plete and absolute, was familiar to the primitive Christians. For fifteen hundred years it had been the characteristic of the Hebrew nation, who regarded their own possession of such a canon as essential to their existence as God's chosen people, and inseparable from it. Their knowledge of the Old Testament, which the Lord himself and His apostles had taught them to revere as *the law*, the *Scriptures*, nay, the *oracles of God*, fully prepared them for the reception of some fresh communications of the same kind. We think Dr. Gaussen does not affirm too much, when he even maintains that it was impossible that such an expectation should not have existed. The period of Christ's advent was far more important and more solemn than that of its announcement. Its revelations were more striking, its objects more divine, its promises more rich, its prophets more powerful, its signs and wonders more marvellous. Now, the early existence of this idea of a Scripture canon, embracing the sacred books of the New Testament, and placing them on the same level with the ancient Jewish Scriptures, appears under various forms from the very commencement of the Christian church. It is recognized both by the enemies of the Gospel and its champions. St. Peter himself refers, in his second epistle, to the epistles of Paul. They were already collected, it appears. He calls them *scriptures:* a term which no Jew applied to any writings which were not esteemed canonical. Indeed, he expressly places them on a level with the books of the Old Testament, which he calls the *other scriptures*. And the antiquity of this epistle may be proved quite independently either of its authorship or its canonicity. It was written at the latest in the year 68, not more than thirty-four years after our Lord's crucifixion. At so early a period had the writings of St. Paul been placed in the ranks of holy Scripture. Not, however, that we admit the force of the objections which have been made against the inspiration, or even against the authorship, of this second epistle of Peter. It is quoted by St. Jude, and its very words are repeated as words which he says "were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ. They told you," continues St. Jude, "that there should be mockers at the last time, who should walk after their own ungodly lusts." But no "apostle of the Lord," with one exception, had uttered these expressions. He can find them only in the second epistle of Peter, and there we find them word for word; and above all, the remarkable word *scoffers*, or mockers, repeated by St. Jude, ἐμπαῖκται, is to be met with nowhere else in any part of the New Testament. Now, this epistle of Jude was received as an inspired book, as we know, in the second century by Clement of Alexandria in the East, by Tertullian, the most ancient of the Latin Fathers, in the West, in the third century by Origen, and in the fourth

St. Jude is found in each of eleven catalogues of the New Testament still extant.

In the same way, it admits of the most satisfactory proof that the primitive Christians collected the apostolic writings successively from the time of their first appearance; and that they received them as of equal authority with the Old Testament, to the whole canon of which the Lord Himself had on more than one occasion given His express sanction. They read them in their religious assemblies; called them, with Peter, the *scriptures;* with Tertullian, the *divine document,* or *the sacred digest;* with Clement of Alexandria, Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Hypollitus, *the oracles of God,* or *the Gospels and the Apostles;* no doubt after the example of the Lord, who had called the Old Testament, *the Law and the Prophets.* At length, as St. Paul had given the name of *the Old Testament* to the writings of Moses, the prophets and the Psalms, it was natural that the writings of the evangelists and the apostles should receive that of *the New Testament;* and this title by the time of Eusebius seems to have superseded all the others.

To the early Church it would form no objection to the canonical authority of the several parts of the New Testament that some of them were of later date than others. The primitive Christians would rather expect such a gradual completion of its own evangelical testament, because such, in fact, had been the method in which God had revealed His will to the elder Church. Ages had passed from the time when Moses first put his hand to the sacred record, before the prophet Haggai was commissioned to finish the volume and seal up the vision. During the first few years after the Lord's death, the Church grew and was nourished by the scriptures of the Old Testament, expounded by the oral teaching of apostles and evangelists; God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost. It was not till more than fifteen years after the Ascension of the Lord that the old canon of the oracles of God, which had been closed four hundred years, was reopened to receive the earliest writings of the New Testament. These, Dr. Gaussen is of opinion, were the two epistles to the Thessalonians, which preceded the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, while those of Luke and John followed after a considerable interval. This conjecture certainly gives weight to two remarkable passages in those epistles; in the former of which the writer carefully reminds them that the word which he had taught was truly the word of God, and rejoices that they had received it "not as the word of man, but as it is in truth the word of God" (1 Thess. i. 5); while in the other he charges them "by the Lord that this epistle be read to all the holy

brethren." (1 Thess. v. 27.) Nothing can be more solemn than the apostle's language on this occasion; ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς, I adjure you by the Lord that this epistle of mine be placed on the same footing with the inspired canonical books of the Old Testament, and, like them, be read aloud in your public assemblies for divine worship. It was during the sixteen or seventeen years that elapsed from the appearing of these first books that nearly all the other scriptures of the New Testament were written; namely, the four Gospels, the Acts, thirteen epistles of Paul, the first of Peter, and the first of John. These Dr. Gaussen groups together as the first canon, comprehending twenty books. It was at a later period that the other seven were added, and the whole canon completed, but all within the first century. When the canon was begun, the Church was but a small body, scarcely known beyond the confines of Palestine, Greece, and Asia Minor. Before it was completed, we have the testimony of friends and foes that myriads had embraced the Gospel, of every nation of the civilised world, and of many a savage race beyond, our own barbarous island amongst the number. We are not disposed to attach too much importance to such considerations, but there is some force in the reflections of Dr. Gaussen here:—

"It will easily be perceived how important it is, for the confirming of our faith, that the New Testament, instead of having been communicated all at once, by the Founder of our religion Himself personally recording His acts and His revelations, should have emanated from Him successively during the space of half-a-century, in a series of twenty-seven writings, the productions of eight different individuals, separated from each other by great distances of place, and distinguished from each other by circumstances the most dissimilar; some of them learned, others unlettered; some in Judea, some in Rome; some writing only ten or fifteen years after the death of their Master, others fifty years after that event; some of them having been personally strangers to Him, one of them even His most bitter persecutor, while some of them had been among His most devoted and assiduous friends. The result of all this diversity is, that the harmony with which all, notwithstanding, reveal to us His life, His character, His origin, and His doctrines,—the unchanging agreement they maintain on subjects the most transcendent, as well as in expounding duties the most completely misunderstood; in a word that marvellous and deep unity in their teaching, stands forth both more striking and more majestic than it otherwise could have done."

We should only traverse well-beaten ground, were we to trace the reception of the several books of the New Testament into the sacred canon. Lardner and others have done this long ago, and Dr. Gaussen could only repeat what they had already shown abundantly. It may, however, be useful, now that we are upon the subject, to present, in the smallest compass, an outline of this historic evidence.

We turn, first of all, to the writings of the Apostolic Fathers; men who, having personally known some of the apostles, like Ignatius and Polycarp, or having at least lived in the apostolic age, are the oldest witnesses. Their number is but small; for persecution fell heavily upon the primitive church. The first pastors had, we may suppose, neither leisure nor opportunity to write; or, if otherwise, then their writings were destroyed. Of the seven apostolic fathers whose works were edited by archbishop Wake, several, always suspicious, are now admitted to be spurious. Such, for instance, as the Shepherd of Hermas, the Second Epistle of Clement, and the pretended Epistle of Barnabas. The Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, those of Polycarp, and that of Ignatius, are of undoubted authenticity. Now, all these constantly refer to the writings of the New Testament then collected, with the same reverence with which they speak of the Hebrew scriptures. Great efforts have been made to weaken the testimony of these fathers. It is said, in the first place, that their citations of the Old Testament are many, while those from the New are few; from whence it is inferred that they attached but little importance to the latter, or that it was to a great extent unknown to them. Dr. Gaussen replies by denying altogether the truth of the objection. If we except Clement of Rome, who wrote near to the time of Paul's martyrdom, and consequently was disposed (as the apostles had been) to quote the Old Testament very frequently, rather than refer to contemporaneous writings, we find that the apostolic fathers have made very frequent use of the New Testament. Indeed, so little ground is there for this objection, that we shall be more struck with the contrary excess. In Polycarp, for example, we find almost fifty quotations from the New Testament for one from Moses and the Prophets; while in the Epistle to Diognetus, we are even struck with the studious care with which the author seems to avoid the Old Testament. This last epistle, attributed by Cave and others to Justin Martyr, is, without doubt, Dr. Gaussen thinks, even more ancient. He places it not later than A.D. 133, yet it has references to the Epistles to the Galatians, Romans, Corinthians (First and Second), Philippians, and Titus, either express, or by such allusions as to show plainly what was passing through the writer's mind. Sometimes he quotes the very words, without even giving himself the trouble to specify the name of him whom he calls *the apostle*, or the title of his epistle; proof enough that he wrote in the midst of a Christian people, among whom our Scriptures were universally known. Why should he take this trouble? Would not these few words be sufficient for every one, as at the present day, to recognise the epistle and lay his finger on the passage? In his Epistle to

the Church at Philippi, there are at least forty or fifty quotations from the New Testament, to which he expressly gives the title of Holy Scripture in these remarkable words: "I hope that you are well exercised in THE SACRED LETTERS. As it is said in the Scriptures, *Be ye angry and sin not; let not the sun go down upon your wrath.* (Eph. iv. 26.) *Pray for all saints* (Eph. vi. 18); *pray also for kings, and powers, and princes* (1 Tim. ii. 2), *and for them that hate you and persecute you.* (Matt. v. 44.)" Dr. Gaussen justly remarks that it would be difficult to discover, even in our days, a composition more saturated with Scripture. It does not occupy more than seven octavo pages, and yet we may count at least forty or fifty quotations from the New Testament. "The whole epistle, from one end to the other, reveals a piety which is immersed in the sacred word, and thinks in apostolic language."

Without making further extracts, it is enough to say that Ignatius and Clement, the one a hearer, the other probably the companion and fellow-labourer of St. Paul, are scarcely less profuse of allusions to the New Testament and verbal quotations from it.

The former, however, are more frequent than the latter. On this a second objection has been founded. The apostolic fathers, it is said, either do not quote with precision; or if they do, it is almost always without naming the author. They may not then have referred to the same books which we possess, but to some other documents. It is enough to answer that the perfectly natural method is even more satisfactory than a pedantic accuracy. The latter might have suggested the doubt that the quotations had been foisted in by later hands; the former cannot be torn away without the destruction of the whole fabric with which it is interwoven. Here again Dr. Gaussen speaks well, and he shall speak for himself:—

"This second objection is of no more value than the first; for the examples we shall cite go to show that almost always, on the contrary, the language of these fathers is manifestly that of authors quite full of our Scriptures, and whose readers are intimately acquainted with the sacred Word. The Apostolic fathers pour forth and spread abroad the sayings of our holy books in their own language; they take them freely, and from memory, without restricting themselves to the same terms; they often blend several passages in the same sentence, so as to make a continuous discourse; they paraphrase them when they quote them, to adapt them better to their own thoughts; and you see they are satisfied that their readers will understand them at half a word, and recognise immediately the source from which they have drawn their materials. Is it not just so that in our own day men most intimately acquainted with the Scriptures speak when they address other men who are nourished by the same spiritual food? Let us open their letters, written under circumstances such as those

of the apostolic fathers, and we shall be struck with the resemblance. We shall even recognise, in reference to their preoccupation with the Scriptures, a superiority in the latter; for it must not be forgotten that the only writings which have come down to us of these men of God are pastoral epistles, composed, not to inculcate doctrines, but to exhort, to console, to recount the examples of martyrs, and to encourage their brethren."

This line of argument Dr. Gaussen illustrates by a reference to the voluminous letters of Calvin, where the allusions are without number, the quotations few indeed.

So much for the Apostolic fathers. After them, the earliest testimony is probably that of the Peshito version; of all versions of the New Testament,—notwithstanding the ordeal to which it has been exposed under the fires of the severest criticism,—still by general consent the most ancient, the most celebrated, and the most valued. Of its high antiquity there can be no doubt, even should we hesitate to assign so early a date as that for which Dr. Gaussen contends; making it, as he does, almost contemporaneous with the last years of St. John. It now exists under two forms of manuscripts; some in ancient Syriac characters, others, of Indian origin, in Nestorian characters; but all of the manuscripts exhibit precisely the same canon; and this is precisely the same canon we now possess. The several books are also arranged in the same order, except that the Catholic epistles precede, instead of following, the fourteen epistles of St. Paul; but the two lesser epistles of St. John, the epistle of St. Jude, and the second of St. Peter, together with the Apocalypse, are wanting.

The reason is obvious. If the version be of the great antiquity claimed for it, then the Apocalypse had not reached the Syrian Christians and other Aramæan churches of the East. The visions in Patmos were not seen by the beloved disciple, as Irenæus distinctly informs us, till about the end of the reign of Domitian; that is, during the last four years of the first century, or even the commencement of the second. On the same grounds the absence of the four short and later epistles may be explained. They had probably not yet reached the remoter churches of the East; but when they did so, they were received, without hesitation, as by the other churches, into the sacred canon. It is further worthy of remark that, although early in the second century spurious gospels and epistles had already appeared in the East under apostolic titles, not one of them has found a place in these, or indeed in any other ancient manuscripts of the least authority.

We are not writing a history of the sacred canon, or of the wonderful unanimity of the primitive church, in adopting and

transmitting it to later ages; we can merely attempt to indicate the method in which this was accomplished, and the sources from which further information may be derived. Thus we pass by the testimony of Origen, at the commencement of the third century. Besides scholia, or brief notes, he wrote voluminous commentaries on the four Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles to the Romans, on six of the other Pauline epistles, a commentary on the Hebrews, and an exposition of the Apocalypse. This last he himself mentions in one of his dissertations; but of it, as of several of his commentaries, no other trace exists. And what is most important, he gives a catalogue of the canon of Scripture, which exactly agrees with that we now receive, without the omission or addition of a single book. Next in order comes the historian Eusebius, after the lapse of another century, or about the year 315. His testimony is clear and full: of the twenty-seven books of the New Testament, twenty, he says, had been received universally from the beginning in all the churches: two, the Hebrews and the Apocalypse, had recently been doubted, the foremost in the East, the other by the Western churches: but yet the Apocalypse had always been received as canonical in the West, while the epistle to the Hebrews had, in like manner, always been received in the churches in the East; and the objections lately taken against the two books related only to alleged incongruities of style or doctrine; just such as are raised by critics of our own day, and entitled to the same, and no more, consideration. The shorter epistles, all of which he himself acknowledges, were not yet universally received, though recognized by most of the churches. The reasons of this hesitation are apparent. Several of them were addressed to individuals; they were published many years after the canon was opened; they had found their way slowly from church to church; but as they became known, they were at length recognized, and to no one of them was a place in the sacred canon ultimately denied. Thus we have incidental evidence to a fact of great importance; viz., the scrupulous, and even excessive, caution with which the canon was guarded and fenced in, and the difficulty with which even books of the highest and most unquestionable pretensions were admitted into it from time to time. No apocryphal books, up to this date, had found admission, though many such were now afloat. Eusebius divides them into two classes; the first comprehending such as were harmless, or even instructive, but had been improperly attributed to apostles, or companions of apostles; as the *Acts of Paul*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Apostolic Constitutions*. The second consisted of spurious (*νοθά*) works, that were heretical and mis-

chievous, which he calls *absurd and impious* (ἄτοπα καὶ δυσεβῆ) —such as the gospels of *Peter, Thomas, Mathias, the Acts of Andrew, of John,* and of other apostles.

We need not prosecute the inquiry further than the Council of Nice; for, after the date of that assembly, A.D. 325, all hesitation disappeared, and the churches of Christ throughout the world exhibited that perfect unanimity, with regard to the sacred canon of the New Testament at least, which, amidst every diversity of race and language, has continued to exist for fifteen hundred years. The Council, let it be observed, made no rule upon the subject; it nowhere intimated the slightest intention of passing a decree respecting the catalogue of the sacred books, either of the Old or New Testament. This is important, since many distinguished Roman theologians, even such as Bellarmine and Baronius, have endeavoured to maintain the contrary. But no ancient writer ever refers to any such decisions, nor do the acts of the Council contain anything relating to such pretended decrees. The Council was unanimous in receiving as the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, the books which we regard as canonical, and none besides. And its great influence set the question at rest in all the churches. It was long afterwards that Rome began to introduce the books of the Apocrypha, and to cite the authority of the Council of Nice to justify the imposture.

But the Church of Christ has never been content to rest the question of the inspiration or canonical authority of the Sacred Scriptures merely, or even chiefly, on historical testimony. There is the internal evidence to which we referred at the beginning of this review. And, besides, there is what Dr. Gaussen terms the method of faith. The method of science appeals to history, that of faith appeals to doctrine. The two methods, he says, are sure, rational, and accessible, and each has its advantages; but he assigns the greater importance to the latter. "The most excellent, the most rational, the most indispensable, and the most sure, is the method of faith;" and to the consideration of this he devotes a large part of his learned and most instructive volume. Yet we are obliged to say, that this latter part of his work is not free from the faults which more or less cling to all German argument. It is at once diffuse and complicated. German scholars had yet to learn the grand simplicity of Paley, or the straightforward march, though somewhat heavy tread, of Whately. The materials, however, are abundant, and we must endeavour to place some of them before our readers in a less complicated and unembarrassed form.

We are not sure, however, that even this is not a needless labour. We might safely assume the aggressive, and challenge

the world to produce any other volume capable of causing the like effects upon society, morals, and the whole happiness and welfare of mankind; or to show, upon the other hand, that these effects, admitting their existence, which cannot be denied, are unworthy of a Divine original, to be traced in the existence of a written code proceeding from the hand of God. And then, with regard to Apocryphal writings, whether of the Old or New Testament, we may safely leave this question, too, to the decision of a no more inaccessible tribunal than that of plain common sense. Which of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament really deserves a place within the sacred canon? Which of the apocryphal gospels or epistles would not appear supremely contemptible if foisted into the New? The only apocryphal books which would stand the scrutiny for an instant, are those which in fact are nothing else than homilies, or commentaries, on some portion of the sacred text; Ecclesiasticus, for instance, on Ecclesiastes and the book of Proverbs. And the amazing inferiority of the commentary never appears so clearly as when we read it in the light of the canonical books themselves. Of the spurious New Testament books, only one, the Epistle to the Laodiceans, would even bear investigation. But, true or false, and of its falsehood we have no doubt, it is totally unimportant. For it is nothing more than a compilation: a few straggling sentences are collected by some unskilful hand from the various epistles of St. Paul, and formed into a short epistle. The Church of Rome must have fallen into a profound dotage before she accepted the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament as part of Scripture; and the infidelity must be desperate, indeed, which can gravely pretend to see little or no essential difference between the spurious gospels and epistles and those which were indited by the men who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. As to the writings even of the Apostolic Fathers, the gulf between them and the New Testament is, indeed, a yawning chasm; we never look into them without being reminded of Daille's memorable remark, that God has allowed a fosse to be drawn by human weakness around the sacred canon, to protect it from all invasion. And this fosse, if the reader will excuse a very homely expression, which he will find in our homily on tradition, is but a "stinking puddle" at the best, compared with that river the streams whereof make glad the city of our God.

The division of the subject which Dr. Gaussen adopts, has some advantages over that in general use amongst ourselves. There are arguments of great importance, which strictly belong neither to historical nor internal evidence. They are moral; they belong to the province of faith. Their weight will be felt in general rather by those who have some faith at least in the Scriptures, some degree of reverence for the Bible as

containing a revelation of God's will, than by unbelievers. To an Atheist they offer no evidence at all; but only because the state of his mind forbids him to accept the argument.

Such, for instance, is the argument from the Providential care which has been exercised in the preservation of the sacred volume. Let us examine this, both with reference to the Old and New Testaments. The argument as regards the Old Testament, is more familiar with us than that which regards the New. Yet we have to thank Dr. Gaussen for placing it, even as regards the former, in a stronger light. Some theologians, amongst whom we regret to name even Olshausen, have spoken of some books, once included in the canon, as having been "unfortunately lost." This admission would be fatal to the argument. But we deny that any have been lost. The admission is extremely rash; and after having read the answer given to it by Dr. Gaussen, our only feeling must be that of the greatest surprise that critics or scholars of any note should have made it. The Church, for a longer or a shorter time, may have suspended her judgment on the canonicity of this or that book of Scripture; but not an instance can be cited of any book once admitted into the canon that was afterwards excluded or lost. It is highly probable that the inspired writers of the Old Testament may have written many things not included in the canon; and the same admission may, perhaps, be made in reference to those of the New. But this, it is evident, is nothing to the purpose; even though we should grant that they likewise were inspired; for even then it would by no means follow that God designed them to form a part of the standing and permanent record of his will. Lardner, and Paley after him, have dwelt upon the singular fact, that the Jews should have been our librarians, jealous for the purity of that book in which their own sins are recorded, God's judgments against them denounced, and all their subsequent miseries and their abject disgrace foretold. Now, why was this? How did it come to pass, that the nation which, for a thousand years and more, hating their prophets all the while, raising up bitter persecutions against them, and not unfrequently putting them to death; yet never once entertained the thought of destroying or interdicting, or even garbling the prophecies they uttered?

Popery, too, has had its prophets and righteous men not a few. Some of them, after the Jewish fashion, it has slain with the sword, or smote asunder, or stoned them with stones that they died; but, with the men, they endeavoured, and sometimes successfully, to destroy their writings too. They hung their commentaries about their necks, when they led them to the stake. Piles of them they burnt to ashes, and scattered the blazing fragments to the winds. They put them in the Index

Expurgatorius, and forbad the faithful to look into them under penalties worse than death. Why did the Jews never attempt anything of this kind? We are not surprised that Isaiah and Jeremiah should have been put to death; but why were not their prophecies burnt before their eyes, and proscribed for ever? How is it that no such a thing was ever thought of?

The only instance of an indignity offered to their Scriptures, has found a place in the sacred word itself as a sin, a solitary sin of appalling magnitude, on the part of the wicked king* Jehudi, in which his people had no share. (Jer. xxxvi. 23.) From Moses to Malachi, none of the prophets utter a word which could lead to the suspicion that the Jews ever attempted, in their worst days, to make the slightest alteration in their sacred books! Every species of crime was committed by them; they were upbraided by their prophets for almost every possible sin, but never—not even once—for this. They seem to have been constantly approaching this climax of guilt, yet never to have reached it—never to have wished to reach it! From age to age they are rebuked as a stiff-necked people; they are uncircumcised in heart and ears and tongue; they are stubborn, rebellious, idolatrous, impudent, licentious, and unbelieving; but never do they lay sacrilegious hands upon their sacred books; never do they question their Divine authority, never attempt to mutilate their contents. How shall we explain this strange phenomenon? So many hateful transgressions, yet such unfaltering fidelity—a fidelity which our Lord Himself attests; and to which His apostles, too, bear witness. While Josephus crowns the evidence, in his treatise against Apion, after enumerating the books of the Old Testament, in these memorable words: "They maintain them even to death; none of them dare to add or take away anything?" How was this? The answer is given in a single text: "To them were *entrusted* the oracles of God!" ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ. The restraining hand of the Most High was upon them. It was one of His purposes in forming them into a distinct nation; and had they been as faithful, as they were disloyal to His sovereignty, the work could not have been better done.

* The roll which Jehudi cut with his penknife and cast into the fire, was written by Baruch, from the lips of Jeremiah, and did not yet form any part of the Jewish canon. Yet the reverence in which the prophet was held was such, that it was regarded as an act of horrible impiety, and some immediate token of the Divine displeasure seems to have been anticipated; for it is added, "yet they were not afraid, nor rent their garments; neither the king nor any of his servants that heard all these words." And it was not long before the expected vengeance overtook him. (See v. 27, 31.) The burnt roll was immediately rewritten from the lips of the prophet (v. 32), as if on purpose to show the impotence of men against what God designed to introduce into the sacred canon.

The same ever-watchful Providence has guarded the integrity of the *New* Testament through every age of its existence. In one respect, the unanimity of the Christian church is even more admirable than that of the Jews; their agreement is far more wonderful. Take the general councils and ecclesiastical synods. What is the heresy with which some of them have not been infected? What is the superstition which one or other of them has not sanctioned? Yet none have interfered with the integrity of the sacred canon. Not one of them has ventured to deny its claim to be the word of God. For more than fourteen centuries, never has any general council or synod of any particular church, Arian or Trinitarian, Romanist or Reformed, Free or National, been known to profess in its decrees or catechisms, that it rejected any book or books of the New Testament, or even publicly to express the slightest doubt respecting them. Dr. Gaussen calls this unanimity a prodigy; and so it is; a moral miracle, a divergence from the general laws which regulate free thought and action, to be explained only by referring it to the pressure of a secret but almighty hand. For here the unanimity is not only that of one nation, composed of one family, through various ages, but of churches drawn from all the families of the earth to whom the New Testament has been made known, through a long succession of ages. Yet the temptations have been strong, stronger in some respects than those which assailed the Jewish church. To them even the most terrible of the prophets held out some gleams of hope. "Israel should be gathered," after its ages of infamy. After all, "the mountain of the Lord's house" should be the metropolis of a regenerated world: "all nations should flow into it." But the New Testament contains no such predictions for apostate churches, no such gleams of hope for apostate families or men. Who can fail to see how much the church of Rome would have gained, if she could have introduced some of her traditions into the sacred canon itself, or reconciled them more exactly to the Scriptures by eliding certain portions of them. Why has she not done this? Why has she not even dared to make the attempt? Dr. Miller, in a lecture, recently published, on the silence and reserve of Scripture, has this striking and original remark: that all our differences on matters of church government and discipline might have been avoided, or rather never could have occurred, had the New Testament only contained a Christian Leviticus; a divine directory in matters of church order and church government. How is it, we ask, that when men's passions were so furiously excited against each other on questions of church discipline, no attempt was ever made to impose a Christian Leviticus upon the Church as part of the sacred canon? It may be said, the attempt would not have been successful; but how is it that the

attempt was never made? In the dark ages there were periods when it was at least as likely to succeed, with one great section of the Church, as the impositions of the spiritual headship of the pope, the lawfulness of image worship, or the doctrine of transubstantiation. It is not the probability of success either which is the point to be considered: it is the strange fact that the device was never thought of. To set up a code of tradition, and make it of equal authority with the canon,—or rather of higher authority, for it is the code which interprets the canon, not the canon which regulates the code,—was a daring, an audacious project, yet it succeeded perfectly. But to this day no attempt has been made to introduce the traditions of Rome, or of any church, nor yet their codes of internal administration and ecclesiastical government, into the canon of the New Testament. The solution of this wonderful unanimity is to be found in the New Testament itself. The Church, however corrupt, is still, in this respect, (and such, no doubt, is the meaning of the text,) "the pillar and ground of the truth;" a Pharos throwing the light of the lamp of life, however dim the reflection, over the dark waters of a benighted world. The Head of the Church has watched in silence over the oracles of the New Testament as over those of the Old. He has preserved them from age to age from the intrusion of human follies; and without any constraint of human authority he has bowed the heart of multitudes, in every age and of various races, as that of one man. His promise was, that the gates of hell should not prevail against His church; and in that promise was involved the preservation of His Word inviolate. Individuals, it is true, have attempted to disparage its authority; its inspiration is now denied even by some who profess Christianity; but when the question comes to be asked, What is the book around which the conflict rages? one answer only is given. Throughout the world there is only one sacred text. No sane man maintains a second, be his creed what it may. One volume only bears the shock of battle against "the gates of hell."

Dr. Gaussen pursues the argument through all its branches; but for these we must refer the reader to his volume, for it is time that we draw our observations to a close. Before we do so, we must notice, however, a very short but original argument in which he shows the application of this principle in the striking contrast between the errors of Rome regarding the Old Testament, and its fidelity regarding the New. Has sufficient attention, he asks, been paid to this surprising fact? How is it that neither the Fathers of the Council of Trent, nor others after them, have ever done, or wished to do, for the New Testament what they have effected so easily and so completely for the Old? They have added an apocryphal Old Testament

to the pure Word of God, why have they not made a similar addition to the New? It would have been much more for their advantage in their controversies with us; moreover, the undertaking would have been at once more plausible, more easy, and more defensible. How comes it to pass that they have never done it? Who has deprived them of the power, and who of the will? He then states at some length the facilities for the attempt, especially those afforded at the Council of Trent, when, by a single decree in the name of the Universal Church, it placed, and sheltered under the thunders of its anathema, eleven uninspired books on the canon of the Old Testament; books which the whole ancient church had always rejected. The audacious act has met with wonderful success; yet the temptations seem much greater to have added something to the New: it would have freed them from enormous difficulties; yet not a voice was raised to favour, or even to suggest, the attempt. Antecedently there was every reason to expect that the doctors of Rome, if they made any attempt against the Scriptures, would undertake it rather against the New Testament than the Old; why did the contrary happen? Why such eagerness for the one, such modest abstinence from the other?

"The difference comes from on high; the oracles of God contained in the Old Testament were entrusted to the Jews, good or bad, and not to Christians; the oracles of God contained in the New Testament are confided to Christian churches, good or bad: in the one case, God loosens the reins, in the other he holds them in; and since the canon was fixed, He has never permitted any church in Christendom to vacillate in its testimony. However learned or however ignorant it may be, He deprives it of the power or of the will; so that you may almost say of Christian churches what Josephus said of the Jews, 'Never did any dare to take away, or add, or transpose, anything.' The churches, then, have been faithful to their trust for the last 1500 years, as the Jewish people have been to theirs for the last thirty-four centuries; God controlling, on this one point, the indocility of both, by an influence to which they are subject without feeling it. And just as God, to render this fidelity of the Jews more manifestly providential, exhibits it to us in the midst of their constant revolt; so, to render the fidelity of the Church of Rome respecting the New Testament more divinely significant, and at the same time to confound her foolish assumption of being the infallible interpreter of both Testaments, God has given her up, in regard to the Old Testament, with which she was not entrusted, to a spirit of error; so that if with one hand she deposits impurity in the collection of Moses and the prophets, with the other she still holds out to us, in their perfect integrity, all the oracles of the New Testament, in which her revolt is found predicted as that of the Jewish people was in the oracles of the Old Testament."

A multitude of solemn thoughts will present themselves unsought as we lay down such a book as this of Dr. Gaussen. Of these it is probable two will claim the foremost place. If the sacred canon has thus from age to age been taken under the special care and provident keeping of an Almighty guardian, how precious must be its contents! Such will be the first reflection; and the second will be this—How great must be the sin, not only of those who utterly neglect these records of eternal life, but of those who handle them in a captious, or even a daring and irreverent spirit!

To these, in conclusion, we must add a third; we are afraid that, except amongst the ministers of religion, and a few, a very few, of the choicest of their flocks, there is but little real, hearty, persevering, *study* of the word of God. Nothing has surprised us more, through a ministry which has not been short, than the facility with which it is possible for the weakest objector "to overthrow the faith of some," for at least a season; the most flimsy novelties, the most superficial criticisms—not, indeed, worthy of the name—bewilder and distract them. They have no firm grasp of Scripture. They love it, and cleave to it, and dabble in daily readings of it; but how few are "mighty in the Scriptures." How few have done more than merely to scratch the surface; yet those who do so return laden with the gold of Ophir, yea, with richer spoils than earth-born similitudes can represent,—"More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold, sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb: moreover, by them is thy servant warned, and in keeping of them there is great reward."

CORRESPONDENCE.

SELF-EXALTATION IN RELIGIOUS BODIES.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

Sir,—Without any disposition to extenuate the doctrinal errors of the Plymouth Brethren, which I believe to be pregnant with mischief to those who hold them, I cannot but consider one of the worst features in their system to be that spirit of self-exaltation which it tends to foster, and which never failed to call forth, when witnessed, the sternest rebukes and the severest denunciations from Him who "spake as never man spake." If the Pharisee who went up to the temple to pray, and in the pride of his self-exaltation thanked God that he was not as other men are, returned to his house unpardoned and unblest,

can we suppose that the guest in a Christian family who declines no social intercourse but that in which the knee is bent in adoration, and a blessing invoked from the one God and Father of all in the name of the one Mediator Jesus Christ—can we suppose, I ask, such an one to stand approved in his isolation by Him whose eye can detect the pride which may be lurking under the plea of defective purity and spirituality in the worship refused? And then, with regard to their worshipping assemblies, if the spirit which pervades them in reference to other congregations of Christians be too much akin to that of some of old who said, in the presumption of their own superior enlightenment, "This people who knoweth not the law are cursed," can we imagine that the Divine blessing will rest upon their assemblies, and that their worship will be approved and accepted? I am aware that there is something very imposing in the assumption of high spirituality; but religious sentiment is not spirituality, though it is often mistaken for it. A mind truly spiritual is a counterpart of the mind which was in Christ Jesus; and where the Spirit of Christ is, there will be genuine humility, deep self-abasement, and entire self-renunciation. There will be a disposition to esteem others better than ourselves. When, therefore, we see the reverse of all this—when we see individuals judging individuals, and churches passing judgment upon churches, in direct contravention of the divine command, "Judge not, that ye be not judged,"—what shall we say? There may, indeed, be a high tone of religious sentiment, there may be the fervour of strongly excited feeling; but with all this there may be no true spirituality in the individual or in the Church. The Spirit of Christ, which is a Spirit of union and a Spirit of love, may be absent from both; and with all their high pretensions, "He that holdeth the seven stars in His right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks," may testify of the one and the other that they are "none of His."—Yours faithfully,

Aug. 4th, 1862. J. E. C.

HARMONY OF THE REVELATIONS OF ST. JOHN AND ST. PAUL.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

Sir,—The following paper, if you will accept it, may perhaps assist in promoting a still closer investigation of the revealed will of God as to the momentous future:—

Taking the Revelation of St. John to be, in a series of signs and symbols, a prophetical history of the Church of Christ from the time it was imparted, to the consummation of all things, what, in plain language, are its leading points?

First, it foretels—what has come to pass—the bloody persecution of the Church by Pagan Rome; with the punishment of the persecutors; ending in the decline and downfal of the Roman Empire.

It next foretels—what has also come to pass—the rise of Rome Papal; with its persecutions and its punishment; ending in—what is

not yet * fully consummated—the decline and downfal of its temporal power; to be followed by the overthrow, in a great conflict with the Word of God, of the spiritual power and errors of the Church of Rome.

When this spiritual triumph shall have taken place, and all opposition to the Truth from every quarter shall have been overcome and removed, the Word of God, the everlasting Gospel, will have free course, and be spread over the face of the whole earth; the power of Satan will be, not partially, as before, but wholly restrained; and the spiritual kingdom of Christ upon earth will come in all its universality and perfection; and so will continue for a very long period,—the mystical period of a thousand years.

At the termination of that blessed period, before the opening of the great day of Christ's second coming to judge the world, there will be a short and terrible season of general falling away from the faith; Satan will be let loose from his restraint, and will go out to deceive the whole world, of which Gog is represented as prince, and Magog as the people. This great embodiment and representative of evil will openly rise up against Christ and against His Church,† and would overthrow it, but for the miraculous intervention of the Almighty, who with the blasting of the breath of His displeasure will destroy him and his people.

Then, and not till then, will come the last day; the Judgment; and the end.

Such, briefly, is the Revelation of St. John; and as all Holy Scripture was indited by one and the self-same Omniscient Spirit of truth, it is not surprising, it is, rather, inevitable, that with this prophetical narrative of coming events, the revelations imparted to St. Paul should fully agree.

To take one most important instance of agreement,—that of the great apostacy from the faith *after* the predicted millennium of holiness and of freedom from the power of Satan, and immediately before the opening of the last day.

The Thessalonian believers were disturbed at the thought of the imminent and actual approach, as they had been erroneously induced to believe, of that fearful day. "No," says St. Paul, "that cannot be. It is a thing quite impossible; for, before that event the great apostacy is to take place; and then, after that, and not till then, will the day of the Lord come."

The whole passage, slightly paraphrased, runs thus: "Now with reference to the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ and our gathering together unto Him, we beseech you, brethren, that ye be not, thus quickly after my former epistle, so shaken in mind or troubled, either by spirit or by word or by letter as from us, as to suppose that the day of the Lord is actually at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means; for that day shall not come except there first come the predicted falling away from the faith, and the open revelation of the man

* 1862.

† "In fine extremitatis dierum" (says the Jerusalem Targum, quoted by Alford) Gog, as Antichrist, will go up with Magog and with his armies to Jerusalem, against the Messiah. And when questioned by the Messiah as to their purpose,—"Ad quid huc venistis?" respondebunt, "Adversus dominum et adversus Christum ejus."

of sin, the son of perdition, the adversary of Christ, he who exalteth himself above every one who is called God or is worshipped, so that he as God seateth himself in God's temple, declaring of himself that *he* is God and none else. Remember ye not that when I was yet with you I told you these things? And now ye know—for you must surely call to mind my saying—that what restraineth* the outbreak of that man of sin for the present is the determinate counsel and interposition of God Himself; in order that in his own appointed time, and not before, he may be openly revealed to the world. For the Mystery of Iniquity, the unseen parent and promoter of evil, is even now at work, secretly. But this secret working will only last till He † who now restraineth shall withdraw,‡ and cease to interpose. And then shall Satan be let loose on the world, and that wicked one, his instrument of all evil, shall be revealed and come forth; he, whom the Lord shall consume with the breath of His mouth, and shall destroy with the visible manifestation of His coming; he, whose coming accords with the evident working of Satan within him, in all power and signs and lying wonders, and in all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish, because they received not the love of the Truth, that they might be saved. And for this reason, because of their unrighteous willingness to be deceived, God permitteth them to fall away, sending them a delusion so effectual in its operation that they will believe the lie of the Man of Sin, that *he* is God and none else; and so fall down and worship him; that they all might be judged and condemned who believed not the Truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness."

S. Smith.

Lois-Weedon.

FALSE DOCTRINES UNAWARES BROUGHT IN.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

Dear Sir,—It is not without reason that you have called the attention of your readers, in some recent articles, to the grievous errors which are now stealing in upon the Church, on vital doctrines, such as justification by faith, and the work of the Holy Spirit. In the growing, and in some respects not unreasonable, dislike of systems and systematic writers, there is some danger lest we should be left at the mercy of a school of theologians of whom frowardness and feebleness are the most striking peculiarities. And these, I am sorry to say, are not confined to any one class or denomination; they are growing up within our own Church as well as amongst Plymouth Brethren and wild Revivalists. I have lately fallen in with a series of tracts published by Wertheim and Co. (whose respectable name is seldom attached to unsound divinity,) which, for obscurity, if not for positive false doctrine, are nearly on a par with some of the Plymouth

* τὸ κατέχον.

† ὁ κατέχων.

‡ ἐκ μέσου γένηται,—a simple idiomatic phrase, very clearly interpreted in Stephens (Thes. article μεσος). "'ἐκ μέσου γίνεσθαι,—è medio discedere; vel, uno verbo, secedere;" to withdraw.

school publications you have so justly censured. One of these, "The Apostolic Preaching Exemplified, No. 11," betrays in the first sentence the self-sufficiency so painfully conspicuous in these our new reformers. He says, "Among a dozen of those who profess, or even preach, what they call the Gospel, it would be easy to find a dozen different meanings annexed to the word; and no two of them intending the same thing by what they all term the Gospel of Christ." This is more than uncharitable; it is a violent exaggeration; and one is not surprised to find it followed up by an explanation of the Gospel which is extremely incorrect. The statement is this: I give it in his own words:—

"Thus, according to that Gospel which Paul and the other Apostles preached, any sinner whatsoever, who *believes* what they testify concerning Jesus Christ, has the forgiveness of all his sins—though he were to that moment the most wicked wretch on earth;—is at peace with God, and justified, or accepted as righteous in His sight, on account of that work of righteousness which Christ has finished, in the stead of the ungodly, for their justification before God. And, on the other hand, any sinner whatsoever who *disbelieves* their doctrine on this subject,—however respectable he may be among men, even for zeal and strictness in religion, and however righteous in his own esteem,—is yet in his sins, and 'the wrath of God abideth on Him.' (John iii. 36.)"

No, Sir; it is not the belief of the testimony concerning Christ which brings either peace or pardon. It is faith, not in the message, but in Him of whom the message speaks. The distinction is so obvious and so important, that, unless I had read such statements as these, I should have thought it impossible that any serious writer would have overlooked it.

A weary traveller perishing of thirst, in a strange land, is informed by persons in every way worthy of implicit confidence, that there are wells of water in a certain place which is pointed out to him. He sets his face thitherward. Heart and soul he believes their testimony. But does his raging thirst cease the moment that he hears and believes the glad tidings? Or has it ceased at all, or will it cease, until he reaches the fountain itself? Or even then, unless he drinks? It is absurd gravely to maintain such a position. Even so in spiritual things. It is not the message that saves, nor faith in the message; it is faith in Him of whom the message speaks, even in Christ. "If any man thirst, let him *come to me* and drink." "Whosoever drinketh of the *water that I shall give him* shall never thirst."

It signifies nothing to answer that there are passages in the word of God which speak of the message itself as giving life. It does so in a certain sense. Just as it might be said of the traveller, that he believed the information and saved his life; so it is actually said of the believer, "the Gospel doth now save *him*." It saves him by directing him to the Saviour. Had he never heard of the fountain, he could never have drunk of the waters. There is not a text in the Bible, which, taken in connexion with its context, can receive any other construction. Nor is there one in the whole of the New Testament which tells us that faith *in the message* does *that instant* give either peace or pardon, or that of its own proper virtue it ever gives it at all.

But of what importance is the distinction? Of the utmost importance. It is this false notion, that belief in the message brings

salvation, which has been the cause of all those excesses that have so dishonoured Christ, by leading persons, destitute alike of true repentance and saving faith, to the boast of their own sudden conversion. It has been this which taught them to put a mere historical faith or assent in the placing of that reliance on the Atoning Sacrifice by which alone is the sinner justified. Thus Satan is bringing into discredit that real work of the Spirit, as I firmly believe it to have been, which was lately manifested so graciously both in Ireland, in Scotland, and at home.

Tract No. 111, "On the Scriptural Fear of the Lord," has, with the same superciliousness, a good deal of the same loose and inaccurate kind of teaching, especially on the work of the Holy Spirit. Some things stated are not very intelligible; as in the following sentence, for example:—"*The comfort of the Holy Ghost*, or that which the Holy Spirit of God communicates to His people, is imparted from the view of the glory of God, revealed in the work and character of Jesus Christ, as testified in the Scriptures." And, on the next page:—"The peace of God in the conscience is that peace which the persuasion of His truth produces." Neither of these statements, so far as I understand them, is at all correct. The comfort of the Holy Ghost is imparted directly by the Holy Ghost Himself, as sent down by the Lord Jesus, the great Intercessor, according to His promise, "I will send him unto you." The peace of God is not "the result of our persuasion of (God's) truth," or of any persuasion whatever. It is the gift of the Lord Himself, "shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost given unto us."

These, Sir, are no trifling errors. If any of your readers should think so, I can only say, in the words of the tract before me, that "there is a constant propensity in the human heart to turn aside from the glorious hope of the Gospel, even after having known it, and to be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ Jesus." But I will *not* add, because I do not believe, that "the warning is the more abundantly needful at this day, from the mass of *divinity* that is current under the name of *Evangelical*, calculated to foster that propensity, and sanctioning its principles." The men who preach unsound doctrine or lead unholy lives, are seldom proud of enrolling themselves with Evangelical Christians! Such, at least, is my experience; and I am now

AN OLD MINISTER.

UNCONDITIONAL SPIRITUAL REGENERATION BY BAPTISM CONTRARY TO THE ARTICLES AND PRAYER BOOK.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—Perceiving in your August Number two letters on the subject of Baptismal Regeneration, may I remind your readers that in the pages of the *Christian Observer* for November, 1848, pp. 721—728, I was allowed to accept Bishop Blomfield's challenge, and to show that unconditional spiritual regeneration by baptism is contrary to the Articles and Prayer Book. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in March, 1850, endorsed that view of the case,

viz., that the plain and obvious import of the Collects is opposed to the *opus operatum* view.

A Scottish Presbyterian Free Kirk reviewer, in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* for March, 1854, states that whatever else may be, the view of the Bishop of Exeter is *not*, the view of the Baptismal Service itself. (See pp. 149—150.)

I never could make out why the Church homily for Whit-Sunday was not quoted in the Gorham case. As regards the Church catechism, Dean Goode has shown that Bishop Nicholson, one of the Convocation Committee appointed to revise the Prayer Book, on 21st November, 1661, draws a distinction between nominal and true members of Christ, &c.; and this in a work dedicated to Archbishop Sheldon. The same distinction appears in the Church homily on Fear of Death, part i., p. 83. which teaches that it is a "true Christian man," who is the "very member of Christ," &c. Bishop Pearson, one of the Episcopalian divines at the Savoy Conference in 1661, teaches that the saints are regenerated by faith. (On the Creed, ix. p. 528.) All these, and many similar facts, are ignored by Mr. J. C. Fisher in his work on "Liturgical Purity." I took the trouble of replying in detail to Mr. Fisher's book, as regards the revision of 1661, in nine letters to the *Church Chronicle* of 1858, Nos. 15, 17—24. I maintain that, on the Evangelical principles, the Prayer Book was very much improved in 1661. The bishops evidently noted down a great many of the remarks of the Puritans at the Savoy Conference, and though they defended their own position *then*, yet they made the concessions in Convocation to a great extent; and they took many ideas from the Puritans' *Directory*, such as the petition then inserted in the baptismal service, that God would "sanctify" the water to the mystical or symbolical washing away of sin. For the notion of "consecrating" the bread and wine at the Communion, with the ceremonial of taking and blessing the elements, we have to thank the Puritans at the Savoy Conference, and their *Directory* and *Westminster Confession*. Also for the restoration of the declaration against transubstantiation, the term "corporal presence" being derived from the Puritans' standards. (See Cardwell, pp. 321, 363.)

From Cardwell, pp. 314—363, it seems that out of about sixty-one proposals of the Puritans at the Savoy Conference, about twenty-seven were adopted, in a greater or less degree, by Convocation.

I would observe, that Dr. Stephen Jenner argues that the phrase, "seeing now that," is an inferential rather than an affirmative form of declaration; (had it been the latter, it would have been "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to regenerate this infant by water and the Holy Ghost," &c.) as if it were, Since we may now infer that this child is spiritually regenerate, the prayer of faith having been professedly offered, and the child laid under covenant obligations to give evidence thereof in the fulfilment of the baptismal vow, or to forfeit all claim to be considered so; i. e. he is conditionally regenerate. Personally, however, I adopt the view of a sacramental or ecclesiastical regeneration.

I much regret that Rev. C. Simeon, in his *Horæ Homileticæ*, vol. ii. No. 135, p. 198, in one of his sermons on the Liturgy, should have incautiously asserted that the popular evangelical use of the term regeneration is modern, and that the *English Churchman*, No. 1011,

of 15th May, 1862, should have quoted Mr. Simeon against the Evangelical view! I can show that the "Evangelical" use of the term is as old as Clement of Rome, Clement of Alexandria, and Cyril of Jerusalem; and it also appears in our Church homily for Whit-Sunday, and in Hooker, Pearson, and Paley. Indeed, Bishop Bradford's *Discourse on Baptismal and Spiritual Regeneration*, No. 93 on the list of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, (of which the bishop, who died in 1731, was one of the founders,) separates spiritual regeneration from baptism. But I must not run on;—and remain, Dear Sir, Your's truly,

C. H. Davis.

Nailsworth; 19th August, 1862.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

Charles and Josiah: or, Friendly Conversations between a Churchman and a Quaker. Bell & Daldy. 1862.—Charles is a Churchman, Josiah is a Quaker. Charles was born of Quaker parents, but left the Society, and now dates from Trinity College, Dublin. Josiah is a real Quaker, or was so while he lived. The discussions are real discussions, such as once actually took place; and, that nothing may be wanting, these paper controversies have been submitted to a Quaker friend, who has suggested such changes as he thought necessary on the Quaker side of the argument. The result is before us in a calm, clever, and (to churchmen) convincing series of conversations, in all of which the Quaker gets the worst of it.

But how would it have fared with Charles, if he had had a J. J. Gurney for his opponent; or some other shrewd and by no means unlearned Friend? and to many such, from the narrow circle of our own acquaintances, we could have favoured him with an introduction. We are surprised that a person of his sagacity did not perceive, without waiting for the information at our hands, that if his aim be anything higher than to "slay the slain," he has wasted his strength to no purpose. Of course he beats the Quaker. If any "foeman worthy of his steel" of the Quaker school should draw the intellectual sword against him,—Quakers are good at this kind of exercise,—of course the tables will be turned, and Charles will go to the wall.

Nothing can be more fallacious than these paper victories, in which the writer, if not, as generally happens, judge, witnesses, counsel and jury all in one, still prescribes the line of argument, the topics, and the mode of treating them. Who does not see that a living opponent would have broken loose; would have demanded in his turn to be the aggressor; would have parried many a thrust, and given instead some unexpected blows where least expected. If Charles had written, with the temper and good sense which his book displays, a refutation of Quakerism, he would at least have produced a useful treatise on one side of the question. But no Quaker, we suspect, will lay aside his thee's and thou's in consequence of seeing his principles made a sort of "Aunt Sally,"—set up only to be knocked down again. In a word, if you have only a child to deal with and to instruct, use the catechet-

ical, or, what is much the same, the conversational style. It will give no offence. But beware of trying it upon a sensible working man, even in a religious tract. Or if you must, then for pity's sake give him the best of the argument now and then, just to keep him in good temper. But of all mortal men, try it not upon a Quaker. He makes no rash concessions—nor concessions of any kind. He carries the matter home, and considers and reconsiders it.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

PARLIAMENT was prorogued early in the month, and we have no political news of importance to relate. It is the fashion to decry the session as dull and useless; and if Parliament assembled only with a view to entertain the public, and especially that thriving portion of it which can afford to spend half the day in the study of the newspaper, there might be some truth in the charge. There were few grand debates, and not one exciting conflict. But measures of great importance were discussed; several acts were passed which we believe will have a good effect in promoting our social welfare, and above all, the state of our foreign relations with our own colonies, with Europe, and with America, were fully discussed. It is not by what Parliament has done that the importance of the session is to be determined, so much as by what it has not done. It has not embroiled us with America, nor rashly interfered between Garibaldi and his king, nor thrown us anew into the Eastern difficulty between Turkey and the wild tribes which at no distant day seem to threaten her destruction; nor have we by foolish interference exasperated the wounds of Austria and midland Europe. We have peace within our borders, and we owe it to the calmness and good sense of Parliament—qualities far more valuable, in English estimation, than any amount of eloquence—and to the wisdom of Lord Palmerston's foreign policy. Of those measures which have failed, we regret most Mr. Newdegate's church-rate commutation bill; not that it was quite satisfactory upon every point, but that it came nearer to a fair and practicable adjustment of the question than any scheme which has been proposed. Mr. Newdegate would make the rate a charge directly upon real property; and as his basis, he would take the average amount of church-rates upon the property liable to such rates in England and Wales. During a period of twenty years, this average amounts, after diligent calculation, he finds, to twopence in the pound; and "twopence in the pound," he says, "I would reserve out of the value of real property liable to church-rates, to the use of the parishioners for the purposes of church-rate." We cannot follow the bill into all its particulars. It contemplates, however, "the eventual commutation of the charge thus substituted for church-rate into an endowment for each parish, the proceeds of which shall be applicable to the purposes of church-rates; on the creation of which endowment the charge substituted for church-rate shall cease." We observe with much regret that Mr. Newdegate finds it necessary to exempt from this charge on real property all parishes in which no church-rate has been levied for (say) seven years;

but at the same time he would "give to two-thirds of the inhabitants of such parishes power to claim that this exemption shall be cancelled and cease." This would only transfer the war from the House of Commons to Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, where it might rage for generations, smouldering at intervals and breaking out with new bitterness whenever local politics warmed it into life. The bill was withdrawn, on the understanding that Mr. Newdegate should reintroduce and reprint it with amendments. If the American civil war has taught us no other lesson, we believe that it has taught all reasonable politicians the vanity of a republic, and all moderate men the value of an established church. We cannot forego the opportunity to draw attention to the subject in the simple yet truly eloquent words in which Mr. Newdegate concludes:—

"The Legislature of this country, as of all civilised States, has recognised the great fact, of which the whole history of mankind proves the existence, that religion is a necessity of man. There scarcely is an instance of a people so barbarous, so idiotic, as not to have recognised this craving for religion. That craving is the primary evidence of the immortality of the soul. It is a recognition of a future state, which is inherent in man's nature; it is not of earth, earthy, but proves the composite nature of man as an immortal being.

"Sir, the Legislature of this country will never, I trust, be tempted to ignore the fact that religion is a necessity of man; and if it is so, shall we in this wealthy country consider it prudent or politic to leave the poorer classes, the great producers of its wealth, witnesses of our luxury, but, so far as this great necessity is concerned, themselves unprovided, destitute of spiritual provision? Look to the history of this country, and you will find that the Church, whether in its primitive form before the Norman conquest, whether in its Papal form during the Mediæval period, whether in its present form since the Reformation, has ever been the prime element for securing the freedom and happiness of the community. Sir, it is with the view to re-establishing some secure provisions for the maintenance of the fabrics and services of the Church, and at the same time to removing the present liability, which has for so many years been considered a grievance, that I ask the House and the Government to allow this Bill to be read a second time."

The bishop of Oxford has issued an "Injunction," "as Ordinary," through his two archdeacons, to the clergy of his diocese, which, giving his lordship full credit for the best intentions, we must still think would, if submitted to, have formed a very dangerous precedent. The Injunction is of sufficient importance to claim a place upon our pages:—

"Cuddesdon Palace, July 30th.

"My dear Mr. Archdeacon,—

"May I request you to communicate to the clergy of your archdeaconry the following Injunction from me as Ordinary:—

"That, on the Sunday after the receipt of it, they give notice to their congregations, at the conclusion of the *Nicene Creed*, in these terms:—

"'You are earnestly desired to make your humble supplications to Almighty God, who is the author of peace and lover of concord, that He will promote peace among our brethren in America, and inspire their hearts with Christian unity and fellowship.

"'*To allow of which prayer a short pause will for the present be made* after the suffrage in the Litany, "That it may please Thee to give to all nations unity, peace, and concord;" and also in the prayer "for all sorts and conditions of men;" after the words, "we commend to Thy fatherly goodness all those who are in any "ways afflicted or distressed in mind, body, of estate."'

"I am, my dear Mr. Archdeacon, your faithful friend and brother,

"S. Oxon."

We think it must be evident, that if a bishop have the power to interfere thus far, he may go further. If he may, by his Injunction as Ordinary, interrupt the prescribed service of the church for the

recital of a prayer, however excellent and appropriate in this instance, other bishops may introduce, in the same manner, petitions on disputable points, political, or doctrinal, or social, as the case may be. We might then have, in neighbouring dioceses, bishops taking the most opposite views of the same question; embodying those views in injunctions, and commanding prayer to be made accordingly. Rival preaching has always been held a great scandal, and is forbidden by the canon. What would be thought of a rivalry of prayers? And yet, absurd as it may seem to suggest anything so unseemly, there would be nothing to hinder, were the authority of the Ordinary to interfere on this point once conceded. Not only the independence of the clergy, but that of the laity, unless they meant to be contumacious, would lie at the bishop's feet. Mr. H. Seymour, feeling thus upon the subject, twice called the attention of government to it in the house of Commons; and not having obtained a satisfactory answer, he submitted the case for the joint opinion of Dr. A. J. Stephens, Q.C., and Mr. Jebb; who "are of opinion: 1, that the bishop has not a legal right to enjoin the clergy of his diocese to make the two pauses specified to his archdeacons; and 2, that the clergy of the diocese of Oxford could not be punished by the laws ecclesiastical for disobeying such Injunction." After referring to the Act of Uniformity, the canons, and various cases bearing upon these points, they conclude that if the bishop of Oxford's injunction be legal, then the principle of "one uniform order of common service and prayer for the whole realm" would be destroyed; we should no longer have "but one use." On the contrary, "in the forty dioceses of England and Ireland every possible diversity might be introduced in case the several bishops should think proper to direct similar pauses, but with different objects, to be introduced in different parts of the public services." Neither "do they think it can be maintained that the Injunction simply requests the congregation to apply mentally the ordinary prayer to a special case." The notice given to the congregation specifies the nature, and suggests the words, of the humble supplications the congregation is desired to make. "These humble supplications are tantamount, in effect, to an audible petition, made by the minister in the name of all; for though nothing is said openly, an actual incident of public worship takes place; during the pauses the congregation prays." And for these reasons they are of the opinion we have given above.

In Ireland, crimes of violence, murders and assassinations in open day, are now so common as to pass, on this side the channel, almost unheeded. Who can be surprised? A Romish bishop issues a pastoral professing to denounce what are now mildly called agrarian outrages; but he contrives to insinuate that the greatest assassins of the present day are the English government. A priest follows Dr. MacHale a few weeks after, who tells the people in effect, and almost in plain words, that those who deprive them of the means of supporting themselves and their families ought to be got rid of; adding, with a profane appeal to the Almighty, that this is a kind of justice which he himself should not hesitate to administer. In a few days he finds it prudent to explain his meaning, and to withdraw his oath; but the work has been done, and will bear its fruit, as the priest well knows. Between the bishop and the priest, in this matter of treason, the principle of a division of labour seems well understood. In the face of

such facts as these, it is something more than simplicity to attempt to persuade ourselves that the Romish clergy in Ireland are entirely innocent of these foul murders. It is hopeless, however, to prosecute the subject; for the apathy of Protestants is now profound. Mr. McGhee has just published a letter to Lord Palmerston on "Ultramontanism, past and present," which ought to make a deep impression. For every statement he makes is distinctly proved by a reference to facts, dates, and authorities, from which no sophistry can escape; and they show that all the bishops and priests in Ireland are bound to observe inviolably all the canons of the Church by the solemn obligation of an oath; that under the canon law all heretics are excommunicated, though tolerated for a time; but the moment that any individual is mentioned by name as denounced from the altar, the protection of the law is removed, and the bolt of the Church's excommunication is suffered to fall upon his head; that is, he is virtually delivered to the secular arm, the power of which, as far as we can judge, is lodged in the hands of the Ribbonmen of Ireland. The Roman Catholic bishops, no doubt, met in synod in May last, and issued a "decree on secret societies;" but on a careful examination it will appear that their resolutions do not touch the Ribbonmen. The only real denunciation is against societies inimical to the Pope. The only crimes truly deprecated are not murders, not transgressions of British law, or revolts against British government, but all offences committed, whether in Ireland "or in other lands," against the temporal power of the Pope. It was in June after this synod that bishop M'Hale stepped forward with his infamous pastoral.

Garibaldi has broken lose in Italy; and has set up his standard in defiance of king Victor, to the cry of "Rome or death." The latter, it is too probable, will be, if not his own fate, that of his misguided followers. We heartily wish that he were at Rome, and in safe possession; so, too, no doubt, does Victor Emanuel in his heart; but, as was said of our own king George nearly a hundred years ago, there is a power behind the throne greater than the throne itself. The emperor Napoleon may secretly wish for the same thing; but powerful as he seems, he dare not lift a finger to accomplish it. He cannot even venture to connive at Garibaldi's movements. With all his authority, he is the mere creature of the Jesuits; he must do their bidding, or his throne is not safe beneath him; and their bidding is, that he shall keep the Pope upon his throne. It is the quit-rent that he pays for his own crown, probably for his own life; and till some happy circumstance shall extricate him from his bondage, Italy has only to submit, and Garibaldi must be the victim.

The American civil war, in all its bearings, occupies so much of our present number, that we are spared the necessity of returning to the painful subject. Every day the prospects of the North grow worse, and both North and South become more exasperated and more revengeful; the North taking the lead in the indulgence of the most hateful passions as their prospect of success fades before them. A war meeting was held at Washington on the 6th of August, at which President Lincoln was present, and took, indeed, a part in the proceedings, when resolutions were adopted scarcely less ferocious than the worst of those which disgraced the atheistic revolution in France. They would create a feeling of the deepest horror amongst us, if it

were not that the cowardice of the speakers is, probably, equal to their wickedness; and horror gives way to disgust. One of their resolutions is this: "We deliberately and solemnly declare that, rather than witness an overthrow of the Union, *we would prosecute the present war until our towns and cities should be desolated*, and we and all that are dear to us should have perished with our possessions. Let the Union be preserved, *or the country be made a desert.*" Of this catastrophe there is no danger; such vauntings go for nothing, and we know their worth. But another resolution says: "We are convinced that the leaders of the rebellion will never return to their allegiance, and, therefore, they should be regarded and treated *as irreclaimable traitors, who are to be stripped of their possessions, and deprived of their lives, or expelled from the country.*" If there are Christian men in England who can read this without a thrill of the deepest indignation, we are not of the number. We cannot call evil good, and good evil; we cannot put darkness for light, and light for darkness, because the men who recommend such atrocities chance to be our "transatlantic cousins." So are the Southern states, whose failings we have never spared. They are "transatlantic cousins," too; the fathers, brothers, sisters, and blood relations of the wretched men who consign them to destruction; who dare to utter in the presence of their chief magistrate, let it remembered, and before high Heaven itself, this appalling sentiment, worthy only of a tribe of scalping savages. We will repeat here the sentiments which we find in a provincial newspaper; for it is right that America should understand what are the sentiments of all classes in the mother country:—"Is it, indeed, the citizens of a Christian country who deliberately express such aspirations? or have the souls of some of the extirpated redskinned aborigines transmigrated into the bosoms of the enlightened 'pale faces' who have civilised the savages off the face of the earth? In other words, is 'war to the knife' to be the practice, if not the motto, in this truly fratricidal contest; at all events, so far as the Union itself is concerned?"

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The writer of the article on Gregory I., &c., in the August No. of the Christian Observer, erroneously stated that Malvenda, like Ribera and Suarez, was a Spanish *Jesuit*. He wishes us to say, that Malvenda was a Spanish *Dominican*; among whose works is one, *De Antichristo*. Ribera was the author of a Commentary *In B. Joannis Apostoli et Evangelistæ Apocalypsin.*

We thank AN OLD RETIRED RECTOR; though we can hardly agree with him that "the getting rid of the Sponsorial Stipulations" would "give peace in our own Church," to say nothing of dissenters.

The friend who writes to us from KILKENNY is also entitled to our cordial acknowledgments.

We are requested to reprint a short paper on a noisy subject—bell-ringing. We never reprint anything. But we are not sorry to have the opportunity of saying that the bells of a parish church cannot be legally rung without the joint consent of the Wardens and Incumbent. Either party may check the other, and silence the belfry till the Ordinary has decided the question. We are very glad to add, on the authority of the said document, that Dr. Vaughan has forbidden the ringing of the peal of his parish church at the Doncaster races.

A SUBSCRIBER OF NEARLY HALF-A-CENTURY did not reach us till our present No. was nearly printed off. Perhaps he will agree with us, that Mr. Davis's *letter* is a sufficient reply.

THE

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THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION: ITS LESSONS.

To regard the International Exhibition of the present year without feelings of satisfaction, would be impossible. So vast and various are the manifestations presented of the power of mind over matter, that the eye is dazzled, the attention distracted, the mind oppressed. One knows not where to begin the survey; and as for ending, it is hopeless. Those who have spent days within its several compartments retire with the impression that they have had but a glimpse of its wonders. What endless forms of beauty and grandeur; what exquisite specimens of workmanship; what marvellous imitations of nature; what skilful combinations of thought and contrivance; what elaborate developments of art and science on every side! The ingenuities of the brain and the achievements of the hand, gathered from every civilized nation, in ten thousand forms, exact the admiration of the passers by. There we see how the soil on which we tread—of which we ourselves are made, and to which we must soon return—can be fashioned into the most beautiful models, or the most useful articles, both for ministering to our necessities and for the gratification of our tastes. There it may be seen how the trees of the field, after they have adorned the landscape and contributed to the salubrity of the atmosphere, turn, under human skill and labour, into things of comfort and elegance for our homes: how metals hidden deep in the bowels of the earth can be brought to light and manipulated into a thousand instruments for domestic purposes, into gigantic machinery to accelerate motion upon land and water, and alas! into the deadliest weapons of destruction. There we may behold stones which had lain for ages unobserved upon the sea shore, in mountain streams, or in caverns, now, under the operations of human skill

and industry, presenting to the eye jewels of the most perfect crystallization and most brilliant colours, all, marvellous as they are, outshone by the single diamond, suggesting, as it flashes upon the eye, the highest idea of condensed wealth. What years of labour, what ages of thought, what treasures of research and traditionary knowledge, are accumulated within those walls! How delightful to gaze upon ten thousand victories, bloodless victories, of mind over matter; peaceful triumphs, not unattended, indeed, with dangers and sorrows incidental to experiment and toil, but unstained by deeds of guilt and shame! And what thoughtful man, as he looks upon that magnificent display of thought and skill, of toil and perseverance, upon that marvellous selection of things grand, things beautiful, things useful, all contributing to the happiness of the world, can fail to see in it a manifestation of Almighty Goodness in the bestowal of such gifts upon our race, as well as a striking result of that impulse which He has given, especially in our days, to use those gifts for the general good?

2. This International Exhibition is not only to be viewed with wonder and delight as a demonstration of human power and industry; it must also be regarded as a representative idea of what has been attained and is still going forward in the civilized world. Every article there is but a specimen—the best, perhaps, but still only a specimen—of what is to be found, in greater or less profusion, in the places whence they have been brought. Thus it presents to us a cheering assurance of progress—of that increase in knowledge which is predicted in Holy Writ as a sign of the last times: "Men shall run to and fro in the earth, and knowledge shall be increased." (Dan. xii. 4.) It teaches us also to cast away that selfishness which would lead to the wish that other nations might continue barbarous, ignorant of art and manufacture, that we may find markets for our goods. The development of art and commerce has demonstrated that civilized nations, being more conscious of wants and more desirous of comforts, are our best customers, and contribute most to our wealth. And herein we perceive an illustration of Christian precept on a grand scale: "Give and it shall be given you. With what measure ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again."

3. It must be regarded as the result of internal and international peace among the nations of Europe, and other nations more remote.

For how many ages after Europe emerged from barbarism were its tribes and kingdoms torn with endless feuds and desolating wars! Men had little time, and as little inclination, to cultivate the arts and sciences, except in so far as they might contribute to the purposes of war and rapine. But now, thanks to the Prince of Peace, intestine war has so far subsided

that the general attention is turned to the development of internal sources, to the promotion of social happiness and national wealth. For how many ages were jealousy and hatred, intolerance, strife, and violence, the distinguishing characteristics of the leading nations of Europe and Asia towards each other! Each seemed to think that its own honour and happiness could be secured only by the destruction or humiliation of the other. If alliances were formed for mutual protection against ambitious and powerful combinations, how hollow and uncertain was the friendship, ending not unfrequently in mutual hatred and war! What millions of money, what rivers of blood, have been wasted in international strife! When, till of late years, could there possibly have been such a sight as London presented on the days when these Great Exhibitions were opened? Men from the various nations of Europe, from Turkey and Egypt, from India and Africa, from China and Japan, assembling together in the temple of international peace, presenting to each other, in the production of their several lands, an assurance of their wish to live in amity and friendly intercourse. This delightful thought, indeed, must not be pressed too far. The Crimean and Italian wars, since the first Exhibition, and the unhappy war now raging in America, show that men have not yet "beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks;" but assuredly we are not to regard the nations represented in the Great Exhibition as so many wolves and tigers tamed for the moment by some gigantic spell. We must believe them to be at least desirous of peace, willing rather to be friends than foes, convinced that war is a loss and peace their highest gain. The idea seems to have dawned upon them that "wisdom and knowledge are the stability of our times." The Exhibition, then, is a result of internal and international peace.

4. And may we not proceed a step further, and regard it as a proof that Christian knowledge and Christian principles are silently and gradually—too slowly, indeed, for our wish—diffusing themselves among the nations of the earth? Can we fail to perceive, in this manifestation of internal good will, a distinct, though very partial, fulfilment of that prophetic song which announced the advent of the Incarnate Prince of Peace into our jarring world: "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good will toward men"? And here we may ask, in what nations or lands, where this angelic song is unheard, has there been found any demonstration of the kind? Where, we ask of those who think secularism the cure for the world's miseries—where did these international Exhibitions take their rise? Not in heathen lands certainly, not in Mahommedan countries; and we may add, not where the blight of Popery has checked the course of truth, and cramped by ignorance the

energies of the people; but in this Christian land, where the open Bible sheds its unsullied light, where God's laws are laid down as the basis of authority and legislation, and where our national church, as well as the great body of nonconformists, hold fast the supernatural doctrines and the elevating precepts of revealed truth. We do not err, then, in regarding the great fact of these international Exhibitions as an indirect result of Christian knowledge and Christian principles steadily progressing; in short, as one of the triumphs of the Gospel of Christ. It is a faint representation of what might be in our fallen world, if all were Christians indeed.

But there is no good without evil, no happiness without danger, in this world of ours. We must inquire whether or not there be any danger, any need of caution, in respect of this great achievement of which we have spoken with so much praise.

5. What danger, then, it may be asked, do you see? What caution have you to offer? We will not dwell upon the spirit of pride, self-laudation, and worldly-mindedness which these Exhibitions may tend to foster in men's minds. Nor shall we notice it as a temptation to many to spend too much of their time and their money in visiting it. We have our eye on a far more serious danger—a danger arising, not so much from the Exhibitions themselves, as from the state of things in which they have originated. And this danger may be brought to light by turning our attention to a remarkable chapter in the book of Job, which one might almost suppose to have been written with such an event as the Great Exhibition in view. Let the reader open his Bible at the twenty-eighth chapter of this marvellous book.

The afflicted patriarch is pursuing one grand inquiry throughout the whole chapter, and it is distinctly expressed in the 12th and 20th verses: "Where shall wisdom be found? and where is the place of understanding?" Let us follow out his train of thought and investigation. "Man knoweth not the price thereof, neither is it found in the land of the living." (ver. 13.) Then it is neither philosophy, nor natural religion; for these originate in the mind of man. Again he says: "The depth saith, It is not in me; and the sea saith, It is not with me. It cannot be gotten for gold, neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof."—(We seem to be looking round the Great Exhibition)—"It cannot be valued with the gold of Ophir, with the precious onyx, or the sapphire. The gold and the crystal cannot equal it: and the exchange of it shall not be for jewels of fine gold. No mention shall be made of coral, or of pearls; for the price of wisdom is above rubies. The topaz of Ethiopia shall not equal it, neither shall it be valued with pure gold. Whence then cometh wisdom, and where is the place of un-

derstanding? Seeing it is hid from the eyes of all living, and kept close from the fowls of the air. Destruction and death say, We have heard the fame thereof with our ears. God"—that is, God only—"understandeth the way thereof, and He knoweth the place thereof."

Now what, we ask, can be more evident from these striking words than that wisdom—the true wisdom needful for the guidance and happiness of man—is not to be found in the treasures of earth, in the discoveries of science, or in the philosophical investigations of the human mind, but with God alone; and that, if it ever be obtained by man at all, it must be given to him by God Himself in the way of revelation? But has God revealed it? Has He made known to man what true wisdom is? Listen to the patriarch again (ver. 26): "When He made a decree for the rain, and a way for the lightning of the thunder"—that is, at the creation of our world—"then did He see it, and declare it; He prepared it, yea, and searched it out. And unto man He said, Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil (that) is understanding."

We learn, then, from this ancient book, the necessity of a divine revelation for the guidance and salvation of man, the fact that God has revealed Himself to man from the beginning, and the certainty that men can be wise and happy only in so far as they take this Divine revelation for their guide and comfort.

We can now understand the danger before referred to, and we have the caution here. The danger connected with the cultivation of the mind, the discoveries of science, and the advance of civilization, is, that men are satisfied with these things, and look no higher. They think to find wisdom, all the wisdom they need, in philosophy, science, and reason. Engrossed with the attractions of earth, with such riches as they have seen amassed in the Great Exhibition, they forget their spiritual wants, and neglect to secure the unsearchable riches of eternity. And they persuade themselves that the mental faculties which can produce such wonders of art and such treasures of knowledge can find out all that is needful to guide him to happiness hereafter. This is, perhaps, the great danger of our age; and unless care be taken, these international Exhibitions may increase it. None can have read the now notorious volume of Essays and Reviews without perceiving that the tendency of many learned and thoughtful minds in our day, and even of religious teachers, is to deny the supernatural, to explode the idea of revelation, and to believe in the possibility of finding out, by human faculties and intellectual toil, the wisdom that is the religion which man requires. And if our modern advancement in philosophy, science, civilization, and wealth should lead us to this conviction and pursuit, we shall

have returned by another path to the darkness of atheism, again to be without God and without hope.

What Job declared St. Paul confirms: "Man by wisdom" —that is, his own wisdom—"knows not God." God must declare Himself. And "the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, hath declared Him." (John i. 18.) He declares Himself by His inspired word, and the teaching of His Spirit. And the whole drift of His revelation is, that man's real happiness here and hereafter can be secured only by reverential submission to Him, communion with Him, and separation from all which He has forbidden. "Unto man he said, The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding."

6. These statements may be put to the test.

Let us go again to the Great Exhibition. Look around upon its wonders and glories once more. All we find there is for this life. There is absolutely nothing in the shape of art and manufacture which can make a man wise unto salvation. Let a man burdened with a sense of guilt, a man suffering from the fear of death and judgment to come, visit the Exhibition, and search among its treasures for anything which shall tell him how his burden can be removed, his conscience appeased, and death robbed of its terrors—he shall search in vain. Let the man who grieves over his sinful propensities, over his violent self-will, over evil habits which have mastered him, ask within those walls how he shall get the victory over temptations without and weakness within—and he shall get no answer. Let the child of sorrow weighted with cares and disappointments, or doubtful whether he have a good hope through grace, and fearful whether he shall be able to win the crown of life at last, wander ever so long amidst those splendours of art, seeking for something which shall soothe his grief and sustain his spirit—and he shall seek in vain.

The fact is, that there are two distinct worlds—the world of matter, and the world of mind or spirit. If the soul, not perceiving this distinction, neglect its own proper element and its duties, and devote itself entirely or mainly to material objects and earthly gratifications, it may for a time be deceived by the belief that excitement is happiness, so as to aspire after nothing higher. But the soul really has wants, feelings, and desires, which nothing in the world of matter can satisfy. When the consciousness of those wants is felt, and the attempt is made thus to satisfy them, the vanity of earthly things will be experienced. The soul will suffer a thirst which nothing human can slake. It will find nothing in the material world which can take out the stain of sin, nothing to cleanse the heart, nothing to assure the doubting mind, nothing to comfort and sustain the spirit in the prospect of eternity. "This wisdom

cometh from above." God alone can give it. He alone can teach that science which ministers to the health and wealth of the soul. He alone can pardon, purify, and strengthen. He alone can give faith and love, with the victory over inherent evil. He alone can assure the anxious spirit of daily help, of peace in death, and salvation in the world come. All this is to be found in a totally distinct region from that of visible and external things. Nor can a man by the steps of art, of science, and philosophy, mount from the lower region of the things that are seen, into the region of those that are unseen, in the world of mind. "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him. But God hath revealed them unto us by His Spirit." (1 Cor. ii. 9, 10.) It is a region of revealed truth, in which are found the unsearchable riches of Christ. Christ, indeed, is Himself the Great Exhibition, for "in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." He is the wisdom of God and the power of God. In Him is solved the great problem of salvation for sinners, "a just God and a Saviour." "Behold the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world." "Behold the Great High Priest at the right hand of God, angels and principalities and powers being made subject unto Him." "Behold He cometh quickly, and His reward is with Him." "Then cometh the end, when He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God even the Father, when He shall put all enemies under His feet." Here, we affirm, is the Great Exhibition of the human spirits' world. All that the soul can want, all it can enjoy, all it can admire, all it can value and love, all its beauty, all its glory, all its peace, and all its strength, is found in Him. All Exhibitions pall and fade before this. Upon this even angels gaze with reverential though loving awe. You may go to the Great Exhibition in London, and behold its riches till the eye is weary, but you may not bring away a single thing "to profit withal." The Koh-i-noor may flash and charm for the moment; but you retire without it to your home. Not so with the Exhibition of the spirits' world. You receive Christ Himself. He dwells in the heart by faith. His riches are yours: you carry them with you wherever you go. His light shall guide you through the vale of death to that fuller revelation of His glory upon which the angels and the ransomed gaze. If the cultivation of art and science, if the researches and investigations of philosophy, if the deductions of reason lead men—and we think they should—to perceive the difference between the material world with its riches, and the world of mind with those riches of wisdom which God Himself has provided and revealed in the person of His Son; then will they serve the end for which God bestowed such

gifts and powers upon men. Would that the thousands who flock to that great sight in London, and gaze upon its wonders, might be led to say: Thus richly has the God of heaven provided for man's wants and welfare upon earth. What has He provided, what does He offer, for the comfort and salvation of the soul?

G. P.

THE GOSPEL IN MADAGASCAR.

III. The Frost.

A.D. 1835—1842.

The usual simile employed in the New Testament to describe persecution, is that of the burning heat of the sun, scorching and withering the tender herb. This is appropriate to the East, where heat is often excessive, and where cold is little known. With us, however, the like effect is often produced by opposite causes. We seldom receive more sunshine than we need; but a sudden blast of cold in the mornings of spring will produce the same desolation which in Syria is wrought by the unmitigated power of the solar rays. Hence it is more appropriate to us in England to speak of persecution as a biting frost, than as resembling a heat which is to us unknown. For these obvious reasons we describe the years from 1835 to 1842, in Madagascar, as the period of Frost. Just as a field or garden in England is often in one night blackened, parched up, and to human eyes destroyed, so was the infant church of Madagascar, by the furious mandates of the queen, apparently ruined, extirpated, and brought to an end.

We have spoken of the grand "kabar," or "kabary," held on the 1st of March, 1835, at which proclamation was made in the queen's name, that "baptism, belonging to societies or churches, attending Christian worship, and the observance of the Sabbath," were all to be deemed offences against the law of Madagascar; and that it was required of all persons who had been guilty of these things, to come at once, make confession, and ask the queen's forgiveness, and not to wait till they were informed against, and brought up for punishment. Immediately after the meeting, some of the head men assembled together, and agreed upon an address or message to the queen, which, after the usual compliments, ran thus:—

"When the Europeans came to this country to teach wisdom and knowledge to us, Radama told our children, 'You are now placed in

these schools for the benefit of my kingdom; therefore, whatever the white people teach you, learn with all your might, and do whatever they tell you; for you are placed under their instruction. And whatever hardship or difficulty you may experience in learning, bear it patiently; for we seek knowledge and wisdom from them.'

"And now, Madam, we have done so; our wives and children have done so; but whatever was done in this respect, was intended for the good of the kingdom. And now, since the time has arrived when you do not approve of these things, we confess our guilt, and crave pardon for what we have done. And we beg of you, Madam, to accept a bullock and a dollar as a fine for our having done what is displeasing to you, and as a pledge from us that nothing of the kind shall be done again."

This message was carried to the queen, and the next day notice was given that her majesty's reply would be made public in the afternoon. At that time the judges and military officers, with a body of troops, appeared with the royal answer. The queen declined to accept the general acknowledgment and peace-offering which had been proposed; she insisted on the personal confession of every one who had been guilty of any of the acts denounced.

"And this I announce to you, saith Ranavalo-manjaka,—I gave you one month to come and accuse yourselves, but you could not wait; you hastened to confess your offence and receive my pardon. I have therefore decided to give you only a week to accuse yourselves, instead of a month. Against all who do not come forward and confess in that time, I denounce death. Take care, therefore, to send in your confessions in a proper way. The soldiers are to accuse themselves to the five head officers; the townspeople to the judges; and the scholars to the rulers of the schools. Be careful in specifying your offences; and remember that next Sunday is the last day: unless you send in your names by that time, you die wilfully."

The same evening the missionaries received a message from the queen; signifying, that the children were not to be under their teaching on the Sunday; and that nothing religious was to be taught to the children at any time.

Another message came to the twelve senior native teachers, to the following effect:—

"And this I demand of you, twelve senior teachers, with regard to the baptism and the holding of assemblies;—has all this been done by my order, or by the order of Radama?"

In reply, the teachers at first attempted to plead Radama's approbation; but they were warned that if they proceeded in this manner they would expose themselves to danger, and they therefore sent a very humble and beseeching letter,

confessing their offences, and craving pardon. To which the queen replied,—

"I have received your letter, which contains your self-accusation. It is well that you did not dare to contend with the sun; but that you confess your guilt and earnestly crave pardon. It remains with me now to choose what punishment to inflict upon you, and I will do with you as with others; for I shall show no partiality."

The people were now busily at work in preparing and sending in their self-accusations. Great numbers naturally yielded to the pressure, and voluntarily offered the extremest professions of repentance and abjuration. Some plainly told the missionaries, "Since God will not protect us, we may as well do as we please;" and they, abjuring, went back to the vilest practices of the heathen. Others, more faithful, plainly told the queen's officers, "We did no evil, and intended none, to the queen or her kingdom in our prayers; we prayed to the God of heaven and earth to prosper her reign." When they were asked how many times they had prayed to God, they answered that they could not tell; for whenever able, they had neglected no opportunity of public worship; and as to private prayers, they said, "we prayed before work in the morning, and before sleep in the evening; and at other times in the course of the day." One native of considerable influence, being before the judges, and being asked how many times he had prayed, answered that he could not tell; but he added, that for three or four years he had not passed a day without offering up prayer several times. The judges asked him to tell them how he prayed. He cheerfully did this; beginning with Confession, and describing how he laid his sins before God, imploring forgiveness, and asking for help to enable him to live without sinning; and how he then asked God to wash him from his sin, to make him holy, and to prepare him for eternal happiness. He said that he asked the same blessings for his family and friends, and for the queen and her subjects; and added, "I asked all these things in the name of Jesus; for we sinners can receive nothing from God except through his Son Jesus Christ, who died for sinners." The judges confessed that his prayer was very good, but added that, as the queen did not approve of such things, they ought not to be offered in her country.

During this season of trial, the native converts continued to meet every evening in the vestry of the chapel at Ambatonakanga, for the purpose of offering special prayer to God. One, a native officer of high rank in the army, who had never before joined himself to the Christians, now did so; declaring his determination to take their God as his God. But he resolved

not to accuse himself, seeing nothing wrong in what was done, and not choosing to promise to abstain for the future.

On Monday, the 9th, the people were summoned, and the queen's message was announced by the officers of the palace. The principal points in it were these. Addressing the self-accused, the queen said:—

"You owe your lives to the entreaties of the people; for you have said that the idols are *nothing*,—that divination is *nothing*,—that the Vazimba are *nothing*; but to Jehovah and Jesus alone you pray, and not to the idols and to your ancestors which made the twelve sovereigns sacred. You have dared to say that these things are *nothing*. What is the purport of these expressions? I detest them, saith Ranavalo-manjaka.

"I will now tell you what I have decided to do with you; for you have acted according to your own discretion, without asking the permission of your sovereign. Since you have transgressed my laws so as to deserve death, your honours shall be thrown into yonder river; for you have endeavoured to change the customs of your ancestors. There, half the honours of some of you, and a third part of the honours of others, and all the honours which some possess, shall be thrown. But all this is arranged, and shall be read to you presently.

"As for you, Ratsimihara, though you are my relative and one of my family, I recognize no relative when the laws of my country are violated. I would even willingly deliver you unto death, but the prayer of Imerina has saved you. You are reduced from the ninth to the second honour.

"And with regard to the guilty multitude who have no honours, you brought to the queen a dollar and a bullock to crave for pardon, and the mass of the people have entreated for you, and I forgive you on that ground, and order you to pay this fine, a dollar and a bullock for each district. But if guilty of these things again, your lives will be forfeited.

"And with regard to the mode of prayer. . . . I will tell you how you are to pray. You must first of all invoke Andriamanitra Andrianahary; then all that is sacred of the twelve sovereigns; and of the earth and heaven; of the sun and moon, and then of the twelve holy mountains, and of the sacred idols, Ikelimalaza, Ifantaka, Imahavaly, Imanjakatsiroa; for they have made sacred the twelve sovereigns. And if any change this mode of praying, I will punish them with death, saith Ranavalo-manjaka."

The whole number of officers thus reduced in rank was about four hundred. This sentence, it must be remembered, proceeded upon their own written confession. So that we have here the fact abundantly proved, that as many as four hundred men, holding office in the army, or in some other employment, had been baptised, or had joined themselves to the missionary churches.

Such a degradation as from the ninth to the second rank is

equal to reducing an officer in our own army from being a general to be a sergeant! Yet all this was received with the most entire submission; not a breath of murmuring or a thought of resistance was perceptible. In the course of the second week in March orders were issued that all persons who had received any books from the Europeans should deliver them up on pain of death. A house was allotted to their reception, and persons were appointed to take charge of them. The utmost sorrow was depicted in the countenances of the people when bringing in their books in obedience to this order. Some of the smaller books,—catechisms or hymn-books—were doubtless concealed in many instances. After these prohibited books had been thus kept in a government-warehouse for some months, they were sent to the missionaries for removal from the country.*

The immediate effect of all these proceedings was, to stop at once all missionary labour in Madagascar, and to force upon the missionaries the question, What it was their duty to do under such circumstances? The usual communications with England by way of the Mauritius being circuitous, and requiring generally more than twelve months for the transmission of a letter and receipt of an answer, it was clearly necessary that the missionaries should adopt some resolution on their own responsibility, and should at once proceed to act upon it. Nor was there much difficulty in coming to a decision. The case was not one in which it could be a duty to defy the government. The missionaries were not in their own country. They had no rights to maintain, nor had they any power of resistance. They could no longer address the people in congregations, for the people no longer dared to hear them; and even in private houses it brought peril upon the natives to be known to listen to an European teacher. The circulation of the Scriptures and of tracts and hymn-books was equally unlawful; and nothing but the more routine labour of teaching the children to read and to write remained open to them. To contravene the orders of the government was merely to render their own expulsion certain and immediate; and hence the injunctions of the Saviour,—"If they shall persecute yon in one city, flee unto another,"—seemed to furnish the only rule which was applicable to their case. Millions of heathen in other countries were crying out, "Come over unto us, and help us;"—what, then, could be more plain, than that those whose mouths were closed in the great African island should begin to look towards the mainland of Africa, as presenting very many spots on which their efforts might be more hopefully employed?

* It was a singular specimen of the modes of action of a singular government, that when these books were found to be injured by rats, a number of cats were procured, and kept by the proper officers, to protect the books from injury!

They would not quit the island, however, until they had first made an effort to complete the translation and printing of the whole word of God. A portion of the Old Testament remained to be revised and printed; and to the completion of this their chief energies were devoted during the months of March, April, May, and June, 1835. They had the happiness to see the close of this work in the latter month; and before midsummer, Messrs. Freeman, Cameron, Chick, and Kitching had left the shores of Madagascar.

Two of the missionary party, Messrs. Johns and Baker, remained one more year, unwilling to give up all hopes of Madagascar, and resolving to wait for instructions from England. This year of suspense was a most painful one. They dwelt, on the strength of a permission given, but grudgingly, among avowed enemies and terrified and fearful friends. Their native servants were ordered to take the *tangena*,* under which two of them died. The infant of another of these servants was suffocated the day after its birth by the queen's orders, because of the "fatal day" of its birth. The dealings of the government with those suspected of Christianity became more and more cruel. Sunday was expressly and purposely desecrated by public works and amusements. At length the twelvemonth came to an end, and no letters from England had yet arrived. As the two missionaries who still remained had indicated a twelvemonth as the period of their waiting, and as they desired not to give the government any ground for accusing them of double-dealing, they resolved, though with heavy hearts, to close the mission, and to quit Madagascar. Leaving about seventy complete Bibles, and several boxes of Testaments, Hymn-books, and Catechisms, mostly buried in secluded spots for safety, Messrs. Johns and Baker left the capital in July, 1836, and, embarking at Tamatave, reached the Mauritius in September. To human eyes the last spark of life had thus been trodden out by the Church's enemies.

But now began that strange and fearful history of a strife, lasting more than twenty years, between the unquenchable light of life, and its furious foes. There is scarcely a more striking page in the whole history of the Christian church than that which shows this little bush in Madagascar "burning with fire, and yet not consumed." A Divine life had been implanted in some souls in Madagascar; and it was now to be shown that, though all friends and all foreign aid were withdrawn, and though the poor Madagese believers were left "as sheep in the midst of wolves," still there was a Power on their side greater than the queen, and greater than Satan himself;

* An ordeal of poisoned water.

and one which could sustain this trembling, infant church, even against "the very gates of hell."

The beginning of this warfare took place just as the last missionaries were leaving the island. On the 17th of July, 1836, three servants of a native Christian woman called Rafaravavy went to a judge named Rajery, to lay an accusation against her. The charge was, that she and nine of her friends were in the habit of meeting together on the Sabbath-day, of reading the Scriptures, and of praying to Jehovah and to Jesus, after the manner of the Europeans. The judge sent for the father of the accused woman, and he, at the judge's instance, reasoned with his daughter, but found it impossible to shake her constancy. The judge then forwarded the accusation to the queen, who was extremely angry, and said—"Is it possible that there is any one so daring as to defy me; and that one, too, a woman? Go at once and put her to death!" But two or three of the royal household interceded warmly for her life; urging, that both her father and her brother had rendered great services to the queen. After some delay, therefore, the queen decided to spare her life, inflicting a heavy fine, and warning her that another offence would inevitably be punished by death. After her release, finding herself narrowly watched, she removed to a more secluded spot in the suburbs; and here, retired from view, several of the native converts were in the habit of secretly assembling, for the reading of the Scriptures and prayer.

Mr. Johns had taken up his abode, for a time, in Mauritius; and early in 1837 he wrote to some of the native Christians in Madagascar, to intimate to them his intention of visiting Tamatave (the chief port of that island) in the course of the coming season. Rasoamaka and three other native Christians were sent down to Tamatave to meet him, bearing a letter signed by the whole little band of Christians at Antananarivo, the capital. We give some passages of this interesting epistle (translated by Mr. Freeman),—the unaided composition of a few African islanders, left in the midst of the heathen, with no other help or guidance than that of the Divine Comforter.

"Health and happiness to you, beloved friends, say the few disciples of Jesus Christ here in Madagascar. Let us unite in praising God for the favours He has bestowed upon us; for He has not forsaken us, but has guarded and kept us night and day till the present time, that we might not be overcome by evil, nor conquered by the temptations of Satan. Two or three of our number have ended their course, and entered into their everlasting rest; and two or three have become lukewarm;—yet our numbers have not decreased, but have been rather augmented.

"We do not perceive any change in the mind of the queen with

regard to Christianity. She remains the same. But we are less interfered with since our friends have left us;—perhaps it is thought that we shall certainly forget the word of God, now that we have no teachers. The queen does not understand that the best teacher of all, the Holy Spirit, is still with us.

"When we consider our guilt and pollution, and the evil that dwells in our hearts, we soon faint; but when we reflect upon the mercy of God, and the redemption there is in Jesus, and call to mind the promises, then our hearts take courage, and we believe that Jesus can cleanse us and bring us to heaven, though the way be difficult; and when we meet there, we will tell you all that has befallen us by the way while yet upon earth.

* * * * *

"We long to see you, Mr. Freeman:—would that we could see you at Ambatonakanga, preaching to us the word of God:—how great would be our joy! . . . . . The Lord has already heard your cry, and ours; for the kingdom of Christ is advancing in this country. As the leaven in the meal, so is it with the kingdom of heaven. Jesus will not quench the smoking flax. We feared, when the missionaries left us, lest God also might forsake us; but we have found the word of promise true,—'I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.' He has, indeed, remained with us; and great has been the joy of our hearts in praying to Him, and in conversing together on the things which relate to the life to come.

"The Bibles that were left, have all been put into circulation; and many more copies are desired. If the Pilgrim's Progress be finished, let it be sent very soon, for we are desirous of it—it rejoices our hearts. We meet on the mountains to sing and pray on the Sabbath, and we have three services after sunset in the course of the week. All the Christians here are teaching others to read. There are ten learning with one friend, six with another, four with another; and so our numbers quietly increase. Do not forget us in your supplications, but let us unite in our petitions before God. We purpose to send every year to Tamatave, to forward letters to you, and to receive yours to us."

The native Christian woman named Rafaravavy, of whom we have just spoken, wrote also, by the same messenger, to Mr. Johns, and from her letter we extract a few sentences:—

"Health and happiness to you, beloved friend. May you enjoy with your family the blessing of God; and so may all the missionaries who have been with us. . . . . I beg you not to grieve, for your labour has not been in vain in the Lord. The number of converts is increasing. . . . . The power of God cannot be hindered. . . . . 'My soul doth magnify the Lord.' Pray for us."

Another letter from some Christians in Madagascar reached Mr. Johns in the course of 1837. The following are some passages from it:—

"Through the blessing of God we have enjoyed peace and tranquillity beyond our expectation, and have been able to meet together

frequently for religious purposes. Give our salutations to all that love the Lord Jesus Christ, and beg them to pray for the few sheep in Madagascar, who are in the midst of wolves. We believe those words of the apostle James, 'The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.'

"We have great pleasure in telling you that our number has much increased since you left. Some who had fallen away have been restored, and others have joined themselves, and are learning to read. We want more Bibles, Testaments, and spelling-books, which we hope you will be able to send us. We are delighted with the Pilgrim's Progress: some have written it out for themselves; but we should be exceedingly glad to have some printed copies.

"Our beloved friend Ramamonjihasina died on his way home from the north. He was a beloved brother, and we enjoyed frequently great pleasure in his society: yet we must not grieve for him; he is now with the Saviour whom he loved. One of our friends who was with him a short time before he died, asked him whether he had any fear. He answered, 'Why should I fear to die, while Jesus is my friend? He hath loved me with an everlasting love, and I love Him because He first loved me. I am persuaded He will not leave me now; and I am full of joy in the thought of leaving this sinful world, to be for ever with my Saviour.'"

Of this young man, who died so happily, it was observed by some of his friends that they never heard him mention the name of Jesus without tears in his eyes. One of them asked him one day how it was that this was always the case. He answered, "How can I help feeling when I name that dear Saviour who died on the cross to save me?"

The above letters, coming up to July or August in 1837, all speak of comparative tranquillity in Madagascar, and of a growth in the Church. The rulers of the island, and their master, the Church's great enemy, had doubtless expected that on the expulsion of the missionaries, and stoppage of all public worship, the whole work would "come to naught." After a while they discovered that this was not the case, and their fury soon blazed forth with new vehemence. A letter was received, dated the 13th of August, which ran thus:—

"I venture at the risk of my life to convey to you the melancholy tidings that fourteen of the Christians are in trouble—five men and nine women. They have been apprehended on the single charge of being Christians, and all of them have been reduced to slavery. The men are sold with their wives and children, and all their property confiscated: the single women are sold as they are, all their property being also confiscated. They are all in chains. It is reported that Rafaravavy is the head of the party. We have no hope that her life will be spared. I hope you will raise your prayers for them, and for this poor country."

This accusation was preferred at the very time when Mr.

Johns was meeting his four friends at Tamatave. It was laid before the judges Rajery and Raintiaray, to the effect that there were certain persons constantly doing what the queen had prohibited;—observing the sabbath, meeting to pray to Jehovah, and conducting themselves differently to other people. They were said to meet at the house of Rafaravavy. The judges reported the accusation to Ratsimanisa, who exclaimed, "Then they shall die; for they despise the queen's law." All the accused parties were soon apprehended, except one who was at Tamatave. Rafaravavy excited much wrath by refusing to tell who were her companions. But another of the prisoners, Rasalama, was deceived by assurances that all their names were known, and she incautiously named Ramanana, Raintsiheva, Andrianomanana, Andrianantoandro, Raivo, and Raminahy, as among those "who had prayed." These were immediately apprehended. Raintsiheva, who was also called Paul, gave his accusers an answer which much perplexed them. He said, "I have certainly prayed to that God who created me and who has supported me, and who made all things, and is the fountain of all good, to make me a good man. I prayed that he would bless the queen; give her real happiness in this world, and in that which is to come. I asked Him to bless the officers and judges, and all the people, and to make them good, —that there might be no robbers or liars in the country, but that He would make the people wise and good." What Paul said had some effect; for some of his hearers remarked that there was no harm in such prayers; and another said, "Let us do nothing rashly, lest we should advise the queen to shed innocent blood."

The government took a fortnight to consider what punishment should be inflicted. On the fourteenth day the people were summoned, and a message from the queen was read, authorising them to go and seize the property of Rafaravavy for themselves! In a few minutes her house was filled with people; everything moveable was carried off, and the house itself was quickly pulled to pieces. She herself was then ordered to follow four of the Tsiarondahy, or public executioners. They took her along the road to Ambohipotsy, the place of execution. She concluded they had orders to put her to death forthwith. She felt, she afterwards said, "as if she had done with earth, and longed that her spirit might take its flight."

One or two of the Christians were bold enough to follow her; and to one she said, in a low voice, "Go with me and see my end. If I find the strength of Christ sufficient to support me, it may help to encourage our friends."

The executioners soon left the road, and entered the house

of one of Rainiharo's secretaries, where heavy irons were put on her. One of the men said, "Do not make them too fast; she is to be put to death at dawn to-morrow morning."

Such was the queen's command; but God had ordered it to be otherwise. That night a fire broke out, and caused so much confusion, that, in the alarm, an order was given suspending all government business, and the executioners dared not proceed in their work. She was now forgotten for a time, and remained five months in irons before any final decision was taken.

On the same day which was intended to be that of Rafaravavy's execution, the other prisoners were taken to Ambaronafandrana, to hear the queen's decision, which was thus proclaimed by the judges:—

"It is announced to you, O people, that these are stubborn persons, who persist in doing what is forbidden, and the punishment of their deeds is now inflicted upon them. This have I decided to do with them: I will reduce them to perpetual slavery, so that their friends shall never be allowed to redeem them; they shall die in slavery, for they have paid no regard to my commands, but have set at nought my established law. And if I find out at some future time that they have companions, and that they have assembled in private houses, I will put them to death whenever they are accused."

Ten of the condemned were confined for a time in the house of Ramiandravola, a *decana* or secretary of Rainiharo. He was a man notorious for his savage and cruel disposition. One of the ten was Rasalama; she seems to have been a woman of a warm spirit and temper, and of a rapid tongue. Her want of caution, in naming some of the brethren, had led to the apprehension of several. She now spoke freely of the wrongs done to the Christians. "Men," she said, "who have neither excited rebellion, nor stolen property, nor spoken evil of any; yet they are reduced to slavery, and all their property confiscated! I would recommend their persecutors to think a little of what they are doing, lest they bring on themselves the wrath of God." Her words were reported to the judges and to Rainiharo, who ordered heavy irons to be put on her. She still continued her conversation with those around her, singing hymns, and declaring her love for her Saviour. At last the order was given for her execution the next morning.

On her way to the place of execution she continued singing hymns. Passing by the chapel where she had been baptised, she exclaimed, "There it was that I heard the words of Jesus!" On reaching the place, she begged permission to kneel down and pray, and her request was granted. She calmly knelt, committed her spirit into the Redeemer's hands, and while kneeling received the spears through her side and heart.

Her body was left to be devoured by the dogs, who frequent such places.

Her name was formed of the well-known eastern word *salama*, or peace, with the usual Malagasy prefix *Ra*, which is used for most proper names. She had found "peace in believing," and, like Stephen, she now found peace in death. One young man, named Rafaralahy, ventured near and saw her end. "If I might die," he said, "so tranquil and happy a death, I would gladly die for Jesus too." It was not long before his aspiration was realised.

About a week after the death of Rasalama the rest of the condemned persons were divided as slaves among the chief officers of the queen. Rainiharo, as the principal, took nine of them, and three or four others obtained two each. Meanwhile Rasoamaka and Ramanisa, who had been to Tamatave to meet Mr. Johns, were on their return to the capital. When about forty miles from Antananarivo they heard of what was taking place, and they heard also that their own names had been given in to the government. They hesitated whether they should endeavour to escape, or should proceed on their way and meet the accusation. After much deliberation and prayer, they came to the resolution to continue their journey to the capital, and to bear whatever might be laid upon them. "God," they thought, "might make them useful to some of their fellow-slaves; and possibly afflictions might be among the means appointed of God to render them more meet for heaven." They reached the capital on the 13th of August, and on the 15th the officers came in search of them. The following is given as the form used by the officer in addressing the accused:—

"May we be excused by the father and mother, and by all the relations who are not guilty:—to you we have no message. Our business is with you, Rasoamaka, for it is said that you still keep the book and make prayers,' which 'I do not suffer to be done in my country,' saith the queen, 'and which I have prohibited and made a law against. I am the just balance, and will act equally in Imerina; the way the hands go, shall the feet follow. Let his wife and children be sold, and everything belonging to Rasoamaka; let all be confiscated, and let his relations be careful they do not claim anything of his property.'"

Rasoamaka and Ramanisa, and their wives, were taken to Ambatonafandrana to be valued. Part of the money went to the queen: part to the judges, officers, and accusers. Rainiharo transferred them to Ramiandravolo, the secretary before mentioned, whose sternness was notorious. He was anxious for an excuse to flog them, but they took care to give him none. After a while, therefore, he made them overseers of his slaves;

holding them responsible for the negligence of any slave. When any of the slaves neglected their work, he would say to the overseers, "It is owing to your mildness that the work is not done, I will show you how to treat those placed under you. Do with them in this manner,"—and then he flogged them till the whip cut into the flesh.

Rafaravavy was still in heavy irons, looking daily for the order for her execution. Such of the Christians as dared, visited her often in her confinement. Her relations seldom came near her; her father gave her up, and was convinced that nothing he could do would save her life. After about five months' suspense, Rainiharo removed her to the house of his first secretary (or *dekana*) named Andrianandraina, whose wife happened to be a distant relation of hers. Here she was treated with more kindness, and her husband, an officer in the army, was allowed sometimes to see her.

Now, too, a new centre of union had been found in a house built for the purpose by Rafaralahy; and here the Christians, whether free or in slavery, met together when they could. Rafaravavy soon discovered this place of meeting for believers, and she quickly availed herself of it.

Rafaralahy was a young man possessed of some property. He lived about two miles from the capital, and about the year 1831 the gospel was sent to him by the instrumentality of a native. He learnt to read, and attended the preaching and the other meetings until the suppression of them in 1835. But he did not make such rapid progress in learning as many others of the Malagese did. He was also of a hesitating mind; and when the queen issued her mandates against Christianity, he purposed obedience, and for seven sabbaths he disregarded the sanctity of the day, and lived as a heathen. Large and painful boils now broke out on his body, and his conscience began to trouble him. He visited one of the missionaries, obtained a Psalter and a Testament, and from this time became firm and decided in his conduct. He taught his servants to read, and tried hard to gain the attention of his mother to Christianity. He visited and comforted the persecuted Christians, and devoted much of his property to supply their wants. To be able to assemble his friends together for prayer, he removed to a very private spot; and here his house became a home to the afflicted Christians while he lived.

He was betrayed by a false professor. Rafiakarana had been a pupil in the earliest mission-school. He was afterwards taken into the printing-office. He thus became fully acquainted with most of the work going on, and with the native Christians. Having been concerned in affairs of trade with Rafaralahy, and being indebted to him as much as fifteen dollars, to escape payment of this sum he went to an officer

and revealed all he knew. "Many," he said, "of a certain class, assemble frequently at Rafaralahy's house; which is enclosed by a wall, and has a gate, so that no one can find entrance without permission." "If this is true," said Rainiharo, "say who they are, that their names may be taken to the queen." He mentioned twelve or thirteen names as in the habit of meeting in that place.

Rafaralahy was immediately seized and put in irons, and every possible means were used to draw from him the names of such Christians as were connected with him. But he was firm, replying, "I am in the queen's hands, let her do what she pleases with me; but I will say nothing of others." After being kept in irons for two or three days, his death was resolved upon. The executioners came to the house where he was, and asked, "Which is Rafaralahy?" He calmly answered, "I am he." They took off his irons, and told him to follow them; which he immediately did, speaking to them as he went, of Jesus Christ, and of his happiness in believing that he should soon be with Him. On arriving at the place of execution, he asked for a few moments' delay; and knelt down and prayed fervently for his brethren, and for his countrymen generally, and finally committed his soul to Christ. He was then speared in the usual manner; but his friends were allowed to remove the body, and to bury it in the grave of his family.

The other Christians accused in company with him were dealt with more leniently. They had not been previously accused, and some of them were able workmen in the government workshops. They were sent into slavery, but their friends were not forbidden to redeem them. The government began to find some inconvenience from the number of instructed persons who were now in prison or in slavery. Two of these, however, Rafaralahy's wife, and Andriantsalama, were put in irons, and flogged, and threatened, in order to force them to give up the names of all who had resorted to the house. Among these names were found those of Rafaravavy, Paul, Joseph, and two or three others, who had been previously accused. These, therefore, were felt to be in the greatest danger. Their friends, who heard what had been done, gave them speedy warning, and it was felt that nothing but instant flight could save their lives.

Rafaravavy was at the house of a friend, where she met two other Christian friends; and while they were conversing, a message came that Rafaralahy had been speared, that his wife had disclosed the names of those who had been accustomed to meet at his house, and that search was now making for them. The friend at whose house they were, exclaimed, "What is to be done? You know that the last time you were scarcely saved, and now you are sure to be put to death."

The three friends determined to go home, preferring to be apprehended there. Rafaravavy set out for her master's house, the other two in another direction. Before they parted they knelt down together, and commended each other to their Saviour; and then separated, saying, "We have but to walk to town; thence to Ambohipotsy (the place of execution), and there we shall say farewell to all things here below."

Before, however, the officers found them, they met Andrianomanana and Ratsarahomba, two Christian men, who confirmed the news, and invited them to go in and consult with others, what it was their duty to do. They did so; and after much consideration it was decided to be their duty rather to act on our Lord's instructions, "If they persecute you in one city, flee unto another." That night, at midnight, they set out. Andrianomanana and Ratsarahomba were servants or slaves of Rainiharo, and had money of his in their possession. It took them some time to make up their accounts, and to leave the money carefully packed up, with cloth and other things, so that their master should not be defrauded. When he found it, he exclaimed, "This is not like most slaves who run away from their masters! These people would make excellent servants if they would leave off their religion."

The following morning the officers were in search of Rafaravavy, with orders to put her at once to death. But it was too late. Five of the refugees, after two days and nights of toil and privation, reached a friend's house about fifty miles from the capital, where they were warmly received. But the soldiers were now in search of them in every direction, and they could not safely remain in that refuge. They were obliged to pursue their wanderings, being literally in the situation described by the apostle: "They wandered in deserts and caves of the earth." Often drenched with rain, and sometimes sinking in the bogs, generally pinched by famine, and always in dread of their pursuers, it was not until many weeks had elapsed that they reached Tamatave, whither Mr. Johns had arrived from Mauritius, purposely to aid them in their escape. He had arranged with a captain, and in the dark hours of evening a canoe took them from the shores of Madagascar, and placed them on the deck of an English ship, which sailed for Mauritius at day-break in the morning. As the sails spread themselves to the breeze, the captain said to them in Malagese, "Efa Kabary," a common phrase, meaning, "The trouble is over—all is safe!" They burst into tears, and asked if they might sing a hymn of praise to their Heavenly Preserver: "Our souls are escaped, like a bird from the snare of the fowler."

These six poor Malagèse,—Rafaravavy, Razafy, Ratsarahomba,

Adrianisa, Andrianomanana, and Rasoamaka,—named at baptism, Mary, Sarah, David, James, Simeon, and Joseph,—reached Port Louis in Mauritius on Sunday, October 14, 1838, where they soon found themselves among many who delighted to show them kindness. There are in Mauritius several thousands of the natives of Madagascar, who have been brought as slaves or labourers from the larger island, and now dwell under British rule. Many of these were constantly visiting the refugees, and expressing their sympathy for them. Among the English inhabitants, a sum of nearly £90 was soon collected for their support. On the second of December they left Mauritius, and arrived in London in May 1839. They remained in England, receiving instruction of various kinds, for rather more than two years; during which time Razafy (Sarah) died a death of the greatest happiness. It was then thought best that the survivors should return to the Mauritius, to be there employed as teachers of the poor Malagese; and, to wait for an opening which might allow of their return to their former homes.

On the 5th of October, 1841, therefore, they took leave of their friends in London; and on that day week they left Gravesend for Mauritius.

During these two years, however, persecution had not slept in Madagascar. Soon after the martyrdom of Rafaralahy, a young woman named Ravahiny was apprehended, and as she maintained a good profession, her husband thrust her from him, her family closed their doors against her, and she was sold into perpetual slavery. Irritated by her "obstinacy," and angry that one of their family should be living in slavery, her relatives accused her of sorcery, and desired that the *tangena*, or poison-water, might be administered. This was done, and she died from its effects; being the third martyr of Madagascar.

Shortly after, three more women were accused of meeting for prayer,—Razanaka, Raminahy, and Ratsaramiarana. The first two escaped and fled, the last was sold into slavery.

In 1840, sixteen more Christians, who, after long concealing themselves in the mountains and forests, were at length found on the road to Tamatave, were brought before the magistrates, who did not know them, but suspected their character and object. They were told that their manner of travelling was suspicious, and not like that of other people. For two days the magistrates tried in vain to bring home any charge. On the third day, the prisoners had resolved to witness a good confession, and Andriamanana, who was one of their number, said to the magistrates, "Since you ask us again and again, who and what we are, we will plainly tell you. We are not banditti or murderers, we are 'praying people;' and if this

makes us guilty, then whatever the queen orders, we submit to suffer." "Is this," asked the magistrates, "your final reply—for life or death?" "It is," they replied, "our final answer, be it for life or death."

"And after the Christians had made this confession," continues the Malagese account, "they felt inexpressible peace and joy. They had confessed Christ; concealment was at an end; they could now speak freely. 'We are now,' they said, 'in the position of Christian and Faithful, in Vanity Fair.' And so it proved in the end."

The next morning, the firing of cannon announced what was about to take place, and the soldiery soon mustered in thousands on the parade. About noon, the proclamation was made, that the queen had ordered nine of the captives to be put to death that afternoon. Therefore, after much more firing of cannon, between three and four o'clock the nine Christians, each bound to a pole, and quite naked, were borne by men to Ambohipotry, the place of execution. Here, after a short interval, a gun was fired, and the executioners with their spears quickly left the nine bodies on the ground. The spirits of the martyrs had flown to be with Jesus.

Paul and his wife, Joshua and his wife, and Raminahy or Flora, the wife of David, who was then in England, were among these nine. The heads of Paul and one other were cut off and fixed on poles at the close of the ceremony.

In spite of all these afflictions, however, the church in Madagascar still lived. In 1841, the year after the massacre just mentioned, Mr. Baker wrote from Mauritius to say, that at least two hundred Christians were then wandering over the mountains and through the forests, destitute of food and almost of clothing. Yet,—although mere nominal professors had grown cold, and had gone back, there had not been one instance of apostacy,—not one in which any on whom the missionaries had relied, as really converted to God, had "left their first faith." The queen now, furious at the failure of all her efforts, issued orders to the soldiers, that, whenever they caught any of the refugees, they should put them to death at once; merely digging a pit and throwing them into it, bound, and then pouring boiling water over them!

In the year 1841, of which we have just spoken, two letters were sent from the poor Christians to their friends in Mauritius and in England, from which we make one or two extracts.

In June 1841, they wrote:—

"Our salutations to you, say the little flock in Madagascar. Through the blessing of God on us, we are yet alive, and do not forget you or our other friends. Affliction greatly abounds. Executions, miseries, and ordeals throughout the country increase. Three

thousand persons have lately taken the tangena in Vonizongo, by order of the sovereign; and at other places it has been the same. The wretchedness of the people is unutterable.

"Tell us what you advise us to do. Do rescue us, dear father, if it be possible. If God be not our defence, we are but dead men! The government labour continues to be exceedingly severe. When the Israelites served Pharaoh, perhaps they gained a little respite: but ours is incessant labour; we must work both by day and night."

Shortly after, they wrote:—

"To you, beloved friend, health and happiness. We have received your letter, and the cloth, soap, and salt. May God bless you for the compassion you have shown us! It is not in our power to repay you. You further ask, if there is anything we want. Now, there is one thing which much afflicts us,—our want of Bibles. Those we possess are quite worn out. We can conceal them, though there are many enemies. As to our means of support, it may be said we have and we have not. All our property was taken from us when we were reduced to slavery. However, the Lord has said, 'Consider the ravens, they sow not, they reap not, yet God feedeth them;' and just so, dear friend, the Lord has pity on us! We have been in great affliction and danger; but God has mercifully preserved us hitherto. Salutations to you, and to all friends, from the little flock scattered; for the shepherds are gone."

The following year, 1842, witnessed the addition of two more to the list of martyrs. Beyond the central district, called Imerina, there were outlying portions of the island, where chiefs, either partly or wholly independent of the queen, lived and bore sway. It was rumoured that one of these chiefs, in the district of Ambongo, in the Sakalava country, had showed a favourable disposition, and a hope naturally sprang up, that he might render his territory a refuge for the persecuted. Two of the Christians resolved to visit that district, to learn the real state of things. But this involved peril; inasmuch as great jealousy of the Sakalavas was felt, and a guard or watch was kept up on the boundary, to examine all communications taking place between Imerina and the other districts.

Ratsitahina and Rabearahaba, the two Christians in question, accomplished their object, but on returning they fell into the hands of the frontier guard. They were instantly fettered and sent to Antananarivo for judgment. They were asked, "Who sent you on this errand, and what was your object?" They replied, "We went of our own free will; and our design was to try to soften the hearts of those beyond the border who steal our cattle and commit violence against our country. And it was with that view we took these books (the Scriptures). We do not deny that we prayed, or followed the practices of the praying people: we did so, as the books found on us will

show; but as to having any designs against the queen, we are innocent of that."

They were condemned to death, and were executed, one on the 19th, the other on the 20th of June. Their heads were cut off, and set upon poles, as a warning to others. But they died in peace,—whispering to a friend who managed to approach them: "Say farewell to all our friends. If we meet no more in this life, we shall in the life to come."

In the autumn of 1842, several short letters were received by the missionaries from their friends in Madagascar. One or two of these we will copy:—

"*Antananarivo, July* 8, 1842.

"May you live and be blessed of God, dear friend! How are you? We are in the enjoyment of health, by the blessing of God, and we would inquire after your health by this letter. Our trials are now greater than ever, for the number of the persecuted increases daily. The queen's officers search for them everywhere, to put them to death. We do not know what to do, for our hiding-places are now nearly all known to our enemies; so that we are truly afflicted. If you can find any way of escape for us, pray write immediately."

"*Antananarivo, July* 16, 1842.

"May you live and be blessed of God, dear friend! How are you and your family? I am in the enjoyment of health, by the blessing of God, and would inquire after your health in a letter. And I tell you, dear friend, that the trials of the Christians are very heavy to be borne by flesh and blood: yet they are light to the soul that can lean upon the Lord. Two of our number have been accused and condemned to perpetual slavery. Four brethren have recently been accused and sought after. Obadia and Ralaijao they could not find; but Rabearahaba and Ratsitahina were caught and put to death, on Sunday and Monday, and their heads were cut off and fixed upon poles. . . . . The queen ordered the tangena to be given to me, but by the blessing of God I got over it. Five of our friends are hiding with me, and I take care of them; but others go from place to place to find something to support life."

"*Antananarivo, July* 21.

"May you live and be blessed of God! And how are you and your family? I tell you, beloved friend, that our troubles are still increasing. On the 12th, they discovered two of our sisters, Rafaravy and Razafitsaroana, and tied their hands and feet, and took them away."

In October, the news was of the same kind. The letter received ran thus:—

"This is what I have to tell you, with regard to our state at the present time. Some person, unknown to us, having written a paper, and fixed it on the wall of a house, the queen was very angry, and issued a proclamation, ordering the person who had done it to accuse

himself within four days, and threatening that if he did not, the queen would have him cut in pieces the size of musket-balls. The four days expired, and no one having confessed, Raharo, who was formerly one of the twelve senior teachers, was accused with several others, and ordered to take the tangena. He died under it, and Ratsimilay being detected in trying to save him, was ordered by the queen to be put to death. Imamonjy was joined with them, and they were cut into small pieces, and afterwards burnt."

Such was the situation of the little flock of Christ in Madagascar in the year 1842, the eighth year of this bitter, grinding persecution. It had come into the position described by the words of St. Paul, "As dying, but behold, we live!" Nothing that this furious queen could do was left undone, to destroy this remnant of Christ's people; yet all her efforts were in vain. The testimony was frequently heard, "Our numbers increase." Captivity, slavery, hard bondage, the loss of all things, and often, a cruel death; none of these things could subdue the poor believers of Madagascar. Strange result, of the apparently feeble and almost fruitless labours of four or five foreigners! In our August number, we cited the words of the missionaries, who, after several years of labour favoured by the king, could only venture to say, "We have reason to believe that *several* are savingly converted to God." And now we find, after many had suffered cruel deaths, a large and increasing number of men and women, clinging to the persecuted faith, "wandering about, destitute, afflicted, tormented," but still holding fast their hope! Is this work human? Was not some Gamaliel greatly needed, to suggest to the queen, "Take heed what ye do, for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it;—lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."

In pausing, here, before we enter upon the concluding chapter of this narrative, let us briefly repeat the principal dates of the history. It was at the end of 1820 that the Mission may be said to have commenced; and from that time until the middle of 1828, it enjoyed the favour and protection of the ruler of Madagascar: it translated the Scriptures; it preached the Gospel; and it gave a rudimental education to several thousands of the young Malagese then rising into life. But during all this period the missionaries were never able to speak with any confidence of the essential or spiritual results of their labours.

The next period includes rather less than seven years;—or from July 1828 until March 1835. During these years the cordial support given by Radama had been exchanged for a formal and unreal patronage, ostensibly given by queen Ranavalona. This insincere kind of permissive tolerance gradually

changed into coldness, aversion, and, at last, into a stern arrest of the whole missionary effort on the first of March in 1835. But the Divine Spirit had unquestionably been preparing the infant church of Madagascar for the coming storm, by largely increasing His gracious operations among the people; so that, when the hostile edict at last appeared, it found not a few persons prepared to choose death for Christ's sake, rather than live without a Saviour.

Then follows a third period, of which we have just given an outline. The queen had issued her mandate that Christianity should cease in Madagascar; and a refusal to comply with a royal command was a thing not hitherto heard of among that people. Christianity, therefore, was put down, and got rid of,—so thought Ranavalona, and her minister Rainiharo. It was a repetition, in a new form, of the third chapter of Daniel. The golden image was set up; all people were commanded to bow down to it; and the mere suggestion that there were some few persons who refused, was sufficient to "fill with fury" both Nebuchadnezzar in B.C. 580, and Ranavalona in A.D. 1836. Nevertheless, in both cases, bold and fearless witnesses were found; and when the fiery trial came, the invisible Author of this courage appeared. "The Son of God" was there; and His presence explained the wondrous fact, that a few poor human creatures were enabled to defy the wrath of the king. Here, however, we must pause, for a still fuller proof of Christ's presence was given in the years which yet remain to be described.

THE DIVINE FOOTSTEPS IN HUMAN HISTORY.

The Divine Footsteps in Human History. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Son. 1862.

THE author of this work, to use an expression of Milton's, has been dealing with "a stateliest and most regal argument." Reverently to recognise, and earnestly to point out to men, God's wondrous dealings with the nations, which are legible enough to the eye of faith and reason, is a noble theme, and one of those few subjects which, as yet, have scarcely been adequately treated. We regret to say that, having opened this book with considerable expectations, we have not closed it without considerable disappointment. The writer, indeed, has not failed to give a number of indications of devout and elevated feeling, and of extensive historical research. In many of his conclusions we entirely agree, although we have not been able to follow him in the steps whereby he has

arrived at them. But he has failed to rise to the height of this great argument. It has not been his primary object "to vindicate Eternal Providence, and justify the ways of God to man." He has, with infinite pains, carefully elaborated a theory, which scarcely rests firmly upon its own basis; and even if we accept the theory itself, it is one, as it appears to us, from which practical results do not readily flow, and which is deficient in moral force. We shall point out various particulars wherein we agree, and others wherein we dissent. But we shall not hesitate to desert our author's favourite topics, in order to deal with the larger subjects which his work suggests, but on which it fails to dwell,—a course which, we trust, will not be without some interest and profit to ourselves and to our readers.

It is the author's claim for his work, that a vast amount of historical evidence is adduced in order to elucidate, with a clearness and precision approaching to undeniable demonstration, the strong and resistless currents and tendencies of human history in connexion with ecclesiastical or religious institutions. The direct Scriptural basis for the theory is almost confined to a single chapter of Ezekiel, which he says "has been as much beyond the reach of cavil or disputation as the principles and facts of geology were until their recent discovery, or the inscriptions on the Nineveh monuments of antiquity, until they were dug up in modern times." This language, by the way, is hardly accurate. The obscure and difficult portion of the prophet which is alluded to, has received a considerable measure of attention: some Jesuits have written, we might almost say, volumes on the subject; but a sober criticism would scarcely venture much further than has been done in the excellent commentaries of Fairbairn and Henderson. The main scope of the work is not very much more, when brought to a practical issue, than a denunciation of the connexion between Church and State, and the setting forth the Free or the United Presbyterian Church as an ecclesiastical exemplar. Our author attaches a higher value to our national than to our individual experience; he thinks that an observant man can rarely, towards the close of a long life, approximate toward a correct opinion concerning the Divine intention with regard to himself at some remarkable epochs of his existence. He even thinks that such meditations savour of presumption; whereas, in reviewing the history of the successive generations of mankind, the Divine footsteps will in all probability be traced with considerable distinctness, and a near approach to accuracy. Without venturing to dogmatize on such a subject, we will briefly endeavour to convey our own impressions. We may believe that it is very often vouchsafed to a Christian man who, in faith and prayer, has

humbly sought for the Divine guidance, in the sunset of his days to look back upon the life which he has lived as upon a land mapped out, to recognise the Divine guidance which has directed his devious steps, to acknowledge the Providence which has overruled surrounding events, and firmly to believe that, in the critical conjunctures of his life, he has not been left to himself, but his course has been shaped for him by a higher wisdom than his own. On the other hand, in reference to the history of the world, the Christian will rest satisfied that the Maker of the world has not abandoned His creation, that the world is no orphan bereft of the fatherhood of God, that God's ordinances of justice and retribution and providence have free course in the world. But, partly from the difficulty of the subject matter, partly from the limitation of our information, partly from ignorance of the precise relation of the individual to the state, he will rather recognise God's great laws in the government of the world in their vast dim outline, than hope to adapt them to different cases as they arise, with much accuracy and distinctness. In proportion as these difficulties are lessened, in proportion as our knowledge of men, motives, and actions becomes more accurate, the more with undimmed eye shall we recognise the moral government of God in the history of the ages that are past, and in that wonderful history which, in these the latter days, is gradually being evolved among ourselves. The lessons thus taught will come home with power to man's mind and conscience, and will possess a much greater value this way, than such conclusions as those to which the present writer has arrived, which will scarcely escape the imputation of being in some measure mystical and crotchety. We shall confine ourselves, in these pages, to the simple exhibition of his theory; and, beyond some obvious criticism, shall leave it to the consideration of our readers, without dogmatizing upon it ourselves. The writer thus states his point:—

"The endeavour will be to establish the existence of a law regulating movements in the realm of history, not dissimilar to the law that prevails in the realm of matter. An attempt will be made to show that the sun does not more regularly perform his daily circuit than the great luminaries of the world's moral and intellectual history have run their appointed courses. As the sun rises, attains his meridian, and finally sets, so it will be shown that the lights of the moral and intellectual economy of existence have had their dawn, their meridian, and their final consummation. Great centres of human history, and numerous lesser constellations of historical light, will be found; all of them evolving a singular and remarkable power of mental illumination."

The question has of late been much debated, can the limits of exact science be applied to history? When the author

writes that the realm of history is regulated by laws not dissimilar to those that pervade the realm of matter, he certainly seems to give an answer in the affirmative. In very much the same way the late Mr. Buckle proposed to solve the problem. One of his results was the portentous Doctrine of Averages; that every year there must be so much crime and so much punishment; that the unruly wills and affections of sinful men are only obeying a law in history as immutable as a law in nature. Very unhappy consequences would flow from the acceptation of this principle, which has scarcely made much way since its first enunciation by its author. Such calculations utterly fail in reference to any scheme of human life, or any system of historical development. The reason of this is simple and decisive. We cannot, as in the case of abstract science, by an induction of positive facts arrive at the unvarying law which underlies the varying phenomena. The facts of history ultimately rest on human thoughts and feelings, which cannot be subjected to the enumeration of the statician or the observation of the philosopher. We do not say that the author's results at all agree with those of Mr. Buckle; but he appears to start from very similar premises. The results at which he arrives are not so much moral as simply mechanical and arithmetical. It will be found that this estimate, strange as it may seem, can be fully illustrated and confirmed. The arithmetical computations of the author seem to a very great extent to depend upon the date 1828. The author characterises this year as an epoch of "great and *unprecedented* transition." It is the year that inaugurates the era of the removal of our civil and religious disabilities, by the repeal of the Test Act. Now, it is not our intention to discuss the Test Act, nor any other of the Acts with which it may be associated in the course of subsequent legislation. But many good, many wise, many tolerant men were to be found among those who adopted the Conservative side in reference to the liberal legislation of their time. Whether rightly or wrongly, we do not argue; but be this as it may, thus much we say, that neither in reference to abstract principles, nor to practical effect, does the removal of the Test Act stand forward in such importance as to make it the great historical landmark of modern times. It cannot for a moment be compared with such obvious and important dates as those of the succession of queen Elizabeth, or the meeting of the Long Parliament, or the English revolution. With the repeal of the Test Act he especially associates the reformation of the time of Luther. But, in the first place, the first of these, when compared with the second, is so dwarfed in proportion, that the relation between the two scarcely places them on terms of comparison, and still less of co-ordinate importance. In the next place, in order to have a special date that

may correspond with the special date of the Test Act, he is obliged to assign the date of a definite year to the Reformation. The date 1517 at first sight is specious, but at second sight is arbitrary. Why should the honour of the Reformation be conferred on the year when Luther drew up his theses, rather than on the year when the Protest was presented, or the year when the Confession of Augsburg was drawn up, or the year when the most promising efforts for conciliation failed at Ratisbon, or the year when the Council of Trent promulgated that system of dogmatic teaching which has for ever drawn a final demarcation between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism? Just at this point we have a paragraph inserted that reminds us of Dr. Temple's "Colossal Man;" the writer, arguing for the infancy, boyhood, and manhood of the world as being as satisfactory as the three great divisions of the geological seals. He then arranges in order the three following events: the Reformation in 1517, the passing of the Test Act in 1673, and the repeal of the Test Act in 1828, and proceeds in triumph thus:—

"If any one will take the trouble of calculating, he will find the two periods of time (from the Reformation till the Act, and from the Act till its repeal) are exactly parallel in their duration, being 155 years each. Here, then, is a cluster of facts in history connected together in a remarkable manner; certainly not less worthy of stimulating to further inquiry, and encouraging to closer investigation, than the falling of the apple that arrested the attention of Newton, and suggested the train of thought that resulted in his great discovery."

Here is another application of what we may call this Rule of Three applied to history. Ancient Rome was founded 753 years before Christ; 753 years after Christ commenced the dominion of modern Rome. The middle term is, of course, the commencement of the Christian era. Again the selection of dates is quite unscientific and unreliable. It is quite impossible to accept as established the legendary year of the city. Ever since the days of Beaufort, scholars have been unwilling to assign any chronological exactness to such calculations. The wolf who suckled Romulus and Remus is about as authentic as the wolf of less amiable disposition who devoured little Red Riding-hood. The legend of the Seven Kings is about as valuable as the legend of the Seven Sleepers. Neither can we absolutely depend upon the date A.D. 754. So early as the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon the bishops of Rome were on the high road to the power which they eventually usurped. We do not argue for any contrary date, but we simply believe that to dogmatise is impossible, and that it is unwise to imagine that we have any absolute "demonstration." Once more, the author fixes the date of the planting of the Anglican Church in the years 596–8; this is 566 years before the death and

resurrection of our Lord. On the other hand, a similar period of 566 years intervened between the edict of Cyrus for the restoration of Jerusalem, and that death and resurrection. The author proceeds to point out that there is here "a wheel within a wheel;" for the last half of the period is divided into two equal portions of time, having midway Constantine's adoption of Christianity, and the final cessation of persecution under the Roman empire in the year 313. On this point also we might object that the date 596 is an arbitrary date. It is founded on an imperfect view of the earliest chapter of our ecclesiastical history; for before the mission of Augustine, as Stillingfleet sets forth in his elaborate work, there existed an early British Church in these islands. Much more than mere legend clusters round the

"Island valley of Avilion."

If the facts had not perished through the lapse of ages, a more distinct date could undoubtedly be assigned. In another part, where a middle point is discoverable between two other points of time, the Reformation date of 1517 is deserted, and the date 1509 is substituted instead. We do not see why this date should be fixed more than any other half-dozen dates which might be mentioned. We do not doubt but, if it had suited the author's chronological scheme better, we should have had some period in the life of Wycliffe, or the period of the death of Cranmer. On one occasion, and we believe on one occasion only, the author takes upon himself, from two dates which have satisfied his mind, to prognosticate a third date,—he believes that in the year 1863 we shall witness the downfall of the system of Church and State in England. On the other hand, we firmly believe that we shall witness no such thing. We have no right, even thus far, to venture a negative prophecy; but so far as reason, observation, and experience enable us to make our calculations in ordinary life, we may venture to think, with some positiveness, that England in 1863 will not witness such a disruption as Scotland in 1843.

The fact is, that, with some remarkable and not infrequent exceptions, we cannot assign a date, save for the purpose of convenience, to the great movements of the human race. History proceeds in curves, and not in zig-zags. In reality there are no *flammantia mœnia mundi*. We do not, therefore, feel very much security respecting many of the *data* on which we have to argue. While acknowledging with pleasure that many of the dates are interesting and remarkable, and in the highest degree suggestive of thankful and religious thoughts, we cannot see much stability in the Argument from Coincidence. On several occasions it appears to us to be quite plain that the author's mind has a tendency to be misled by analogy. Now the argument from analogy is of very varying value, amounting

in some cases to absolute demonstration, and in other cases being absolutely worthless. Even in Bishop Butler's great work the illustrious author did not go so far as to maintain that his argument proved the great thesis that he designed to illustrate; he modestly professed to show, that, judging by the analogies furnished by the outer world, the Christian religion "was not so unlikely" to be true as men imagined it. But let us suppose that our author has established his theorem, which may be enunciated thus, that in the providence of God certain sets of events are connected together by definite relations of time. Still, when he has established these parallel events, he has not pointed out any general law by which these sets of parallels are connected with each other. This philosophy is not, to use the Baconian term, a philosophy of fruit. We should be sorry to speak with any disrespect of such theorising as that contained in this volume. There are not wanting scriptural facts that exhibit such reasoning in a colourable form. There were certainly cycles of forty years in the life of Moses, of 430 years in Jewish history; and there are fixed notices of time, of the very highest importance, in the book of Daniel and in the book of Revelations. But the author is not prepared to say, and in truth there is no clear warrant for so saying, that these notices of time furnish us with any distinct clues whereby we may detect any network of ordained dates drawn over secular history. Moreover, we should beware how far we venture of ourselves to limit the divine purposes by our human computations. "With Him one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day."

But let us consider the results which should flow from this system, if it is acknowledged. Should an historical law in reality be discovered analogous to the laws of the material world, we ought to be able to calculate on its occurrence with unerring certainty, and also to be able to point to the tangible results which it is constantly developing. To the best of our recollection the author does not venture to calculate on more than a single date. It so happens that this date is held to be close at hand, and accordingly on this the author is able to ground an exhortation of some force. But suppose it had been quite otherwise. Suppose some Italian or Greek patriot, anxious for the restoration of the pristine greatness of his country—or let us say, some Christian man anxious to reclaim a wide tract from the waste of heathendom—and let us suppose that such a man has fully satisfied himself that the result he meditates is wholly impossible for the next five hundred years; what a discouragement, what a withering of energy and hope, what a forfeiture of happiness and power, would be involved in this! But it is quite unnecessary to dwell on such a case. We are very sure that no historical law will be found to possess

such a degree of chronological exactness as in any degree to draw aside that impenetrable veil with which the wisdom and love of the Almighty has shielded from nations and individuals the knowledge of the dim mysteries of their future.

Such a theory as that which we have been discussing, we have ventured to describe as mechanical and arithmetical. The radical objection to any such theory, whether it takes a form as extreme and mischievous as we find it in the writings of Mr. Buckle, or a form as well-intentioned and innocuous as in the present volume, is this—that such really tends to make the world a machine; that man and matter are placed very much upon the same grounds; that the mighty difference is ignored, which will never be reconciled, between human agency and material agency. Our own view is this. There are indeed historical laws, but those laws are not arbitrary, or mechanical, or chronological, but *moral.* It is scarcely the business of the critic to be constructive. Analysis, and not synthesis, is held to be his proper work. But we will endeavour, necessarily with much brevity and imperfection, to show what moral meaning the facts of history may possess for thinking men and for religious minds, and in what way these facts may be said to arrange themselves into laws. Differing from our author, we must state at once that we have no new discoveries to announce. We think with him, that the Divine footsteps are clearly legible on the sands of time. God's laws are manifested with unerring certainty in human affairs, and we may devoutly believe that His providence is exerted in high and difficult contingencies. The attestations of history to the truths contained in revelation, are as "the voice of many people and the voice of mighty waters."

Let us not disguise from ourselves the fundamental difficulties that beset every great subject. When we speak of the providence of God in history, to some, the old problem in theology and ethics may be recalled, of Necessity and Free-will. We trust we shall not be among the number of those who "find no end, in endless mazes lost." For ourselves, we do not, on this point, feel that the difficulty is insuperable. Holding the free agency of man, we may believe that no circumstances are so evolved by it that they are not restrained and overruled by the providence of God. There is a real operation of man, and a real sovereignty of God; but the first is a circle embosomed in a circle, perfect and complete in itself, but encompassed on every side by something infinitely greater. There is a divine purpose in the history of the world; and whether success or non-success attends human plans, God overrules and subordinates them alike to His own great plan. The sacred Scriptures assert this principle and exemplify it, and it is abundantly confirmed in the facts of history and human life. Let us take two

examples, on which archbishop Leighton comments in one of his most striking sermons. In the rude, strong infancy of the world, men said, "Let us build a tower, lest we be scattered abroad;" and yet scattered abroad they were, and this was the very thing that led to it. Joseph told his brethren the dream that he had dreamed. The dream foreshadowed that his brethren should bow down to him; and these men sold him into a hopeless captivity, that this might not happen. It is a favourite story with every child how, by this means, Joseph became the ruler of the land of Egypt. In the parable of the Good Samaritan, it is said that "by chance there came down a certain man that way." The word which we translate "chance," would be better rendered by "coincidence"; or as the Dean of Westminster aptly enough paraphrases it, "that wonderful falling in of one event with another, which often indeed seems to men but chance, yet is indeed of the fine weaving in, by God's providence, of the threads of different men's lives into one common woof." Let us take some secular examples in history and life. Very little things at times prove in reality very great things, and can scarcely fail, to devout minds, of being irresistibly suggestive of the overruling providence of God. The fall of an apple determines the discovery of a great philosopher's greatest truth. Casual observation led a thoughtful physician into a discovery which has saved a multitude of human lives. Under the hot noon-day sun of Spain, a careworn traveller and his child pause at a convent door. He begs for the favour of a little bread and water. The prior, a man of intellect and high repute, is passing, and struck by the appearance of the stranger, and, when he knows him, by the simple magnificence of his thoughts, gives him the aid and countenance which ensures him the attention of monarchs; and thus Columbus gave to Castile and Aragon a new world. A solitary man is busy in the dust and gloom of an ancient library. With a student's avidity he rapidly scans volume after volume. His eye alights on pages familiar and yet so strange. It is Martin Luther at Eufurth, who for the first time meets with a copy of the Bible entire, and

"The solitary monk who shook the world"

(to quote the single line of Robert Montgomery, which bids fair to survive all the rest of his poetry) turns the most powerful will and intellect of the sixteenth century in the direction of the dawning reformation. There is a passage in English history which, at the distance of hundreds of years, still quickens the pulse and kindles the eye of religious and patriotic men. The wealth and might, not only of nations, but of continents, is gathered, one fair summer season, against our England, then the last asylum of the civil and religious liberties

of the world. The readers of Mr. Motley's recent volumes will recollect, what had never previously been properly apprehended, against how incautious and defenceless a land the prepared and disciplined Armada sailed. Historians then and now have pointed out the marvellous concurrence of circumstances, such as we had no right to expect, which led to our great deliverance; and these, with scarcely a religious reference, they have decorously assigned to the working of Providence—language which we may accept with as deep a thankfulness and with a deeper faith.

Such are among the many instances which show that the world's mighty maze is not without the superintendence of a Divine plan. What that plan is, we do in a measure apprehend, when we pray God to accomplish the number of His elect, and to hasten His kingdom. It is a true instinct whereby wise men, under very different circumstances, have seen, though perhaps indistinctly, that "through the ages one increasing purpose runs." God makes even the wrath of man to praise Him. It has been said, that the burden of all history is "lamentation, mourning, and woe." And what is this, but the consequences of man's guilty aberration from the laws of God? Looking reverently and carefully, we may discern, albeit through a glass darkly, the operation of God's hand in the chequered pages of history; and at times the vast, dim outlines of events are illumined with something of that light in which they will appear to men and angels when the story of the world is told.

No portion of contemporary history is at the present time exciting a larger measure of attention than the state of affairs in America. Let us give a rapid glance at the great landmarks of American history during the last hundred years. Such a survey will show us how unsuccessful are often the most deeply-planned human counsels; how the avarice, arrogance, and hypocrisy of nations bear their own bitter natural fruits; and how the course of events seems divinely shapen to mighty ends that had not occurred to human conception. A little more than a century ago some of the fairest provinces of America were in the occupation of the French. France, not satisfied with her large possessions, which might have afforded ample room for all her colonizing energies, and have relieved the country of a large mass of dangerous citizens, formed the design of wresting from England her American colonies. In those days men were quite unlearned in the elementary principles of political science, and thought that the wealth of one country was the impoverishment of another. A war ensued, almost unexampled for the wickedness exhibited on either side; the most cruel and savage tribes were taken into pay by both nations, and professed Christian men, English and French,

were alternately scalped, tortured, and roasted by the heathen whom they hired against each other. The short-sighted greed of France was disappointed. Instead of obtaining all, she lost all; and by the treaty of 1760, was compelled to cede her own possessions to Great Britain. The success of the heroic Wolfe at Quebec shed the most brilliant renown on the British arms; and the last days of George II. were crowned with such a halo of national glory that his subjects considered their somewhat vicious and common-place monarch a second Cæsar or Augustus.* It probably did not occur to a single reflecting man, that the removal of the French was a link in the system of causation which should alter the entire political aspect of the globe—which should first humble Great Britain by the loss of her noblest dependencies, and should then infinitely exalt her by making her the great mother of mighty empires in the new hemisphere. The presence of the French in America was the strong link of necessity that bound the American colonies to Great Britain. English statesmen failed to perceive that, while the colonists were dependent on England for aid and protection, it might be safe to tax them, but that it was no longer safe to tax them when the colonists had no further occasion for their assistance. Had there been a Montcalm and an army ready to advance, the duties on tea and salt would have been paid without any difficulty. In the insolence of conquest England was prepared to act arbitrarily and unjustly towards her disobedient children, forgetting that in her own conquests she was conquered, and that she had herself removed the barriers of her empire. Then ensued the unhappy civil war. It would have been well, infinitely well, for our country, if the simple Christian principles of charity and forbearance had then guided our national councils. In our era such a war would not have been carried on for such a time. It is to be hoped, and cannot be doubted, that when any of our great colonies, with tolerable unanimity, have expressed a definite wish for the dissolution of their connexion with the parent, an amicable separation may take place, before a sacred and indelible affinity becomes embittered for ever. It is even a subject of discussion among the best and most unbiassed political thinkers of the present day, whether the time should not now have come when England, with spontaneous generosity, ought not to proffer to at least one of her colonies national independence. However that may be, this

* Mr. Thackeray, in his *Four Georges*, shows a very remarkable want of historical knowledge of the circumstances under which the reign of George II. closed. He attacks the excellent Dr. Porteus for gross flattery of the king. Mr. Thackeray ought to have known that this enthusiasm, whether right or wrong, was at the time fully shared by the whole nation. The whole nation was in a paroxyism of loyal praises, and it is hard to blame a pious prelate for a fault common to all at the time.

portion of our history shows all the national unhappiness and humiliation that might have been saved if the simplest principles of Christianity had been accepted as the basis of national legislation. The colonies revolted, exemplifying the axiom which the wise Thucydides has placed on the lips of one of his orators, *πᾶσα ἀποικία, εὖ μὲν πάσχουσα τίμᾳ τὴν μητροπόλιν ἀδικουμένη δε ἀλλοτριοῦται.* The French king and the French court, by an act of national wickedness, hastened to foment the flame of hatred and discontent. The large army and the large navy of France helped to retrieve for America that which America alone might not perhaps have done; and in France the angry feelings of sovereign and nobles were soothed by imaginary expectations of deadly losses inflicted upon England. But American principles were now sown broadcast over France; the notions of liberty, fraternity, equality, were rendered fashionable by the espousal of the American cause, and soon the sovereign and *noblesse* are destroyed by the scaffold and proscription. The Declaration of Independence was published, declaring all men equal and born free; but rendered a lying legend by their selfishly refusing to their bondsmen the slightest measure of the abundant emancipation which they claimed for themselves. This is nothing new in the history of republics; and the consideration of historical precedents might have saved the author of the volume before us from the unbounded admiration which he entertains for all American institutions, slavery, of course, excepted. There exists a great deal of ill-informed admiration for Switzerland, "the land of liberty;" and yet the liberty, nobly achieved against the Austrian, has been unaccompanied by toleration, harmony, and true patriotism. The communities of Uri and Unterwalden, who with noble moderation emancipated themselves from a foreign yoke, at the date of American independence kept their own subjects in an abject state of vassalage unparalleled in the dominions of any European despot. For two centuries and a half the canton Berne retained as tributary the Pays de Vaud, deriving from it a large revenue, and yet refusing to it all political rights. But in history, with unvarying precision, the high laws of justice and retribution are surely found. Whatever political complications there may be in the contest between the North and South—however far it may be true that it is a contest for domination on the part of the North, and for independence by the South, yet the issue of the slavery question is the point of contest—a question which, we hope, is settled for ever, as far as the Federalists are concerned. And we may trust that good will still be educed from evil. The American people have had their season of pride and prosperity, untroubled hitherto by the heavy fiscal burdens which are so oppressive in European states, and self-indulgent in their dreams of national

vanity. The stern sharp discipline of trial and loss may ennoble the nation even as it purifies the individual. In the fairer skies and the fresher earth we see the beneficial effects of the hurricane that has swept over tropic seas. From the chaos and darkness of matter without form and void, arose that fair creation over which the morning stars sang together.

A short time ago, we were visiting the beautiful city of Lucerne. Multitudes were gladdening themselves by the waters of that noble lake, and beneath the shadows of those majestic mountains. The inhabitants of this ordinarily quiet Swiss place were excited by an unwonted occurrence. Through the defiles of the Alps, to the astonishment of the villagers, had swept a rare succession of fair equipages to the chief town of the Sonderbund. For all this there was a reason. The Count de Chambord was staying at Lucerne, the representative of Charles the Tenth, the scion of a proud line of renowned kings, the uncrowned claimant of the diadem worn so long by the elder line of the Bourbons. It was supposed to be a grand Legitimist demonstration, and, for all we know, may be asserted to be a triumph. But perhaps a city less handsome and commodious, scenery of inferior loveliness, spots not equally interesting by history and tradition, might have failed to have witnessed such a gathering; and these, after all, probably constituted the chief attraction of the time. As a political event, the gathering was utterly without weight or meaning. In the whole wide horizon of events there does not appear a single chance of the gratification of the aspirations of the French Legitimists. The meeting was as utterly unimportant as any circle that might have gathered in Rome in the latter days of the Cardinal York, or as any band of Irishmen who may now meet in Dublin for the purpose of promoting the Repeal of the Union. But how was it that all this came to pass? How was it that the heir of Henry the Great is thus holding a mimic court in the town among the mountains with a band of men which, compared with the absent and indifferent millions, was scanty and ineffectual? How was it that a brave, chivalrous and cultured people, should have cast off without a regret their line of ancient kings, and have for ever abjured their race? Let us turn away from the Count de Chambord, to cast a glance at the progressive fortunes of his house. Let us view the links that bind together, in the chain of cause and effect, the present and the past. We then shall see how the laws of Heaven are manifested and justified in the facts and decisions of history.

The French people have abjured the Bourbon line, even as the chief of the Bourbon line abjured his religious faith. In the sixteenth century the message of the Reformation, in all its beneficence, was proffered to the countries of Europe. By

England and Scotland, and by other countries, it was accepted. To Ireland it was never adequately brought. In Spain the dawn of better things was crushed at once. In Italy it was crushed after a very short-lived season. Long and fitfully the battle raged along the shores of the Rhine. Long and fitfully it raged in France. The representative of the Huguenot cause was Henry of Bourbon, the head of a house standing nearest in succession to the Valois line. France was torn by the wars of religion, if indeed the word may be rightly used which was so often employed as a pretext for the most selfish political purposes. It had been better, perhaps, not to have employed the sword against persecution; for patience in a good cause is the anvil that has worn out many hammers. But the contest was engaged in, crowned by such splendid results of Arques and Ivri—a contest commemorated in the French Æneid of the French Virgil. On his deathbed Henry the Second had warned his sons against the ambition of the house of Guise; and now, by the craftiness of Les Seize, and the aid of Philip the Second, it appeared the object might be attained of fixing the Guise dynasty upon the throne of France. Henry was now engaged in a desperate struggle for his inheritance, in which he was unhappily prepared to sacrifice even his principles, if necessary. He is a man whose brilliant career it is impossible to trace without admiration; he passes on unscathed by the dagger of Guise, the guile of Lorraine, the arts of De Medici; gradually the despised Bearnese becomes the father of his country, and the rejected of Paris the idol of France. But it appeared to him that his crown would be an uneasy one, and that the civil war would never cease unless he made an abjuration; and accordingly on an abjuration he resolved. It at first seemed that every good effect would flow from this procedure. Peace was restored to a distracted realm, the Huguenots were established in temporary security, and Henry gained his throne. Historians with a general unanimity have combined to praise the king whose philosophy and good sense did not permit some religious scruples to interfere with the happiness and security of himself and his subjects. Sir James Stephen is an honourable exception; he has taken a very different view. We think that the result clearly shows how dangerous it is to follow notions of expediency, which are often one-sided and inaccurate, instead of the principles of immutable morality. For seventeen years Henry reigned; but those days were perplexed with care and darkened with sorrow; at their end he sorrowfully rests his face on his hands and says, "My God, what is this that will not suffer me to rest?" and yet a little while and the dagger of Ravaillac is at his throat. His personal character appears to have greatly deteriorated; on the soft sward of his hunting grounds, on the terraced

walks, in the lighted banquet halls, among the flatteries of courtiers and the smiles of beauties, he seems to have been void of self-respect, and to have been unhappy. He was a man of keen and tender feelings; and in his guilty life he must often remorsefully have thought of the peace and purity of his mountain home, and of his saintly mother who so nobly redeemed the fault of the Heptameron. Seven of his line ruled over France; but the reign of each of the seven is rendered terrible by misfortune or by guilt. At last, at the end of the seventeenth century, when Gibbon had concluded his Decline and Fall, and proudly asked whence were to come the barbarians who should disturb the fair civilisation of Europe, an age worse than the age of the Huns and Vandals commenced in the most splendid and the most civilized of European capitals. France might have been saved from those excesses,—might have been saved from that wilderness of violence and guilt through which for seventy years she wandered,—had Henry held firm his profession. Perhaps at the present time the historian is better able to appreciate the events of that age than could those who actually participated in them; and it seems to us that the minds of the French people were becoming so conciliated to Henry, that the machinations of Philip were becoming so seriously frustrated, that events were occurring in so prosperous and remarkable a mode, that after some disappointments and delays he could gain without an abjuration all that the abjuration might promise to effect. There might have been a further duration of war and trouble, but the fiery process might have renovated the nation; a revolution as mild as that of England might have saved centuries of misgovernment, and have averted the horrors of the reign of terror. Did Henry remove the plague of civil war?—he removed it only for a time, that with concentrated energies, with heat made seven times hotter than before, it should burst forth anew. Did he confer security on the Huguenots?—in a succeeding reign that security was basely violated, and another period commenced of persecution and proscription. Did Henry hope to gain a peaceful throne for the dynasty that he should found?—that dynasty was driven forth under circumstances of greater horror and atrocity than European history had yet witnessed, and puny attempts, such as we have just witnessed, to revive their claims, only produce illusory hopes, which will never receive an ultimate accomplishment.

History may be written with a view either to first causes or second causes. Sacred history represents the first; secular history furnishes us with the second. It is possible that much uninspired literature belonging to the golden age of the Jewish monarchy has never come down to us. An uninspired historian might have written the history of the Jewish revolution. He

might dwell only on the secondary causes. He might attribute that revolution to the inexperience of Rehoboam, the mistaken counsels of his ministers, the weight of taxation in the preceding reign. Of the divine counsels, the divine judgments, the divine interpositions, we might not have a word. On the other hand, it is conceivable that an historian might write the history of the revolution in England, or of the revolution in France; he might point to the retributive justice that visited guilt with disaster; he might observe a divine interposition in many of the facts; he might reverently acknowledge the divine providence that educed so much good out of so much evil. Thus in a manner secular history might approximate to sacred history, so far as might be, when lacking the seal of inspiration. It is remarkable how the tendency of modern history is to accumulate multitudes of fact; so that to write adequately the history of modern times is almost an impossibility, and the historian almost sinks beneath the weight of his own resources. But the Bible expresses a principle in a line, out from which all results might flow, and in which all results are included. The history of every earthly potentate may be summed up in the formula of the inspired historian,—that he did that which was good, or that which was evil, in the sight of the Lord.

For some little time we have lost sight of our author, to whom we should now return. In one portion of his work he deserts comment for narrative, in order to give a full view of the later history of the church of Scotland. Respecting this our author speaks with some degree of authority; and as the period is one which by the English reader is not, generally speaking, so well comprehended as it should be, we shall briefly indicate the drift of his remarks.

Those remarks are concerned, not with the contest which the church of Scotland has had to carry on with the Romish system or the Anglican system, but to those intestine disturbances which led to secession after secession, and ultimately to the disruption. But amid varying events, both of union and disunion, no section of the original reformed church has discarded its simple ceremonial or its Presbyterian government. It did not enter into the author's plan to discuss any recent views of Scottish ecclesiastical history. Thus, in respect to the reformation, we should have been glad to have known whether his views coincided with those of Mr. Cuninghame's recent *Church History of Scotland*, that the Reformation was not so much a popular movement as is generally supposed; that while the English Reformation may be said to be monarchical, the Scottish Reformation was baronial. Neither does he dwell upon that dreariest of all chapters of Scottish ecclesiastical history, the period that followed the restoration and

continued till the expulsion of the house of Stuart. In that case, we are sure that he would have visited with merited indignation the recent attempts to vindicate the character of Claverhouse, and to explain away the cruelties of the Cavaliers against the Covenanters. The author, of course, dwells upon his system of dates, which in this portion of the work is remarkable enough. From the time when James the First completed his scheme of aggression upon the Scotch church in 1612, till the time when the Covenant, the precursor of the civil war, was signed in 1657, was a period of twenty-five years. From the year 1657 till the year 1682, when a period of bondage and subjection again set in, is also a period of twenty-five years. These two periods are fifty years, just one half of the century which elapsed between the oppressive acts in favour of episcopacy in 1612, and the "coming into operation of the united parliament's enslaving and corrupting Civil Patronage Act" in 1712. The coincidences are certainly striking; but we must repeat our objection, that, when the author has proved his coincidences, we do not exactly understand what his coincidences prove. This Act for restoring patronage in the church of Scotland, passed in the reign of queen Anne, failed for many years to accomplish any disasters in its course of operation. The spirit of Knox and Melvill was fast becoming extinct—the old spirit of freedom and independence, which in its day had shaken England and liberated Scotland. The civil rights of the patrons became more and more exalted, and the will of the people to interfere became more and more depressed. It was not for twenty years after the passing of the Act that a critical conjuncture arose. By this time those who had always clung fast to the principle that the right lay with the people to elect their own minister, were practically prepared to desert this cherished doctrine. According to law, if a patron did not exercise his right of patronage within six months of the charge becoming vacant, the presbytery of the bounds was to take steps for the appointment of a successor. This was a frequent contingency; and in the good times the people themselves were allowed to elect. The General Assembly, however, determined to restrict this power to simple approval or non-approval, assigning the election to various interests, according to the nature of the case. When this Act of the Assembly was passed—or, to use technical language, the overture was adopted—several persons intimated a protest, which the Assembly refused to receive. Among these was Ebenezer Erskine. As retiring moderator of the provincial synod of Perth and Stirling, he preached a sermon in which he made pointed allusions to the state of matters in the Scottish church. Of this sermon the synod made ecclesiastical condemnation; and as Mr. Erskine was unyielding, there en-

sued a collision which ended in the secession church of Scotland. Mr. Erskine's case went the round of the ecclesiastical courts, and finally resulted in a sentence of deposition. Before long the number of ministers and people in the secession church largely increased. But schism is unfortunately the fatality of sects. So long as men seek an absolutely perfect institution, in all likelihood unattainable in this world, and are utterly indisposed to accept compromise and toleration, so long will sects be split up into sects with infinitesimal division. One instance is on record where a man, not being able conscientiously to join any body of Christians, even went over to Holland, turned himself into a sect, and called himself a *Se-baptist.* This secession church was accordingly split into two parties, Burghers and Antiburghers; and the Burghers passed sentence of deposition on their Antiburgher brethren. Neither in its united nor in its divided power did this secession at all affect the dominant party in the church of Scotland. The moderate party became immoderate in their policy, and carried matters with high and arbitrary hand. With gratuitous tyranny they insisted, not only that forced settlements should be effected, but that they should be effected by the very persons who had most scruples in the matter. An offending Presbyterian was summoned to the bar of the Assembly. These in vain urged the Presbyterian legislation on the subject of the non-intrusion of ministers, and in touching language declared that they would be suffering solely "for adhering to what they apprehended to be the will of their great Lord and Master." With a practice that reminds us of military decimation, they selected a victim by vote, and passed sentence of deposition. The consequence of this was a second secession, called the Relief Synod. This is known as the Robertsonian era of moderation. It derives its name from Dr. Robertson, the historian of Charles the Fifth. He was a man of great clearness of thought, great command of language, and great beauty of style; but his chief work, being to a great extent based upon a French version of the Italian historian Leti's clever but superficial production, sustains its place in literature rather by prescription than by its intrinsic merit.

In the earlier part of Scottish ecclesiastical history some events happened which are singularly parallel to its course during the disruption. An interesting episode is known, in this early ecclesiastical history, as the case of Montgomery. It curiously corresponds to some of the incidents in the Ten Years' contest. After the church of Scotland was established in 1567, various attempts was made by different regents to introduce a modified episcopacy. To this the General Assembly of 1572 gave their sanction; but some years later they abolished episcopacy. It so happened that in 1586 a grant of the revenues

of the see of Glasgow was made to the Court favourite, the Duke of Lennox. It was necessary that some one should be appointed to the archiepiscopal office, that the revenues should be collected—some one who would rest contented with a percentage, and would hand over the remainder to the Duke. One Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, had so little self-respect as to undertake this. The General Assembly perceived that submission to the simple fiat of the Crown would be the entire abnegating of the self-government of the church. They petitioned the king and council, and at the same time so dealt with Montgomery that he withdrew from the position he had assumed. When the General Assembly met, a letter, under the hand of the king, was produced, requiring them to proceed no further in Montgomery's case. The Assembly returned as an answer, that they would and must proceed under their solemn responsibility to God. They were then threatened by a messenger-at-arms with the pains of rebellion. The Church and State were now in direct contest. The faithless Montgomery, dazzled by the lustre of the mitre, now retracted his retractation, and accepted the splendid but illegal office. It is scarcely necessary to say, that he was promptly excommunicated. The privy council nullified the sentence. The author here proceeds to point out the historical coincidence:—

"Substituting the Earl of Kinnoul for the Duke of Lennox, Mr. Young, the presentee to the parish of Auchterarder, for Mr. Montgomery, the presentee to the see of Glasgow, the Court of Session for the Lords of Council, and we have repeated, in substance and essence, in the ten years' conflict of the nineteenth century, the principles and incidents of the conflict of the sixteenth century. On both occasions precisely the same principles and issues were involved. The question in each case was, the Church's inherent claim of independent action in regulating and adjusting its own ecclesiastical affairs, and the State's refusal to abstain from interference."

The author goes on to draw a parallel between the Free church of Scotland and the Primitive church. This is manifested in a kind of anti-climax. The Primitive church exhibits a period of simplicity and ecclesiastical equality, followed by ecclesiastical ambition and political enslavement. The Free church shows us the obverse of this. We have a time of political bondage, followed by a time of ecclesiastical overbearance, followed by a liberating disruption, and the advent of a Free church. The Primitive church had a ten years' conflict, which ended in its conquest by the State; the Free church had a ten years' conflict, which ended in its liberation from the State. The Diocletian persecution commenced in 303, and the connexion with Constantine in 313. From the year 30 to the year 313 is 283; and from the foundation of the Scottish church in 1560 to the year of the disruption, 1843, is another

space of 283 years. He also proceeds to introduce a further parallel between this period and the time of the quarrel about investitures at the date of Hildebrand. This is an unfortunate parallel, as the pontificate of Gregory VII. is a standing warning against the unhappy and irreligious arrogance that may characterize a Church in its contests with the State. We may say that, generally speaking, we have no objection to the parallel between the Primitive church and the Free church. But if the author means that the Free church alone fulfils the conditions of a pure church, and is the only church that now represents the spirit of the Primitive church, it seems to us that this is an assumption which ought not to be made with undoubted confidence, and ought not to be received with unhesitating approval. In its very terms it seems to involve an unjust reflection on other branches of the church catholic. For ourselves, sincerely believing in the wisdom and kindly providence apparent in the arrangement and constitution of the Anglican church, we are not anxious to vindicate its claims by instituting a comparison with other Christian communions. Under the Christian dispensation, it appears to us that the question of church government is, in fact, a question of very subordinate importance. The church cannot bear the individual responsibility of its member, and the member is not fully responsible for his church. We cannot do better than rest content with the wise and charitable saying of St. Augustine: "Ubi Christum agnovimus, ibi et ecclesiam agnoscimus."

In speaking of the church of Scotland, we ought not to omit the mention of one very pleasing part of the narrative: we mean the times of union which have succeeded the times of disruption. We have spoken of the secession of 1732, which became two streams, and also of the secession of 1752. These three, the Burgher, the Anti-burgher, and the Relief Synods, continued to hold their several ways, each of them very sensibly increasing in the number of ministers and people. In 1818, the Burgher and Anti-burgher resident in Ireland happily effected a re-union. Two years later, the parent Burgher and Anti-burghers in Scotland were once more united. Finally, in 1847, the three streams of secession from the church of Scotland were incorporated, and these amalgamated churches are known as the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Such a reconciliation is as striking as it is rare in the annals of ecclesiastical history. We trust the United Church will have a career of usefulness, and that this example of Christian charity and enlightened comprehension will not be lost upon succeeding generations.

We cannot conclude without giving some extracts from the volume:—

"It would have been impossible to devise a more confirmatory

series of testimonies in support of the fact of Britain's approximating perfection as a state, politically, ecclesiastically, and socially. Of all European nations, the institutions of Britain alone have acquired an increased solidity and indestructibility; and this while other dominions were seething in the vortex of revolution. They have been casting down, she has been building up. They have been exposed to a shaking that has threatened to break them into pieces, she has experienced the powerful operation of an influence that has imparted new principles of cohesion and unity throughout every part of her marvellous system. They seem, in many instances, to have descended to the lowest depths of political degeneracy and governmental degradation; she, on the contrary, has been ascending to the high altitude of political perfection and governmental rectitude. They, with rare exceptions, till very recently, have, when free to choose, adhered pertinaciously to a policy of retrogression. She has, on the contrary, with unvarying consistency, pursued a course of progressive reform in every possible direction. Their peoples are, in not a few instances, the victims of political oppression or ecclesiastical tyranny, and sometimes both. But the people of the British empire enjoy the perfection of freedom, both civil and religious. And what has made Great Britain to differ so incalculably from every other continental state, if it be not the prevalent influence of the spirit of Christianity throughout her history, and its powerful action upon her institutions? If the words of Christ, 'I will draw all unto me,' are to receive a fulfilment, it must include states as well as individuals; and in what other way can the nations of earth be drawn unto Him than by the utter destruction, and the entire elimination from their political systems, of all that is opposed to His just, gentle, and supremely benevolent and self-denying spirit?

"It would savour of wilful blindness to attempt to shut out from one's mind the irresistible conclusion, that there is a wisdom and a beneficence above all human comprehension displayed in the plan of this world's history, the consummating phases of which appear to be overtaking the kingdoms of the earth. Blot Britain out of existence even in imagination, and how dark and dismal a prospect presents itself to mankind! And Britain's state is not the lucky or adventitious creation of an epoch. It is not the work of even a few centuries. But it is the elaborate production of nearly thirteen centuries, preceded by upwards of other thirty centuries of human history, throughout all the periods of which the workings of that influence by which the dominion of Great Britain has been finally evolved on this earth as a model state, have been ceaseless and incessant. The time occupied has been long, and the process apparently tedious. But the magnitude of the work to be accomplished demanded the application of every year of time, and every particle of energy, that have been expended upon it. So exquisite, and yet so grand and powerful, a piece of mechanism, constructed out of such intractable material as free human agency, is a sufficient vindication, if such were required, of both the time and mode of proceedure adopted. The approximating completion of the national edifice of Britain was of necessity incompatible with the prolonged existence of any other system on this earth, whether political or ecclesiastical. The nations have not been,

neither are they to be, assailed by Britain's physical force. She maintains a naval and a military strength sufficient to give her a high place in the councils of continental nations. But her power has not for many generations been exercised among European kingdoms for purposes of aggression. She has been involved in wars with continental states, but not one of them was a war undertaken with a view to territorial conquest. Her internal dominion, embracing as it does several nations, has been chiefly the product of unions effected by mutual consent. And her exerted influence upon other nations, to be beneficial, must be moral and spiritual. It is diametrically opposed to the spirit of her entire system to seek the furtherance and extension of its influence among others by external force. Such a line of conduct would prove a positive obstruction instead of an assistance; and its adoption must remain the exclusive privilege of those with whose system it harmonizes.

"All other systems appear to be effete and worn out. They seem to have run their several courses. They are dying of inanition. They are perishing by degrees; but unhappily accompanied by violence and bloodshed. The ordeal through which Europe has been passing since the year 1788-9 is a severe but a profitable and renovating one. Peoples and governments, kings and emperors, popes and priests, have each and all been subjected to the scorching and destructive but purifying heat of revolutionary and reactionary fires. It is not humanity that is the object of apparent retributive vengeance, but principles of human action and systems of human government. Who will venture to dispute that the individual persons of European population are regarded with as much benignity, and their happiness desired with as much intensity, by the great Founder of Christianity, as are those of the British population? There are as good individual Christians among continental nations, according to their light and advantages, as there are in Britain. And there are as vicious and vile individual specimens of humanity to be found in Britain as are discoverable among continental nations. There are faithful disciples of Christianity among the adherents of Romanism. And there are, no doubt, unhappily, time-serving and self-seeking followers of Christ, destitute of the spirit of Christianity, among the professors of Protestantism. And if it were possible to dispense with individual suffering in the uprooting of erroneous and antichristian systems, it would certainly not be permitted. But the great Founder of Christianity, although provided with a sinless human nature, was Himself made perfect by obedience and suffering even unto death. By His extraordinary example He declared 'the way' of human redemption, whether individual or national, to be by humiliation, suffering, and even death. In the history of Britain for centuries the same great lesson is taught. And if Romanism and despotism are to be supplanted by the spirit of Christianity working out the political, ecclesiastical, and social emancipation of the nations subject to their sway, 'the way' must be through great tribulation, ere they are prepared for the reception of the enlightening knowledge of 'the truth.'"

An Embassy to the Court of St. James's in 1840. *By F. Guizot, Ambassador from His Majesty Louis Philippe. London: Bentley.* 1862.

M. Guizot is known to us, and will be known to posterity, under two distinct characters—as an able writer, and as an astute diplomatist. In the latter of these it is probable that we in England may have done him some injustice, though we think he has no reason to complain of the treatment he has met with as an author. As the minister of Louis Philippe at home, and still more as his representative in London, his first duty was, no doubt, to consult the interests of his royal master; and these were not exactly those which England always approved. Louis Philippe, hailed at first with the epithet of a great man, sank, before his reign closed, in the eyes of Europe considerably beneath the level of upright mediocrity; and the verdict was at last, that he was no better than a clever, and, as the event proved, a not very successful trickster. He accepted the throne, after the revolution of 1830, upon impossible conditions. He undertook, to use an expression then upon all men's lips, to be the king of the barricades; or, as he himself expressed it, to erect a monarchy surrounded by republican institutions. To have failed in this, would have been no disgrace. The folly consisted in making the attempt. But he soon abandoned his republican friends; while their leader sorrowfully exclaimed, "*C'est un grand fourbe, et nous sommes victimes de ces fourberies.*" He would have been an absolute sovereign, but he was neither sufficiently feared by his people nor beloved by his army. He would have extended his dominions by diplomacy and intrigue, but his cunning was overmatched by the honest policy of the English cabinet. His throne was cradled in a revolution, and in a revolution it was overthrown. There was nothing great in the catastrophe; his flight was mean, and he fled unpitied.

To such a master M. Guizot attached himself—at one time his minister at home, at another his ambassador in England; and in his ruin he too was overthrown. His genius and his principles deserved a better fate, and his long exclusion from power has been a real calamity to France. In his first interview with Lord Palmerston, he tells us that, in answer to the remark that each party should converse freely and be mutually explicit, he replied,—"I shall be delighted. I am not a diplomatist by profession." We do not profess to understand diplomacy, but it appears to us that M. Guizot's great fault was that he was too much of a diplomatist. He describes with a com-

placent pen the wiles and evasions, the affected ignorance and the obtrusive cordiality with which his mission was conducted, in a way which does not seem to us perfectly consistent with high integrity, and which we should think was but little calculated to mislead Lord Palmerston, or any other English minister. But how far M. Guizot was himself imposed upon, we have no means of knowing; he was, and still is, the warm apologist of the revolution of 1830; he thought highly of the king, and it is evident throughout that he still respects his memory; and beyond all question Louis Philippe was a far wiser sovereign than his Bourbon predecessor. He governed France in a more generous spirit, and with a more genial hand; and we must give M. Guizot credit for thinking of him better than he deserved. Doing so, however, we compliment his heart at the expense of his understanding.

We do not expect a statesman to be a babbler; we do not expect an ambassador to confide the secrets of his own court to the minister of that to which he is accredited; we expect him to be wise, that is, prudent and sagacious. He must know when to be silent; and his words must be weighed out with care, since issues the most disastrous may hang upon an unguarded sentence. But we are persuaded that nothing is ever gained by a tortuous policy. The government of nations is, after all, in the hands of God; and He has made no exception on behalf of statesmen to the universal rule—"Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." Truth and candour are never out of place; and both are consistent with that reserve which, no doubt, experience dictates, in many instances, as the only proper course. If the balance could be struck, it would, we have no doubt, be a curious and instructive lesson to compare the mischiefs which have followed a policy of cunning and finesse, with those which have resulted from even an excess of confidence and a want of diplomatic caution: both extremes are faulty, but the former we suspect would be found, upon the whole, to have been far more injurious to mankind.

M. Guizot was in London as ambassador during the short and dangerous ministry of M. Thiers, when the relations between France and England were, as we now well know, in danger of being snapt asunder at a moment's notice. But the king wanted the courage, or rather the audacity, to carry out to their full extent the projects of his minister. Of all this M. Guizot seems to have been kept in ignorance; his diplomatic intercourse with the English cabinet was almost confined to the Eastern question—the quarrel between Constantinople and Mehemet Ali, pacha of Egypt. France supported the latter. Great Britain was anxious to uphold the integrity of the Turkish empire. But all this has passed away into the

domains of history; and even were we so disposed, we can neither sketch the story of the past, nor still less undertake to suggest what may possibly be its bearings upon an unknown and awful future. No historian will do justice to the question, who has not attentively read the volume which now lies before us. To politicians and prophetic students it will not be without interest.

To readers in general, the most agreeable part of M. Guizot's book will be that in which he gives us the benefit of his own first impressions, and describes the scenes and the company into which he was introduced. 1840 was the year of the queen's happy marriage, and London of course was full of courtly society. He had never been in England, and we are curious to know what the distinguished stranger thought of us. The contrast between Calais and Dover struck him, though it did not entertain him, as much as the contrast between Dover and Calais once struck us. At Calais, he found "less population than space, little business, a few idle loungers in the square or on the quay, children (in mob caps and wooden shoes) playing noisily about: in Dover, a bustling silent crowd, seeking neither conversation nor amusement, but all intent on their affairs. On one coast, animated leisure; on the other, activity entirely engaged in its object." This might serve for a description of the habits of the two nations, as the following sentence may be taken to describe their respective characters:—"On my arrival at Dover, as on my departure from Calais, inquisitive persons approached me; the latter with idle curiosity, the former with attentive observation." London of course disappointed him in its external appearance. Perhaps it was fortunate that he reached it on a winter's day, the 27th of February; for the dull monotony of London and its south-eastern suburb, through which he posted, is fully known only to those who have worn out a long summer's day in pacing them. "I reached London towards the close of the morning. I had travelled under a clear cold sun, which entered like myself into the vast fog of the city, and suddenly became extinguished there. It was still day, but day without light. As I passed through London, nothing particular attracted my attention. Public buildings, shops, and houses, all appeared to me little, monotonous, and meanly ornamented; everywhere columns, large and small, pilasters, statuettes, and embellishments of all kinds: but the whole strikes by its extent." The real grandeur of London M. Guizot describes in a single sentence; it is the awful grandeur of an immense humanity intensely occupied. "London conveys the idea of unlimited space, filled with men incessantly and silently displaying their activity and their power."

The French ambassador was a Protestant, and, as he tells us,

was received not only by many persons of rank, but by the crowds who pressed around his carriage, with a deeper interest on that account. His vanity—for what Frenchman is not a little vain—breaks out sometimes. The bishop of London courteously invited him to a seat in his carriage when going to St. Paul's. "He wished to receive me officially there, and to make a little display in his cathedral of a Protestant French ambassador. I declined the proposal. I have no taste for show in such a place." Dr. Blomfield we believe had quite as little; he simply meant to do honour to one to whom he thought that it was due. However, M. Guizot "went indeed to St. Paul's, but quite privately, entering simply with the bishop, and sitting by his side." Perhaps it will do us no harm to learn what impressions the Church of England made upon a foreigner at once so impartial, so intelligent, and well-informed. Perhaps, too, our dissenting friends may be none the worse for learning what he thought of them:—

"Much has been said, and is still saying, particularly in France, on the Anglican church; a subject, I think, little known, and ill understood. It is reproached with having taken rise, not in public conviction, but in the capricious tyranny of Henry VIII.; with having, at its origin, scandalously wavered in its profession of faith; with having appropriated the spoils of the Catholic church; with having, in its turn, oppressed the dissenters, and maltreated the inferior clergy; finally, with having forfeited independence in accepting for the head of the church the laical head of the state. There is much truth in these reproaches, and I shall not endeavour to extenuate them by discussing the extent to which they may be exaggerated. I shall not even inquire of what human establishments could we sound the origin without meeting the violences and vices which the hand of man sows in all places when it assumes the honours of creation. A special fact presents itself in the history of the Anglican church. In growing to maturity, it has singularly separated and enfranchised itself from its cradle. It is rich; rich in personal property. It exercises a powerful influence over the mass of the English population; it sits in the House of Lords; by its origin and position it seems essentially engaged in politics; it was so at first, intimately and almost subserviently; and yet to day it has no political pretensions whatever; it confines itself within its religious mission. It has never happened that a church so well endowed, so highly placed, and invested with such powerful moral action, should content itself with its spiritual duties, and seek so little to interfere in the civil government of the country.

"The national church has its share, in England, in the general liberty of the country; the complete establishment of the free system has had this salutary consequence, that the temporal and spiritual power, although nominally united in the same hands, are practically separated one from the other, and mutually respected. The instincts of justice and sound sense have prevailed to this point, that the state

and church, confounded in appearance, are distinct in reality, and confine themselves habitually within their natural domains.

"And while the general state of English society thus enabled the Anglican church to recover a portion of the independence which it wants in principle, that church lived in presence of dissenting sects long persecuted, never annihilated, or entirely despoiled of their national liberties, and always in possession of their religious autonomy. This perpetual competition prevented the church from falling permanently into indifference, apathy, remissness, worldly habits, and servile complaisance towards power. In the midst of its weaknesses, apathies, and lapses, it has constantly had before its eyes examples of animated faith, pious fervour, and steady independence. Through all their wanderings and extravagancies, these merits have never, in England, been wanting to the dissenting sects, and their example and rivalry have operated on the established church as a spur in its sides. It has constantly been provoked and compelled to reanimation, and to fortify itself in Christian faith and practice. Undoubtedly it is not at present exempt from the doubts, deviations, and hostile fermentations, which affect all Christendom. In common with the Catholic church, the dissenting sects of England, and continental Protestantism, it has its unbelievers, sceptics, and critics; but he betrays either a great ignorance of facts, or a remarkable blindness of passion, who believes that therefore it is in a state of decomposition and decline. Even in the midst of the general crisis to which Christendom is subjected, the English church has become, and is daily becoming, more warmly and effectively Christian. The essential points of Christianity, grave manners, pious sentiments, faith, zeal, and charity, are indisputably progressing; edifices dedicated to its worship multiply rapidly; congregations are more numerous and anxious; works of piety, at home and abroad, extend and prosper. When I came to London in 1840, when I saw the church of England closely and in exercise, I was struck by the productive religious activity which it displayed; and since that time, the facts I have heard or witnessed convince me that in the bosom of that church, and in spite of opposing movements, the action of Christian revival has not ceased to develop itself."

Of Dissenters M. Guizot speaks thus:—

"I observe amongst the dissenting sects a movement not similar, but corresponding, and equally salutary in its effects. In these small, persecuted communions, religious power had always been strong; but violent and harsh sentiments prevailed with them; hatred seemed to be revenge for injustice, and men consoled themselves for their calamities by detesting the authors of them. When a liberal policy terminated, in England, the oppressive and offensive restrictions which weighed on the dissenters, when they saw the Anglican church become at once more zealous in religious life, and more kindly disposed towards themselves, they in turn became softened and appeased. Legal isolation ceased, and voluntary reconciliation commenced. At first, moral more than intellectual progress: the religious ideas of several of the English dissenting sects remain still, upon many points, narrow and exclusive; but bitter sentiments and malevolent preju-

dices are singularly effaced. The hearts are more Christian than the understandings."

We make no remarks, wishing to furnish materials for reflection rather than to overlay it. Churches or men, who would know themselves, will be glad to see themselves sometimes as others see them; neither worse nor better than they appear to a calm and not unfriendly looker-on. M. Guizot does not appear to us to possess in a high degree that power of reading human character which we should suppose to be necessary in a diplomatist of the first order. Yet his sketches are bright and lively; and he saw men of renown and drew their portraits under circumstances in which few of us have seen them. O'Connell is now an historic personage; his name and character have not grown brighter, even amongst his own countrymen, since he was called away from the scenes which he delighted to "agitate," and which he forced at length into a farcical rebellion. We can only regard him as a great impostor. It is impossible to believe that he ever for one half-hour of his life seriously contemplated a repeal of the Union; while he was deluding millions of Irishmen with the promise, and exacting thousands of their hard earned money under the pretence of bringing it about. But in all this jugglery he was aided, if not prompted, by the priests, who collected the tribute in the chapel, and denounced the Union from the altar.

"I felt surprised at never meeting in this Whig circle a man with whom the party had long been connected, and whose support was indispensable to them—the celebrated Irishman Daniel O'Connell. I expressed this one day to Mrs. Stanley, now Lady Stanley of Alderley, daughter to Lord Dillon, an estimable lady with whom I had become acquainted through family associations, and whose husband was at that time *whipper-in* for the Whigs in the House of Commons; which office consisted in rallying the members of the party on all important occasions, and in superintending their presence. Mrs. Stanley was herself an active partisan in the government interest; Lord Palmerston called her 'the head of our staff.' 'Do you wish to know Mr. O'Connell?' said she to me. 'Yes, certainly.' 'Well, I will arrange that.' Accordingly she invited me to meet him at dinner on the 4th of April, with five or six persons only, amongst whom were Lord John Russell and Lord Dungannon. I found Mr. O'Connell exactly the sort of man I had pictured to myself. There was something perhaps in this, but it is always much to answer expectation. He was tall, bulky, robust, animated; his head a little sunk between his shoulders, with an air of strength and shrewdness; strength everywhere, shrewdness in the quick glance, slightly indirect although not indicating duplicity; he was neither elegant nor vulgar, his manner a little embarrassed, yet firm, with even a tincture of suppressed arrogance. His politeness towards the Englishmen of condi-

tion he met there was mingled slightly with humility and pride; it was apparent that they had once been his masters, and that now he exercised power over them; he had submitted to their rule, and he accepted their attentions. He was evidently flattered at having been invited to meet me. On our introduction I said to him, 'You and I, Sir, are here two great evidences of the progress of justice and good sense; you, a Catholic, are a member of the English House of Commons; I, a Protestant, am the ambassador of France.' This opening remark pleased him, and during dinner we conversed together almost like old acquaintances. During the morning Mrs. Stanley had hesitated about an evening party; nevertheless she had decided for it, and after dinner I saw arrive Lord and Lady Palmerston, Lord Normanby, Lord Clarendon, the Bishop of Norwich, Lady William Russell, and several others. On leaving the dinner-table, a fit of social modesty seized Mr. O'Connell; he wished to take his departure. 'You have company,' said he to Mr. Stanley. 'Yes, but pray remain, we expect you to do so.' 'No, no, I must go.' 'Stay, I entreat you.' He stayed, with visible satisfaction not unmingled with pride. 'That, then, is Mr. O'Connell?' said Lady William Russell to me, who probably had never seen him before. 'Yes,' I replied, 'and I am come from Paris to tell you so.' 'You thought, perhaps, that we passed our lives with him?' 'No, I see evidently that you do not.' All appeared glad of the opportunity to make themselves agreeable to him, and he seemed equally inclined to profit by it. He spoke much; he detailed the progress of temperance in Ireland; the drunkards were disappearing by thousands; the taste for regular habits and more refined manners advanced in proportion as inebriety receded. No one expressed the slightest doubt. I asked him whether this was a mere puff of popular humour, or a lasting reform. He replied gravely, 'It will last; we are a persevering race, as all are who have suffered much.' He took pleasure in addressing himself to me, in calling me to witness the improved fortune of his country, and his personal triumph. I retired towards midnight, and was the first to go, leaving Mr. O'Connell surrounded by four cabinet ministers and five or six ladies of rank, who listened to him with a mixture, somewhat comic, of curiosity and pride, of deference and disdain."

In contrast with this animated scene we have a melancholy picture:—

"The attitude of Lord Grey, and my relations with him, were quite of another character. This great Whig leader, who after having for forty-four years given the example of staunch fidelity to his principles, had met with the rare fortune of accomplishing the work to which he had devoted himself—parliamentary reform, and of thus reaching the object of his life. Lord Grey in 1840 could not reconcile himself to becoming old, and lived almost out of the world, in melancholy and weariness; ever treated with marked distinction when he re-appeared, and receiving testimonies of respect with a singular mixture of dignity and discontent. He was dining with me one day with the principal Whigs; amongst others, several members of the

cabinet, Lord Melbourne, Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and Lord Clarendon. Being one of the first arrivals, Lord Grey was seated near the fire-place, and the other guests, as they came in succession, hastened to salute him. I still see that noble old man, with his lofty figure and handsome face, rising with difficulty from his arm-chair, and answering only by a proud and melancholy inclination of the head to the homage tendered to him. He was fully sensible of the respectful attention I evinced towards him on all occasions. I often called upon him, and he was evidently gratified by my visits. One morning I found him quite alone. He bade me remark this: 'Formerly,' he said, 'when I was young, scarcely any one passed my door, men or women, without calling to see me; to-day, from that window, I observe them all go by, as formerly, but they enter no more.' Another day, it was in the evening, he was alone with his wife, Lady Grey, who was reading to him. She touched me by her anxiety for her husband; she blamed him, before me, for no longer going to the House of Lords, for not speaking or caring for anything. With frankness full of simplicity and almost of confidence, as if she had known me long, she requested me to call frequently upon them, to assist her in combating Lord Grey's tendency. I seconded her desire, I humoured his disease. I incline naturally towards exalted minds when somewhat enfeebled. Their noble nature pleases me, and it seems as if I console their weakness."

This is not by any means a solitary instance of almost abject dejection in old age in men who have filled posts of highest honour. Sir Robert Walpole occurs at once. His son Horace tells us how hard it was to amuse him after he had retired from public life. "Shall I read history to you, Sir?" "Talk not of history," said the peevish old man, "that I know must be false." Had he known more of *one* history, he would have been a happier man. The period is not far distant when some future Guizot will write of all that is just now most brilliant in London society—all that gives life its charm and its importance in the circle which so dazzles most of us that we seem really to think that it shall see no sorrow, as M. Guizot himself writes of his contemporaries of 1840—"but all these are now dead:" words which fall with a dreary sound on those whose hearts are wrapt up in a life whether of sordid gain, or political ambition, or of refined intellectual pleasure. Some such may perhaps read our pages; would that they might be persuaded, while yet it is not too late, to set their affections on things above, not on things on the earth!

CHARGES OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN AND THE BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

1. *Ecclesiastical Legislation Considered. A Charge delivered by Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin.* 1862. *Parker and Co., London; Hodges and Smith, Dublin.*
2. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Diocese of Worcester, at his Primary Visitation in August,* 1862. *By Henry, Lord Bishop of Worcester. Bell and Daldy, London.*

Much has been heard of late of synods and ecclesiastical convocations. An irregular one was held a few weeks ago at Oxford, on which the opinions formed have been as various as the views of those who formed them. This, indeed, was to be expected. By those who look for the renovation of the Church by means of this description, a large assembly of divines and laymen, with the bishop of the diocese presiding, and this in the oldest of our universities, was no doubt accepted as a good omen; nor was the spectacle altogether without interest to those who, with ourselves, regard such self-elected synods with some apprehension. The laity were admitted, and had their share in the proceedings. There was an appearance of moderation and fair dealing; and both sides, if not fairly represented, were patiently heard. If Dr. Pusey was, as we are told, received with great cheering, Mr. Cadman was listened to with attention, and even Lord Ebury was heard without much impatience. Yet the impression left upon our own mind, and we believe upon most men's minds, is this—that such meetings, held from year to year, and removed, as proposed, from place to place, will be productive of but little good, and may be the sources of considerable mischief. If we are asked why the same rule should not apply to the great evangelical meetings of Islington and Weston-super-Mare, we answer, that they have a definite object, the spiritual edification of the clergy who attend them, and, through them, the edification of the Church at large. They are devotional meetings; not, it is true, by any means limited to the offering of prayer and praise, but directed throughout to the promotion of the spirit of devotion in the members present, and, by their ministrations, in the churches committed to their care. The Oxford gathering or congress (for we are at a loss what name to give it) seems to us to carry with it the seeds of incessant agitation—the agitation of questions, some useless, some hopeless, some by no means free from danger. We are not the advocates of a policy which allows no change, and shrinks from innovation, whether

with real or feigned alarm. *Quieta non movere*, is a good proverb in the hands of a wise man, who knows when to apply and how far to urge it; perhaps no maxim was ever more dangerous in the hands of the obstinate and the narrow-minded. But the Oxford congress, should its sessions be resumed, will prove a machinery for promoting agitation upon questions, many of which it will not have the slightest power to set at rest. Yet, if it can determine nothing, it may from year to year open its Pandora's box anew, and if it should ever grow into an important institution, surfeit the land with a fresh crop of theories on various matters, or in fact on every matter, connected with the doctrines, constitution, or discipline of the national church. We cannot see what good is likely to be thus attained, or at least what good that will not be attended with a much greater amount of evil.

The archbishop of Dublin, in his recent Charge, considers the question of ecclesiastical legislation, including synods, convocations, and the co-operation of the laity, in full detail. Indeed, the Charge scarcely touches upon any other questions. The tone is moderate, but not undecided. We easily gather three results as the existing convictions of Dr. Whately's mind: viz., that the present machinery is unsuited to its work; that some new scheme of church government is wanted; and that the prospect of obtaining such a synod or convocation as the present circumstances of the Church require, ought not to be abandoned in despair. Of the present machinery we have had occasion to speak frequently, and always, we own, in a tone of disparagement. If we were dissatisfied with the constitution of our Convocation, we were still more so with its conduct when it was unfortunately permitted to deliberate and act; but as this was an error on the part of the Crown which we believe is not likely to be repeated, we are not concerned to re-open the subject. A remonstrance from the whole bench of Irish bishops, which we printed a few months ago, is conclusive. An English Convocation, even if all its decisions were sanctioned by an Act of Parliament, cannot, without manifest injustice, affect to rule the Irish branch of the national church. It seems to have been utterly forgotten, all along, that there is such a compact in existence as the Act of Union; or that since the Union the Church of England has no longer a legal existence, but is now merged in the "United Church of England and Ireland." The English section, then, has of course no right to impose anything or change anything, without the previous consent of the Irish branch. Ireland has its two Convocations as well as England; but, says his Grace:—

"It should be remembered that even for the summoning of a Convocation of either, or of both, of the Irish Provinces, a royal authority *would* have been necessary; but if each of the four Pro-

vinces of the Church should have a separate Convocation sitting, and each acting independently, and framing regulations for itself, without any provision made for co-operation, and for a combined action of the whole Church, this would amount to a splitting up of the body into four Churches as distinct from each other as the American is from ours.

"If any one should think this desirable, he ought at least to call such separation by its right name; since a division introduced into a Church still designated as *one*, would be clearly of the character of a schism. I am happy to find, however, that the English Bishops appear now to understand fully our real situation, and are disposed cordially to co-operate with us as fellow-members of one United Church." (pp. 10, 11.)

We need to go no further. But the absence of the laity, the arbitrary method of election of proctors, the entire exclusion of curates even from a vote, each of these taken singly destroys all confidence in Convocation as at present constituted.

We pass on with Dr. Whately to the second point. Some new scheme of Church-government suited to the times is, he thinks, undoubtedly required. To let well alone is not always a safe maxim, though it is always plausible. "Not now is the plea when matters are quiet, and not now when they are unquiet; when the stream is low and fordable, we are told that no bridge is needed; and when the river is swollen, that it is difficult and dangerous to begin building a bridge." The archbishop does not think the danger of assembling a synod great, but he evidently thinks the necessity of holding one increases. The danger, he argues, is less, because of the strong sense of danger; for it is not in morals as in physical evils, famines, earthquakes, inundations, which no human efforts can avert; for there the anticipations serve only to increase the panic, and therefore to aggravate the distress. As, in the Christian life, an habitual dread of sin is one of the safeguards of Christian virtue; so in this matter of church politics, the evils that are apprehended must arise, if at all, through the fault of the Church's own members. If, then, a great majority, including a majority of those who are most influential, are fully aware of the evils of any rash steps, we have in these very apprehensions the surest safeguard. It is more likely that the dread of innovation may be carried to an excess, and that some harmless and beneficial changes in points of detail may fail of being adopted through an over dread of their leading to some that will be pernicious.

The archbishop is of opinion, then, that something more is wanted than the revival of Convocation as now by law established. To this he says "there are strong objections; Convocation not being so constituted as to give an adequate representation of even the clergy alone, and giving no representation at all of the laity."

It would be premature to discuss the constitution of such a Church-government as it may be desirable and practicable to establish. His Grace admits that it may be a work of time; it certainly will not be by any slight efforts, or any transient action, that success can be produced. It is seldom indeed that any important change, however beneficial, has been brought about without earnest and persevering efforts. Sooner or later these, however, are crowned with success.

"To say that in any matter in which human agency is concerned no changes *shall* take place, is to talk idly. We might as well pretend to controul the course of the seasons. And to determine that no changes shall take place *except* such as are undesigned and unforeseen, is to encounter far greater risks than those we seek to avoid. For 'he who shuns new remedies,' says Bacon, 'must expect new evils.'

"Still, the National Legislature must be allowed to retain a paramount controul in all things whatsoever; and any Church-government of whatever kind, that may be established, must remain subordinate to that. Nothing must be thought of that can have even the appearance of an 'imperium in imperio.' This is a necessary consequence of ours being an Established Church. And herein lies one great difference between our case and that of the American Episcopalians. There being, in the United States, no established Church at all, the decisions of any Church Convention are, there, *final*, as regards the Members of that Church. But ours being a Community established by the Laws of the State, must of course be subject to the controul of the supreme power of the State. It does not, however, follow that we may not have, in due subordination to the Supreme Legislature, a Government expressly constituted for Ecclesiastical concerns, consisting, of course, exclusively of Members of the Church; and which would be somewhat analogous to our several Colonial Legislatures; which are allowed to act for themselves, though still subject to the controul of the supreme central Legislature. And considering that whatever powers may be vested in any such Synod or Convention as I have been speaking of, must be powers expressly conferred upon it by an Act of the Civil Legislature itself, there can be no reason for any apprehension of encroachments by the Church upon the State." (pp. 19—21.)

We turn to the Primary Charge of Dr. Philpott, bishop of Worcester. It was the first occasion on which he met his clergy; and his Charge is one which has given them, we believe, no usual degree of satisfaction. His lordship enters upon a variety of topics, all of which are treated in a candid spirit, with moderation and charity, and above all in a spirit at once catholic and evangelical. Cordially do we assent to the following remarks:—

"Differences of opinion there must be in every society of earnest thoughtful men, or there could be no vigour of life in independent action. If we tried to exclude from our intercourse and communion

every one who did not hold exactly the same opinion as ourselves upon matters of religious interest, our society would degenerate into a narrow sect, and those who shut themselves up within it would be in danger of falling a prey to the sin of spiritual pride. There is room enough in the Church of England for many differences of opinion, *while we all hold the Head;* there is nothing in such differences of opinion which ought to prevent those in whom they are found from acting together in one holy bond of brotherhood, all loving our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, all trying to prepare and make ready His way, by turning the hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just." (pp. 56, 57.)

This is what the Christian Observer has maintained "from the first day until now." Our endeavour has been all along, so far as in us lay, to unite and hold together all those who *hold the Head;* while, at the same time, we have never swerved from the more painful duty of openly avowing that there are, and ever have been, those amongst us who do not thus hold the Head; and with whom, however chance or external pressure may sometimes force us to act together, we never have been and never shall be one. A great part of the Charge refers to diocesan affairs; on which the clergy would be anxious to learn the sentiments of their newly appointed bishop. To these we need not advert; nor shall we enlarge upon his Lordship's views with regard to church rates, national education, and home and foreign missions, further than to say, as we pass along, that he urges warmly on his clergy the duty of bringing the claims of both of the latter before their congregations.

"Let the claims of our excellent Missionary Societies, which are seeking to spread the gospel among our countrymen abroad, and among the heathen, be brought at least once a year before the notice of every congregation. I am sure that they who try the experiment will not find the people less disposed to give in aid of Foreign Missions, because they have already contributed something in aid of Home Missions or of our Diocesan Church Extension Societies. It is a remarkable fact, that of the two classes of religious societies, which have for their object Home and Foreign Missions respectively, each class has risen in prosperity at the same time and by the same degrees as the other. The Church Building Society, the Church Pastoral Aid Society, the Additional Curates' Society, the Scripture Readers' Society, have risen and become great together with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society. The growth of these two classes of societies has been almost equal. Each seems to act upon and to stimulate the other. I call this fact remarkable, not as if it ought to excite surprise (for, in truth, when we think about it, it would be strange if it were not so), but because it is a fact worthy to be remarked, and deserves the special attention of all who are called upon to advocate the claims of religious and charitable institutions. There is, in fact, but one root from which spring the efforts made by Christians in aid of all such societies; I mean the root

of Christian charity, lying deep in the heart of every one whose soul has been quickened into life by faith in the glorious gospel of our Saviour. And as faith works by love, so the exercise of love reacts on faith. You cannot take a surer way to awaken among your people a personal interest in the gospel, than by engaging their sympathy with the labour of those who try to extend the blessings of the gospel, whether among their own countrymen or among the heathen. If the principle of Christian charity be well founded, the more frequently you appeal to it the more readily is the appeal answered. As the Christian follows on to know the Lord, and advances towards ripeness and perfectness of age in Christ, the more quick is his sense of what our Lord expects and requires every Christian to be doing, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.'" (pp. 24, 25.)

But it is evident that the questions discussed at large by the archbishop of Dublin are those on which the minds of churchmen are now fastening. Bishop Philpott does not avoid them. He probably thought that his clergy were entitled to his confidence; and they certainly have learned but little from the events of the last twenty years, if they have not learned that the free discussion of difficult, and even what some may think dangerous, questions is far better than the old system of cold reserve, or dogged taciturnity. Episcopal Charges are seldom read beyond the diocese in which they are delivered; we shall therefore make an extract of rather unusual length from that of the bishop of Worcester. His lordship's position is one that cannot but make his expressed opinions of general, or rather national, importance; and it will be seen at once how nearly he coincides with the archbishop of Dublin:—

"There is no more serious question at the present day for the consideration of those who feel the responsibility of their position as members of a National Established Church than to determine whether any, and, if any, what, changes are required in the laws by which our Church is governed, and by what means such changes may be best arranged and settled. Are there matters in the system of our Church which call for alteration and amendment, not with the view of attracting those who are now without our pale, but because in our own good judgment such alteration and amendment are desirable? Are there, again, other matters, in which, though we may well rest satisfied with what we have, yet, when we look at the position of a National Established Church and the scruples of some who at present dissent from her, alterations may be safely made with the view of comprehending some who are without, so as to leave them without excuse if they still continue to refuse communion with us? Is it possible, without any sacrifice of principle, to make the Church of England, in a greater degree than she is at present, what we desire her to be, the Church of a united people? Are we, who readily give our unfeigned assent and consent to all that she prescribes and teaches, justified in resisting every change which may be desired by those who conscientiously dissent from her discipline or doctrine? If it is unreasonable to

expect to satisfy those who require nothing less than the separation of Church and State, it is hopeless to remove some grounds of scruple from the minds of good and earnest men, who sincerely desire that the State should be blessed by its connexion with the Church, and that the Church should be supported in her high vocation by the material aid which the secular arm can give her? If we try to remove honest scruples in one direction, shall we by so doing excite fresh difficulties in another? If by giving greater freedom and enlarging her bounds on one side our Church be made to comprehend some who now stand aloof from her, is it certain that we shall not, by that very process, draw closer her limits on the other side and drive away from her communion some who are now attached and faithful members? If it is hopeless, as it is by the confession of all to extinguish dissent entirely, so to frame our laws and formularies and tests of membership as to satisfy the judgment of every thinking man, are we now in possession of that precise form which, having regard to the maintenance of essential truth, we think to be fitted for comprehending the greatest number? Is it our best course, after all that can be said, to rest content with what we have, tolerating all dissent, respecting and loving in each particular form of dissent what is worthy of respect and love in it; but holding fast our own form of sound words, lest, in the attempt to alter it, we should risk the loss of a clear enunciation of truth and the creation of fresh divisions in a body which, whatever the theoretical anomalies of its constitution and laws, does, in fact, comprehend a large number of men of independent minds, who look at religious truth from different points of view?

"I cordially agree with those who think that the consideration of such questions as I have mentioned ought to be approached with great solemnity and caution. But they are questions which the circumstances of the present time loudly call on us to answer; and no one can avoid returning to them some answer, at least in his own mind, who regards the preservation and the extension of the Church of England as a solemn trust committed to her members." (pp. 43—46.)

On Convocation too he speaks, as we ourselves have spoken, in terms which now express, we believe, the sentiments of at least nine-tenths of English churchmen:—

"I desire to speak with all respect of the labours of those who have taken an active part in reviving the sessions of Convocation, and in discussing the various questions which have been brought forward in it. But, whatever the value of Convocation, as giving opportunity for discussion and debate (though many will entertain grave doubts as to the value of such an opportunity, when discussion and debate can lead to no practical result, and every member of the body may travel into whatever field he pleases), it cannot be maintained, I think, that the houses of Convocation supply the machinery for legislation which can be used in the present day with practical advantage. Our occasions require something more simple, more efficient, more fully representing the National Established Church, more deserving and more possessing the confidence of the people, than the cumbrous machinery of several independent provincial Convocations." (pp. 46, 47.)

But we are not without apprehension for ourselves; quite as much as for any of those for whom we write. There is a danger to which both the archbishop and bishop Philpott solemnly refer. The holiest man among Christ's ministers often fears that, busily employed in keeping another's vineyard, the vineyard of his own soul has been suffered to lie waste. Discussions on religion and its politics are not religion, nor any part of it. They may even be the means of deadening its influence, of extinguishing its power. We are afraid they often do so. We discard the narrow prejudice which used to teach that politics and public life are inimical to piety. We believe, upon the contrary, that a faithful servant of God is often charged to show his fidelity on this very field. Yet it has its special dangers. It flatters vanity; it provokes loquacity; it generates strife, and the love of argument and contradiction; it is a grand excuse for the neglect of meditation, of retirement, of secret prayer. It fosters the love of society, and makes home duties tame, and the country parish a prison house. Let those who are engaged in public duties seriously consider how the divine life within, the life of God upon the soul, is affected by it! These solemn words conclude the Charge before us:—

"*Occupy till I come.* The coming of our Lord Jesus Christ is an event to which we ought to be looking forward with unspeakable joy. Let us try to keep it constantly in view as we occupy the office to which His grace has called us .... all of us living close to God, praying without ceasing, acting always under the guidance of the Holy Spirit in thought, word, and work, for 'it is not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.'"

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*Durel's Latin and French Versions of the Revised Book of Common Prayer.**

JOHN DUREL, a native of St. Helier, in the isle of Jersey, and therefore early familiar with the French language, was a polemical writer of some note in the seventeenth century, of whom honourable mention is made by Wood in his Athenæ Oxonienses. He is also known as a translator of the revised English Liturgy into French and Latin.

In 1661-2, what is called the Last Review of the Liturgy

* The reader who feels interested in this subject—and most of those who are giving any heed to the signs of these critical times must do so—will do well to procure and read, "The Oblation of the Elements, and the Credence Table," by the Rev. Thomas Boys, M.A.

took place. At this time Durel was Chaplain in Ordinary to Charles II., who afterwards made him Dean of Windsor. Immediately after the Review, he published a French translation of the Revised Prayer-book, and subsequently another version in Latin. It will be readily conceded that each possesses some weight, if we look at the reputation, position, and opportunities of the translator.

The Latin version is dedicated to the king; a privilege which Durel's position as a royal chaplain would render it not difficult for him to procure. The French is expressly sanctioned by a royal ordinance, in which "Charles R. commands that this version, so soon as printed, with the approbation of one of the chaplains of the Bishop of London, be adopted in all churches and chapels of the realm using the French language, and conforming to the Church of England; and forbids the use of any edition besides." (6 Oct. 1662.)

On the same page with this ordinance is printed, according to the king's requirement, the following satisfactory testimonial by the Bishop of London's chaplain*—"I have perused this French version of the English Prayer-book, by the Rev. John Durel, and have found it in accordance with the English original throughout." (April 6, 1663.) And before the close of 1662, he published a sermon, "The Liturgy of the Church of England asserted," which he preached in French in a French church in London, where his French version was there used for the first time.

As there were in the realm French churches (*e.g.* in Jersey and the Savoy) using the French language and conforming to the Church of England, there was sufficient reason why the French version should go forth with the sanction of a royal injunction. It was of course otherwise with the Latin.

From the royal ordinance, and the chaplain's certificate, prefixed to the French version, and from the fact that the new translation began to be used in the French church in the Savoy before the close of 1662, "we may fairly infer that Durel was cognizant of the proceedings of Convocation during the revisal of the English Prayer-book, that he wrought in unison with the members of Convocation, enjoyed their confidence, and knew their mind." To the candid inquirer these inferences will not be weakened, when he learns that the name of the Bishop of London's chaplain, who certified the correctness of Durel's French version, appears among those of the proctors† who attest the unanimous consent of the Lower House of Convocation to the alterations in the *English* Prayer-book.

* Hanc Gallicam Domini Johannis Durell Liturgiæ Anglicanæ Versionem perlegi, eamque per omnia cum Originali Anglico concordem me reperisse profiteor. Geo. Stradling. Ap. 6, 1663."

† "Georgius Stradling, Cleri Diœces. Londinensis Procurator."

It may be asked, What have we to do with all this in the present day? We answer the question by two others. Are not Durel and the Bishop of London's chaplain (a member of Convocation) at least as good authority as the Bishop of Exeter in deciding the meaning and intention (not indeed of the Laudian High Church party, but) of the Revising Convocation which sat in 1661-2? What assistance, then, do Durel's versions give us in inquiring into the value of Bishop Phillpotts' *ex-cathedrâ* assertion, that the revised Anglican Communion Service "enforces" an oblation of the elements?

Let us begin by comparing the following Rubric (the first of the two inserted between the Offertory Sentences and the Prayer for the Church Militant) with Durel's Latin version—

PRAYER-BOOK.	DUREL.
"While these sentences are in reading, the deacons, churchwardens, or other fit persons appointed for that purpose, shall receive the Alms for the Poor,* and other devotions of the people, in a decent basin to be provided by the parish for that purpose; and reverently bring it to the priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy table."	"Dum ista recitantur, diaconi, æditui, aliive ad hoc idonei, quibus illud muneris demandatum est, eleemosynam in pauperum usum erogatam colligent, ut et alias populi OBLATIONES in pios usus, in amulâ seu lance idoneâ à parochianis in hunc usum comparatâ, eamque ad presbyterum reverenter afferent, ab illo autem gestu modesto ac humili super sacrâ mensâ collocabitur."

"That is," remarks Mr. Boys, "the expression in the English rubric, 'and other devotions of the people,' is rendered by Durel, 'ut et alias populi OBLATIONES in pios usus.' Now the word 'oblationes' is not again employed in Durel's translation, till we come to the beginning of the Prayer for the Church Militant, where we find the expression 'eleemosynas atque oblationes.' Is it not clear, then, that this latter expression, 'eleemosynas atque oblationes,' must be taken, *in Durel's version*, as referring to the terms 'eleemosynam' and 'populi oblationes' in the *former* of the two preceding rubrics, and not to the bread and wine in the *latter?* In other words, is it not clear that in Durel's Latin Prayer-book the oblations of which we implore the merciful acceptance *are not* the bread and wine placed upon the table by the priest, but the pious offerings of the people?"

An objection is ready at hand. Does not Durel translate the two verbs "present" and "place" somewhat vaguely by the single verb "collocabitur." Are we not, then, taking advan-

* In the present day, only "Alms for the Poor" are collected at the Offertory. But in the Rubric *two* classes of gifts are recognized as collected before the mention of the directions concerning the bread and wine—"Alms for the Poor," and (distinct from these) "other devotions of the people." Both these classes of gifts are to be *presented* and placed. The bread and wine are only to be placed. Hence, so far as the language of the Rubrics is concerned, our legitimate sources of information, the bread and wine do not appear to have any claim to be included in the alms and oblations of the Prayer for the Church Militant.

tage of a rather loose translation to put our own meaning upon Durel as if really his? Here is the reply to such an objector:—

"Durel, remarking the difference in the language of the two rubrics, determines to bring out distinctly, in translating, the full sense of the expression in the former rubric, '*present* and *place*.' This object he effects in the following manner. The idea of *placing* he represents by 'collocabitur.' The idea of *presenting* he conveys by his rendering of the clause, 'and other devotions of the people,' which he translates, 'ut et alias populi *oblationes* in pios usus;' seeing that an oblation is not merely something to be placed, but something that is to be *offered* or *presented*."

Mr. Boys does not pause to notice the fairness of Durel in translating the rubrical word "priest" by its proper Latin representative "presbyter." This term priest has a very different signification in our rubrics from that which is assigned to it by Romanists and Tractarians, as might be readily gathered from the almost jealous exclusion of the term "altar" from the Communion Service in our Prayer-book. But in this part of our subject we prefer, for obvious reasons, to cite the opinions of a well-known High Church prelate, the late bishop Mant, who writes, in his Commentary on the Book of Common-prayer, on the Name and Order of Priests:—

"Our English word 'priest' comes immediately from the French word 'prestre,' or 'prêtre,' which is but a contraction of 'presbyter,' or πρεσβυτερος, and in its proper signification does denote no more than an elder. But there seems to be an abuse of the word crept into our language, and that of considerable standing; namely, to use the word only for a sacrificer; for, according to our common way of speaking, whenever the word 'priest' is named, people have presently a notion of sacrifice, which was never intended by the first imposition of the word. . . . The title which is given in Scripture to this order (the second order) is πρεσβύτερος (presbyteros), and διακονος (diakonos), εὐαγγελίου θεοῦ Χριστοῦ; but they are never called ἱερεῖς, which is the proper word to signify sacrificators, or those priests who offered sacrifice. The 'holy priesthood,' (1 Pet. ii. 5), and the 'royal priesthood' (1 Pet. ii. 9), are spoken of the laity* as well as the clergy. Nor does it appear that the name ἱερεῖς was ever given as a proper title to the Christian clergy by any of the most ancient Christian writers. They are called 'presbyters' by Clement and Ignatius."

Durel was far too well-informed in such matters to be ignorant of what bishop Mant has here advanced, or that the illustrious Richard Hooker regarded "presbyter" as a more suitable designation than "priest" for the Christian ministry.

* Is not this fact, that 1 Pet. ii. 5 and 9 apply to the laity as well as to the clergy, to be considered as a strong protest against the present construction of our Convocation—an assembly of clergy from which the laity are excluded.

Accordingly, Durel, as an honest translator, would not take an unfair, not to say treacherous, advantage of what Laudian high churchmen might choose to consider as an ambiguous term "priest" (sacerdos) in the English rubric; but, as was his duty, looking to its original derivation from the πρεσβύτερος of the New Testament, and to its undoubted meaning in the English Communion Service—(for he could not have overlooked the deliberate and careful exclusion of the word "*altar*," the correlative, not of πρεσβύτερος, but of ἱερεὺς, from the Communion rubrics)—he employed the proper Latin equivalent "presbyter."

The view which we have given above, of the meaning of Durel's Latin version, will not be weakened if the reader will attend to what we are about to bring forward concerning his French version. Let us, then, listen once more to the writer to whose researches we are already much indebted:—

"Again, in Durel's French version will be found something equally remarkable. In our English Prayer-book we find, towards the beginning of the Prayer for the Church Militant, a clause placed in a bracket, with a postil. The two together stand thus:—

"'We humbly beseech thee most mercifully (to accept our alms and oblations and) to receive these our prayers which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty.'

If there be no alms or oblations, then shall the words (of accepting our alms and oblations) *be left out unsaid.*

"The whole is thus rendered by Durel:—

"'Nous te supplions bien humblement qu'il te plaise (*accepter nos aumônes et nos oblations, et) recevoir nos prières que nous presentons à ta Divine Majesté.'"

* Cecy sera omis lorsqu'il n'y aura point d'aumône.

Mr. Boys then proceeds to repeat the French version of the postil, drawing from it one or two apparently fair conclusions:—

"'Cecy sera omis lorsqu'il n'y aura point d'aumône.'

"That is all.

"It is clear, then, that under this word 'aumône' (alms) Durel includes all that is expressed in the prayer itself by 'Nos aumônes et nos oblations' (our alms and oblations), and consequently that he, Durel, could not have regarded the prayer as having any reference to a supposed oblation of the bread and wine, which certainly would not be an aumône.

"It is consequently apparent, and may be fairly assumed from the French as well as from the Latin version, that by the expression 'alms and oblations' *in our English Prayer-book*, Durel understood the alms and other devotions of the people—nothing more."

The following is too important as a testimony to the literary character of Durel to be omitted, coming from the pen of the author of the *Athenæ Oxonienses*:—

"Now this testimony is cotemporaneous. This was the view taken

by a learned divine of that very period when the English Prayer-book was revised and settled in the form which it retains to this day. And be it observed, Durel was no 'puritan,' he was not at all a man likely to modify what are called church views for the purpose of gratifying Nonconformists and Dissenters. 'He' (Durel) 'was very well versed,' says Wood, 'in all the controversies on foot between the Church and Disciplinarian party. The justness and reasonableness of the established constitutions of the former, no one of late years hath more plainly manifested, or with greater learning more successfully defended against its most zealous oppugners, than he has done, as by his works following is manifest.' (*Athenæ*, col. 732.) And elsewhere, 'Durel was the judicious and laborious advocate for the Church of England both in word and deed.' (*Fasti*, vol. ii. col. 180.)"

Could Bishop Phillpotts expect to receive higher commendation than this from the warmest of his admirers?

Durel's two versions of the Revised Liturgy afford very strong presumptive evidence against the notion that the Church then "enforced" the oblation of the elements. Powerful negative evidence on this point may be gathered from his other works. In his Sermon, *The Liturgy of the Church of England asserted*, 1662, he defends several things in the newly revised Prayer-book against Nonconformist objections, but does not allude to an oblation of the bread and wine. And is it possible that sharp-sighted and hostile dissenters should have failed to object to such a supposed oblation, if they had understood that it formed part of the revised Prayer-book? And could they have been ignorant of this if, as Dr. Phillpotts asserts *ex-cathedrâ*, one of the express objects of the Church in the revision of the Liturgy in 1661–2, was to ENFORCE the doctrine of the oblation of the elements.

In 1662 Durel also published a "View of the Government and Public Worship of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas." In 1669 appeared his memorable work, "Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Vindiciæ." From neither of these works can any trace be gathered that it was the opinion of any Churchman or Nonconformist of that day that an oblation of the elements formed a part of our Communion Service. Some of the points vindicated by Durel have been enumerated—kneeling at the sacrament, bowing in the creeds, standing at the reading of the Gospel, the use of the cross in baptism—"but he has no vindication for an oblation of the elements. May we not say, Because nobody impugned it? And may we not infer, Because nobody knew of it?"

The following passage has too important a bearing on the subject before us to be omitted from this paper:—

"Special attention is due," writes Mr. Boys, "and I claim it, to chapter xxi. of Durel's 'Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ,' because he

there treats expressly 'concerning* those things which the Presbyterians censure *in the administration of the Sacraments* according to the ritual of the Anglican Church.' He begins, 'On the place and name of the Holy Table,'† and tells us what was the Nonconformist objection—'The tables are converted into altars.'‡ He tells us also what was the alleged ground of this complaint—'The position is more that of an altar than of a table; the remainder of the elements is to be reverently replaced.'

"Now, had it been known at the time as the intention of the Church, not only that the elements should be *replaced* on the table after all had communicated, but that they should in the first instance be presented and placed there *as an oblation*—aye, and that what constituted this oblation was, after all, no offering on the part of the people—for the bread and wine were not provided § by the communicants—but the *act* of the priest presenting and placing—that so the oblation was made; and had it been further known that by this oblation of the elements they were to be 'made sacred,' and yet that there followed a provision for making them sacred a second time in the 'Prayer of Consecration;' would not the 'Presbyterians' in that case have urged a farther objection, and an objection far more cogent than either of the preceding? And would not Durel have had rather a harder task to find a reply? But we hear of no such objection, and no such reply is needed. The inference is, that, in the days when Durel wrote, the attempt to 'enforce' on the Church, as now constituted, an oblation of bread and wine had not yet commenced within her pale." ||

CORRESPONDENCE.

WAS THERE A PRE-ADAMITE MAN?

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—In these days of geological discoveries, when it is so confidently urged by many eminent men that there have been, previous to the creation of man, many ages of this our planet's existence—some going

* "De iis quæ Presbyteriani reprehendunt in Sacramentorum Administratione juxta Ritum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ."

† "De Sacræ Mensæ situ et nomine."

‡ Mensæ mutantur in Altaria.

§ The Rubric says—"The bread and wine for the communion shall be provided by the curate and churchwardens *at the charges of the parish*." The Bishop of Exeter is desirous of annulling this Rubric for the purpose of enforcing an oblation of the elements.

|| The Bishop of Exeter tells Dr. Lushington that "the real intention of the Rubric immediately preceding the Prayer for the Church Militant, was to enforce the Church's *doctrine* of the Eucharist, in one of its not least important particulars;—to enforce an *oblation* of bread and wine .... in order that *with the elements*, thus being made sacred by being offered to God, and placed on His Holy Table, which (we know from our Lord's own words) 'sanctifieth the gifts' placed upon it, we may make commemoration of the sacrifice of His death." The Bishop's argument rests upon our Lord's words in Matt. xxiii. 19, "Whether is greater, the gift, or the altar that *sanctifieth* the gift?" His Lordship, therefore, to carry his point, does not scruple to affirm—against the very strong negative evidence of our Communion Rubrics—that the Communion Table of the Reformed Protestant Church of England, is *bonâ fide* an Altar.

of the six days? . . . . . The only solution
I can see, is the supposition that this plan
many geological changes, became the de
mighty angel, now demonstrated Satan or A
to his trust, he rebelled against his Creator
and his guilty associates were expelled from
sion or heaven; and that their fair domain,
an offended Deity, was resolved into a dark a
it did not seem good to the Lord that Sata
have triumphed, as to have rendered even
vinces of His empire a worthless and useless
organized out of the chaotic materials of a f
that time but a little lower than the ange
sovereignty which Satan had forfeited. The
spectacle to the millions of angels who had r
morning of the recovered earth, the *stars a*
sons of God shouted for joy. . . . . For
severing malignity, then, on the part of Sat
whole human race, we seem to have a solutic
our present inquiries have conducted us. Sat
of this planetary mansion, in the house of
blasted domain reorganized for the abode o
tures. . . . . The sole miserable consolat
would be to wreak his vengeance upon thos
upstart usurpers of his rightful territory, and
mighty archangel from whose avenging arm
of all things valuable. This planet he consi
own. Hence, the whole of his permitted st
trial of strength and power, whether he or th
the master of it."

For the arguments by which Faber endeav
from Scripture, I must refer my readers to
merely condensed that theory, so as to g

of our Saviour, Christ." This he conceived to be the true explanation, in particular, of our Lord's agony in the garden of Gethsemane; it was the price paid to Him who had the power of death, for a possession actually acquired by Him. This view of the mysterious transaction is most plainly in accordance with St. Luke iv. 5, 6, and with Heb. ii. 14, 15; of the latter passage, indeed, it is simply an expansion, "Forasmuch, then, as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, He also Himself likewise took part of the same, that, through death, He might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil, and deliver them who, through fear of death, were all their lifetime subject to bondage." The sacrifice of Christ contemplated in this strictly scriptural light, he felt that all human dogmas about the wrath of God, poured out upon the Son as the substitute of fallen mankind, were at once and altogether done away." In conjunction with these theories I would hazard merely a supposition. If there has been a previous world, redeemed from Satan by his Conqueror and our Saviour, what was "man at that time but a little lower than the angels" who tenanted the re-organized world from which Satan had been expelled by Christ, and who was redeemed from Satan when fallen under his seduction? Were the subjects of Satan who fell with him in an antecedent world, allowed a probationary trial in the re-organized world, *reduced* to man? How would that idea account for Satan's easy victory over man, for the evil nature of man, for much that cannot be fathomed in the circumstances of man; and *we know* that through the merciful redemption effected for man, he will, if accepted in Christ, be as the angels—shall we say, again? This speculation does not seem to me contrary to Scripture; but as it is not revealed, I would hardly have dared to offer it, only it enhances, if that be possible, the Divine goodness of God our Saviour. H.

[H. has given us the scheme lately propounded anew by the author of "The Pre-Adamite Man." We had some intention of reviewing it; but his letter may suffice. The theory is fanciful, not *contrary* to Scripture; just as a treatise on the probable inhabitants of the moon, or any of the planets, would not be contrary to Scripture. It treats on a subject the Scripture passes over in utter silence. Whether the discussion falls under the head of "things unprofitable and vain" is not so clear. But as the question is often discussed, we have not excluded it from our pages.—EDITOR.]

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—Permit me to bring before you one difficulty which remains, in my opinion, unanswered in your review of "Aids to Faith," &c., in the May number of the Christian Observer.

Hugh Miller fully recognized the fact that "each new geological period is marked by the first appearance of many new animals, and by the revival of many which had been known in former periods." It was not this fact which "compelled" Hugh Miller to give up the literal sense of the 1st chapter of Genesis, but "that for many long ages ere man was ushered into being, not a few of his humbler con-

am, sir, yours, &c.,

NOTICES OF NEW

Hawaii: The Past and Present and F
By Manley Hopkins, Hawaiian Consu
Preface by the Bishop of Oxford. Lond

condition of Hawaii is just at present c
both in a political and religious point of
barbarism; what rank will it take amor
ceased to be heathen; how will it conc
churches? The future is hopeful in bo
wise man, the people are intelligent, indu
Cruelty, indeed, was never the prevailing
state; though, like all savages, they w
sudden impulses of rage. In religion, t
American missionaries, and are conseque
gregationalists. Yet the king and his
episcopal form of government, and hav
England for a bishop of Hawaii. A bish
is probably by this time on his voyage
pectedly created. We naturally feel well
tolic form of government should receive t
so free from prejudice. But we will
There is in the volume before us a d
American missionaries, which is certainly
judging by their conduct in other place
till within a few years, wherever they ha
been models for all our European

"whose adorning let it not be with gold and pearls or costly array, but with good works." We read in the newspapers with no satisfaction, that the bishop designate of this new diocese had been presented by a wealthy layman with a costly crosier and other expensive ornaments, once thought necessary to the state and dignity of a bishop, but amongst us long since disused. Our Reformers had these things thrust upon them; they accepted them with reluctance, and laid them aside as soon as possible. Not one English clergyman in a thousand ever saw either crosier or mitre; except that all Oxford men have seen that exquisite specimen of mediæval art, William of Wykeham's crosier, in the chapel of his own foundation. The new bishop may have thought it right, in courtesy, to accept the present. We hope his good sense will induce him never to display it. Spiritual Christians, more especially new converts, are very sensitive on such points; and they will probably think in Hawaii that the new forms of religious worship promise ill, if they are introduced among them with childish fopperies of the mediæval school.

Mr. Hopkins's book contains much valuable information on the natural history and geography of the island. There are accounts of wonderful mountains and more wonderful volcanoes. These we commend to the attention of the wandering amphibious tribe having yachts, who have "used up" the mael-strom, Hæckla, and the northern horrors, and have long disdained the humbler attractions of Ætna and Vesuvius. But if the reader seeks for the spiritual refreshment which a book written in an earnest spirit on the subject of a great field of most successful missionary toil might have afforded, he will find himself disappointed.

Formby's Pictorial Sacred History. Edited by the Rev. Henry Formby. Longman & Co., Ludgate Hill, London. 3 *vols.* 12*mo.*— The reader may be surprised that we should place the review of an honest, undisguised book of Romish legends upon our pages: a book which has brought for its author, whatever may be its worth, the poor old pope's benediction from Italy, and which is imprinted by the permission of J. Ullathorne ✠ with the addition of a cross; from which we gather that the said J. Ullathorne is a Roman Catholic bishop, who would very much like to add what the cross aforesaid intimates to the initiated, that he is Lord Bishop of Birmingham. This title, indeed, was publicly assumed, if not by himself, by the Roman catholics of the diocese on his behalf, some years ago; but it was found prudent not to urge his claims too fast; and in public documents the title disappeared.

We probably should not have noticed these three volumes, had they not been placed in our hands by the courtesy of the author, or his publishers, which we regard as a challenge to review them. We are nothing loath; and we begin our task by assuring the author that if his volumes edify pious Roman Catholics half as much as they have amused us, they well deserve the pope's benediction, and, we will add, bishop Ullathorne's imprimatur.

The work, which is in three duodecimo volumes, styles itself *Pictorial Bible Stories;* and the first volume contains many such from the Old Testament, which we are glad to meet with in a book designed for juvenile Roman Catholics. The second volume also con-

tains stories from the New Testament, told, of course, as a Roman Catholic is bound to tell them. Then come, in questionable shape, stories from the Apocrypha, illustrated by pleasant pictures, such as Tobit drawing out his wonderful fish. But the title proceeds to inform us that it is also a book of *Church-history Stories*. Now, of these some are very pleasant, others very shocking; all draw largely upon the Protestant reader's credulity. Our space fails us, but we must give a specimen of the instruction Rome offers to her youthful members: *e. g.*, St. Francis and his two brothers, being one day journeying past Bevagna and Canna,

"Happened to look on one side of the road, and saw an immense number of birds assembled on some trees at a little distance. Considering them for a while in astonishment, he said to his companions, 'Do you wait a little for me here, while I go and preach to my little sisters the birds.' The substance of his sermon was as follows:—'My little sisters the birds, you are greatly indebted to God your Creator,'" &c. &c.

The silliness of the remainder of the sermon does not excuse its profaneness, and we cannot transcribe it.

"As St. Francis spoke these words, all the birds, who seemed to take a marvellous pleasure in all that the holy man said to them, began to open their beaks and stretch out their necks, expanding their wings, and reverently inclining their heads, while the saint on his side was greatly charmed with the multitude, and great variety of their plumage. Finally, when he had finished his sermon, he made the sign of the cross over them, and gave them leave to fly away. Whereupon, all the birds, little and great, rose simultaneously in the air, and following the sign of the cross which St. Francis had made, they separated themselves into four companies, the one flying off to the east, another to the west, a third to the south, and the fourth and last to the north."

Here follows another pleasant story:—

"One day St. Anthony went down to the bank of the river where it joined the sea; and posting himself, as it were, between the river and the sea, he began to speak to the fishes, after the manner of a message from God to them, of which he was the bearer:—'Do ye come and hear,'" &c. &c.

Again, however, we must decline to insert a string of words both silly and impious.

"On a sudden, after the uttering of these words, so vast a multitude of fish, large and small and middle-sized, began to come near the shore, that the like had never before been seen, either in that river or in that sea, and they all kept their heads above the water, and had their faces turned towards St. Anthony, the utmost order and decorum being observed; for the inner circle was formed of the very small fish, and the outer circles, where the water was increased in depth, were all the middle-sized and larger fish. Thus arranged in order, St. Anthony began his discourse to them, 'My brothers the fish,'" &c. &c.

A few weeks ago, Dr. Newman took occasion to publish a letter declaring his entire satisfaction with the church of Rome. "I hold, and ever have held, that her sovereign pontiff is the centre of unity, and the vicar of Christ; and I ever have had, and have still, an unclouded faith in her creed, in all its articles; a supreme satisfaction in her worship, discipline, and teaching." Dr. Newman, then, believes that these volumes deserve the benediction of Christ's vicar on earth, and the sanction of his own bishop; he believes that by such impious trash the soul of a Christian child is nourished! If so, popery has reduced his once fine intellect to a state of imbecility. In the same letter he adds, that "Protestantism is the dreariest of pos-

sible religions." If he speaks of the Tractarian Protestantism through which he passed on his way to Popery, we are much of the same way of thinking. It is the mere corpse of that system of which he has since entered on the full enjoyment, with what little of life it has. He says, "The thought of the Anglican service makes me shiver." Nor does this surprise us, if, while he made use of it, he felt the want of those men and women mediators, of whom Rome has introduced him to an ample stock, but of whom our prayer-book makes no mention, and from whom it taught him to expect no help. And he concludes, "The thought of the Thirty-nine Articles makes me shudder." Poor Dr. Newman, from the bottom of our hearts we deeply pity him. The author of Tract No. 90 has but too much cause to shudder, when he looks in the glass at his own whitened hairs, and thinks of the Thirty-nine Articles. The letter is written to persuade us Protestants that he is a very happy man in his new religion. "I should be a consummate fool (to use a mild term) if in my old age I left 'the land flowing with milk and honey' for the city of confusion and the house of bondage." This is not the language of a mind at rest, nor that of an aged Christian in the full enjoyment of that peace which passeth understanding. "He doth protest too much." It is the effort to appear composed; it is not composure.

How different is the style of our own Protestant instruction. Take for instance, *The Helping Hand, a Guide to the New Testament. By Adelaide Alexander. London: James Hogg and Sons.*—The object of this little work is simply to supply biblical information to those who have not the opportunity of extensive reading. To young people it will be interesting and instructive, since it conveys a considerable amount of information relative to the habits, manners, customs, and laws of the Jews, some knowledge of which materially contributes not merely to the interest of the narratives but the profit of the youthful reader. Such books ought to find a place in our National Schools. They make *intelligent* readers.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE grave had scarcely closed upon the Primate of Ireland, when it was opened again to receive the remains of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The names of these two prelates will descend to posterity as those once borne by men venerable for their office, still more venerable for apostolic zeal and piety. Of the former, we in England never knew the worth. It is only now that he has gone, that we are made acquainted, through the testimony of the whole Irish church, with the saintly virtues of archbishop Beresford. Our own venerable primate was well known, first, as a private clergyman, learned, laborious, sound in the faith, and exemplary in life and doctrine; then for many years as bishop of Chester; and more recently as archbishop of Canterbury and primate of England. As bishop of Chester, before the

clergymen, faithful ministers of the Gospe
parishes previously but little cared for. C
may be enough to mention, that he had
churches some years before he left the c
Canterbury, at the instance of Lord John
able to the Queen; and his appointment
who differed widely from him, as a reasons
a just acknowledgment of his long, succ
amongst the difficulties of his northern di
had presided over the see of Chester, doin
bishop; and he has now been called to his
the primacy, which the "Times"—seldom
men—declares that he filled "with the
"The chief theme of his praise," it says, '
of his rule, in the holiness of his life, and t
In this view, the late archbishop must be
prelates that ever lived." We are not in
materials, and can say only that his death
it was the calm, peaceful close of a long an
fulness, and piety. A few days must now
primacy. Whoever he may be, may he
even as he also followed Christ.

Thin is the partition which separates de
world. From this solemn scene we must
hope—ever bright, but gilded over now w
of the Prince of Wales with the Princess
and the formal betrothal has taken place.
entire satisfaction, and is not likely to be l
Our schoolboys recollect that we are, to
blood. Politicians think it will cement
where English influence is much wanted; a
connection free from suspicion of the sligh
logy, or the least Rome-ward tendency.
difference to either nation that it will be

Our clerical readers, especially incumbents in country parishes, ought to be made acquainted with a bill "to amend the law relating to ecclesiastical dilapidations," which has been submitted to a select committee of the House of Lords. It is proposed that in every diocese a surveyor of dilapidations should be appointed by the bishop; that an inspection may be ordered by the archdeacon, patron, or incumbent; that whenever a survey is required, the bishop shall give the officiating minister of the benefice in question a month's previous notice; that the surveyor shall also give the officiating minister fourteen day's notice of the day on which he intends making his inspection; that, in case the incumbent object to the surveyor's report, the bishop shall be the referee; that the bishop shall decide what amount may be borrowed from Queen Anne's Bounty; the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty being authorized to advance money for this purpose on the usual terms, at a rate of interest not exceeding 4 per cent. We hesitate to express an opinion upon this bill, some of the provisions of which, however, seem to press rather harshly on the clergy. It is not yet too late to alter and amend it. On the whole, those who know them best will agree with us, that the parochial clergy are rather too fond than otherwise of meddling with bricks and mortar. They rather overbuild than neglect the parsonage.

The harvest is nearly completed, and though late, is well ripened and in good condition. The crop of wheat is said to be slightly deficient, but on the other hand the potatoes have not been so free from disease since the fatal year in which the malady attacked them; and other produce is abundant. If the reader's heart dispose him to make a liberal thank-offering, let him remember the distress in Lancashire. It is not the less because it does not brawl in the streets, nor scowl in the face of parliament. It is deep and dreadful, and it has not yet met with the sympathy, or at any rate with the succour it deserves. There has been a deplorable want of energy and foresight in providing a supply of cotton, which might by this time have been had, with proper management, from India, in almost any quantity, as well as from Africa and other places. Indeed, it seems to be capable of cultivation in every tropical climate, where it grows as readily as the thistle grows in England. We are afraid the prospect of supplies from the Southern States is still distant. The civil war still rages. The Confederates triumph everywhere by land. Tremendous battles have been fought again; and Manassas Gap and Bull Run have been the scene of a second defeat of the Federals infinitely more disastrous than the first in the same spot a year ago. Their invading armies have been defeated and driven back in all directions; and, except at New Orleans, the Confederate territory is probably free from the presence of a single Federal regiment. The Confederates are now, in turn, the invaders; they are in force in Maryland; they have their choice of attacking Washington or Baltimore; and if they have met with no great reverse, one or other will soon be in their hands. The question of European intervention is not likely to be heard of again, unless it be to settle the terms on which a treaty, in its details, shall be concluded. The independence of the Confederate States is now secured, and their recognition by foreign Powers must follow as a matter of course.

Yet English sympathies linger with the Federals, in this hour of their humiliation and distress. Amidst provocations, insults, and injuries such as she never patiently received from any other nation in the world, we still look upon New England as on a wayward child; and now that sorrow and anguish are come upon him, we have no disposition to dwell upon his follies. The Northern section of the Union itself seems in no small danger of immediate dissolution. The government of Washington is falling to pieces. Secretary Stanton is dismissed from the cabinet. M'Clellan has been dismissed from the commandership-in-chief, but dismissed only to be reinstated with fuller powers. A commander-in-chief who has lost an army but never won a battle! The tax-gatherer has received his commission, but he does not venture to thrust his hated paper under the door, or into the letter-box, of one solitary house in all the Northern States. The conscription for 300,000 men exists only as a record of the national panic. Not a soldier has been drafted. An invasion from the South may possibly call out some patriotic feeling; at present discord and despondency, intermingled with fits of braggart threatenings against England, and expressions of frightful hate and vengeance on the South, these preside over the melancholy scene. The one hopeful circumstance is, that the oppressed and long silenced minority dares once more to breathe, and even to speak; and truths which were received with a burst of idle rage when kindly and cautiously told from England a few months ago, are now heard in the streets of New York from her best citizens, and even whispered once more in her newspapers. The old republic is at an end; and the sooner the Federals admit it the better for themselves and the world at large. Europe will soon forgive their arrogance; there is a noble band of excellent men amongst their own citizens, as we have all along maintained, who will not so easily forgive their country and themselves.

In Italy, Garibaldi, by one rash exploit, has brought his political career to an ignominious close. He is now wounded and a prisoner, and his followers are dispersed. For the moment the pope sits more firmly on his seat, and the king of Italy more lightly on his throne. For a spirit has been provoked which will not soon be quieted, and the cry throughout the Italian cities is, "Italy and Garibaldi," and "Rome or death," and the revolutionary spirit is once more abroad.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Δουλος thinks that some passages we quoted without disapprobation from Mr. Ruskin's works, in our last number, should not have passed without censure. Perhaps he is right; but Mr. Ruskin does not profess to be a theologian, and we would rather praise than blame when a writer means well.

Several communications stand over till the next month.

THE

CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

NEW SERIES. } No. 299. NOVEMBER. [1862.

OUR LORD'S INTERVIEW WITH PETER, AFTER HIS RESURRECTION.

It is worthy of note in how many forms instruction is conveyed in Holy Scripture. Sometimes its deepest truths are clearly and lucidly expanded; at other times they are only hinted briefly, suggested rather than expressed. A narrative or incident is occasionally compressed into a word; and often its very *silence* seems especially designed to convey to us some lesson of the greatest importance. On these occasions, it appears as if God the Holy Ghost had directly *refrained* from giving full information to the world, in order that the minds of men might be stimulated to devout and reverent meditation. Every teacher knows the value of judicious blanks and pauses, and their beneficial influence upon the minds of those whom he is instructing. Without them, teaching is apt to be superficial; it leaves nothing for the scholar to fill up. For direct communication of instruction developes the reasoning and meditative faculties only imperfectly; it is when the teacher is silent for a time, that the mind of his listener begins to act for itself. And it is observable how frequently God has made use of this very principle to stir us up to sober and profitable reflection upon subjects which might have been explicitly and circumstantially told, but which He has wisely left to the exercise of our own meditation. Not, indeed, that we can venture to supply, by our human reason, that which God has kept back from His Divine revelation; but that we should call our powers of reflection and thoughtful study into exercise; so that, by comparing Scripture with Scripture, gravely, and in the spirit of humility, we may ascertain (with God's help) what is *implied*, as well as what is *expressed*, and thus reap the rich harvest of a deep and searching knowledge of Holy Writ.

Instances of this may easily be supplied. There are many

...know, from Luke ix. 31, to wha
many other cases; perhaps the mos
suggested by that single "word of th
Acts xx. 35 from going into oblivion
our Lord's utterances have done.

In the present short essay, the writ
to one particular instance of the abov
cation, in an incident in the history o
is very briefly alluded to in the N
which merely state the fact, without
culars; it is, the manifestation of Jesu
of His rising from the dead.

We read, in 1 Cor. xv. 5, that Jesu
"was seen of Cephas, then of the tw
seen by *Peter* before any of the other
says (xvi. 7) that the angel who rolled
door of the sepulchre expressly told
other women, to go and announce th
tion to His disciples "*and Peter*."
Luke xxiv. 34, that on the return o
Emmaus that same evening, they "fo
together . . . . saying, The Lord is
appeared unto Simon." We have evid
ment of an express manifestation of
apostle—alone, apart from all other
from the rest of the apostles, and *pre
them*.

And this is all that is told us upon
further direct information. All we ha
line of the picture; the details are n
we may fill up some of those inner d

absence of meditative exercise. The picture before us is the *reconciliation* between Jesus and the disciple who had denied him. In other words, it is the tenderness of Christ in dealing with penitent and sorrowing souls.

It is familiar to us all, from the history of Joseph, how gently and lovingly he dealt with his brethren, in making himself known to them after their estrangement. The conscience of those men had been awakened from a long sleep; and, on its awakening, it wrung from them the confession of remorse, "We are verily guilty concerning our brother." It led the way for their confusion of face, when Joseph told them who he was, and showed them how he could forgive. We do not wonder, as we read the story, that "they could not answer him, for they were troubled at his presence." They were entirely unprepared for their brother's unexpected, yearning love. The whole scene is graphic and striking, in a degree scarcely to be surpassed. It is one which has riveted itself in our minds in childhood, so that we always recur to it with the same vivid feelings and perceptions with which we read it then. We seem to stand by, to see and hear for ourselves all that passes, —the distressed and supplicant look of those ten men; the gush of emotion which their brother cannot suppress; the broken voice with which he says to them, "I am Joseph;" the unrestrained affection with which his tears mingle with theirs.

But even this fails to illustrate fully the interview between Jesus and the disciple who had denied Him. Most instructive and suggestive is the silence of Scripture here.

Recall, briefly, the steps of Peter's history:—

1. He had been self-confident and boastful. His Lord, with grave words, had warned and rebuked him. (John xiii.)

2. As commonly is the case with boastful characters, his moral courage failed utterly in the hour of danger; his short attempt at violence only exhibiting more fully the timidity which issued in his forsaking his Master directly afterwards.

3. Still, led by a far deeper feeling than mere curiosity, —led by really strong regard and affection,—he followed at a distance, and entered into the palace of the High Priest, to be as near to Jesus as he dared, and "to see the end." Here again his courage failed, and he denied the Master whom he *loved*. For we cannot suppose that Peter's warm, personal attachment to Jesus had all at once melted away, together with his courage. Hearts like his are not so easily estranged as this. He could not possibly forget all Christ's loving words and deeds, or cease to regard Him with affection, although he did not venture to confess Him in the teeth of scornful and bitter-hearted men. This only serves, however, to bring out the depth of his subsequent contrition and repentance. It was a contest between warmth of heart

and external opposition; and (as so often happens) his feelings were overpowered by the sense of risk and difficulty.

4. Then,—just as the cock was crowing the second time, the dim light of early morning stealing on,—"the Lord turned, and looked upon Peter." Without a word, with only one glance, (oh! who shall describe that look of sorrow, suffering, compassion, mingled all in one!) He smote him to the quick! And with an irrepressible burst of emotion, at the remembrance of what he had done, "Peter went out, and wept bitterly." He felt that the Lord knew all: he felt, also, that *he* had been adding to His sufferings.

5. There followed, next, the bitter sight of Jesus dying in agony, in shame, and loneliness. *One* disciple was there, nerved by a love which neither Jewish rabble nor Roman insolence could subdue, but without power to minister to, or soothe, his Master's sufferings. Peter had often been associated with him before; but now John stands alone. And standing there, he receives the pledge of love beyond which human nature cannot go, the guardianship of the Mother from her dying Son. But there is not a word to relieve the broken heart of Peter; nor a word to lead him to hope, even for forgiveness. And there is the awful instance of Judas Iscariot, to attract and lure him to despair.

6. There followed also those "three days" of intense self-reproach:—three days without Christ,—out of His presence,—hopeless! It is not possible to picture the deep desolation in Peter's heart,—"for as yet they knew not the Scripture, that He must rise again from the dead."

7. But on the third day, early, comes the unexpected announcement, that the Lord had *risen*,—that the angel of God had commissioned an especial messenger to bring to *Peter* an especial message,—that *his* name had been singled out among the Eleven, to receive the wonderful intelligence of the Resurrection. That word must have come to him like life to the dead! In proof of this, we may refer to his own expression in his first epistle (1 Pet. i. 3)—"Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath *begotten us again unto a lively hope*, by the *resurrection* of Jesus Christ from the dead." This "begetting again to a lively hope," shows how utterly that hope had been lost before, and with what a gush of unexpected joy it came back to the apostle's mind, on hearing that his Lord was risen. The expression vividly depicts the occurrences of that morning—the despondency of Peter, the announcement of the women, the incredulous wonder, the impulsive rush to the sepulchre. Imperfectly as the tidings were understood at first, they brought with them the hope of finding yet a return to the favour of that loving Lord, who had spoken of forgiving even until "seventy times seven."

And we may observe by whom that message was conveyed: by the Magdalene,—"out of whom Jesus had cast seven devils,"—to whom, indeed, He showed Himself the *first* after His resurrection. It seems as if that word of grace could only be entrusted to one who had known the loving mercy of Jesus in her own inmost soul.

8. And Peter, on receiving the tidings, ran at once, with John, to the sepulchre; but it was empty. They returned home again, believing, indeed, but unable to comprehend what they believed. Their minds were dim and misty; a great truth was spread open before them in all its bright glory, but as yet they could not understand what they had seen. But shortly afterwards Jesus *appeared* to Peter. He showed Himself, before being seen by any other of the Eleven, to that one who, after denying Him, had been overwhelmed with grief on account of his faithlessness. None but the Lord Himself could bind up a heart so deeply bruised. How utterly do they miss the inner teaching of all this, who tell us that Christ appeared to Peter *first*, as being preeminent over the other apostles. That preeminence was won by his noble confession of faith; but here it was his contrition, his humiliation, and loving sorrow, which restored him to his Master's favour, when his faith had utterly failed.

But now, what passed at that interview? Not a word is told us. It is secret. It is as solemnly concealed as the burial of Moses on Mount Nebo. That Peter was forgiven, and restored, we are certain; but the unknown tenderness of Jesus, in dealing then with his erring, but repentant, disciple, no tongue of man can ever tell. We know, however, both Peter's sorrow for his fall, and the warm, impulsive nature of his disposition; that warmth was craving a vent, like a pent up stream at the very point of bursting its banks. And when the disciple found himself again in the presence of Jesus, it must have been with the deepest emotion, with the warmest affection, that his full heart poured itself out, both in words and tears. And may we not reverently picture to ourselves the weighty gravity, joined with heavenly love, with which the Lord received His sorrowing follower? We may call to mind again, here, that one look, in silence, when Peter was denying Him. Over all the bustle, amidst the scoffs, the insults, the engrossing contumelies, His eye had been fixed on his disciple; He had seen all that had been working in Peter's mind; He knew *all*—his fall, and his repentance. O wonderful look of Christ, which thus watched over that one sorrowful heart, even in the midst of His own agonies! Wonderful love! which, in spite of His own sufferings, kept a tender guard over Peter's repentance! Yes, Christ's eye was never turned away; His omniscient love never lost sight of His fallen friend. It is not

too much to say that, even in the regions of death, even in His visit to the souls in safe keeping, to whom He went and preached the victory He had achieved on earth, the divine love of Jesus was still watching over the repentance of Peter!

But let us not fail to observe the great delicacy of the silence of Scripture here. The sorrows of the penitent are too sacred to be revealed. They are kept, in the most striking way, from being divulged to the world. There was, on the one side, the heartfelt confession, the bitter tears of sorrow for sin, the grief of a spirit bruised and broken; on the other, the loving forgiveness, the word of gracious pardon, the healing look and touch of Christ; but how these were expressed is too sacred for the world at large to know. But he that has gone, in the silence of his chamber, and in the retired secrecy of his own heart, and poured out there the overflowing sorrow which has followed conviction of sin, and in so doing has found the love of a risen and living Saviour precious, will know (better far than words can tell it) what this interview of Jesus with His disciple means. But not otherwise. The secret love of the forgiven heart to Christ, the secret love of Christ to the penitent, *cannot* be put into words. It is like that "white stone," in which the "new name" is written, and "which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it."

Enough;—there burned in Peter's breast the deepest love, fanned by the new breath of forgiving mercy. Witness that other occasion, when Jesus manifested Himself to the disciples at the sea of Tiberias, when Peter, as soon as he heard it was the Lord, cast himself into the sea, in his eagerness to reach him; and when he made, in public, the touching revelation of all that had been working in his heart—"Lord, Thou knowest all things; Thou knowest that I love Thee." This scene, however, is incomplete without the other.

Two very brief suggestions, arising immediately out of the above incident, may close this paper.

(1.) The divine tenderness of Jesus, so often shown during the three years of His ministry, is seen here after His resurrection;—the same pity for the fallen, the same readiness to receive. His sufferings and His rising from the dead enhance His mercy and pity; but His nature is still the same. "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." And here is the greatest encouragement for the Christian ministry, in leading repentant souls to Him; and equal encouragement for penitents themselves. They come to Him, after hearing of His risen might. They come to Him (or, rather, He comes to them) when they have grieved over their own sad falls. They find that He is willing to receive, to pardon, and to bless. They find in His presence the satisfaction of their hearts' desires, and they love their risen Lord.

(2.) But all this is in secrecy. The tongue of man cannot divulge fully the secret converse of the heart with Jesus. No human love can intervene here. The fondest heart, even though you cling to it with all human affection, is at a distance from your soul compared with the love of Jesus.

And He also receives, and keeps in secret, the confession of the heart that is humbled before Him. To Him we may go, and disclose in confidence the sins, the sorrows, the weaknesses, which we should shrink from telling to the world.

And they who have been admitted into His secret presence, go out of that presence subdued and loving. They are no more boastful, but watchful; no more sorrowful, but full of humble gratitude; no longer censorious, but full of Christian compassion; no longer timid, but able to confess Christ before the world.

J. B.

THORNBURY'S LIFE OF TURNER.

The Life of J. M. W. Turner, R.A. By Walter Thornbury. In 2 Vols. London: Hurst and Blackett.

We opened this book with the interest due to a man who has been the greatest English artist for the last eighty years. We expected an instructive, and, in some points, an interesting, history. We had heard, indeed, of Turner's foibles, his solitary habits, unsocial temper, and love of money—bad habits to stamp a character. But we had hoped to find many traits of genius; a story interesting from its tracing the development of intellect. We have read these two volumes through, from the first page to the last, and our sensations are so disagreeable, that we warn our readers not to follow our example. The life of Turner, in its best aspect, is a sad one. In these volumes it is presented to us in its worst aspect. Every trait that is dark and mean is daguerreotyped into light; and, to complete our disgust, traits are painted, with the coarsest brush, which we have every reason to hope had no existence in the character. Whenever any action of Turner occurs which is indefensible, on which a prudent writer would have dwelt briefly, such acts are thrust on our view through a tedious defence, the reasoning of which is so preposterous, that we think worse of the act after we have read the inadequate apology; and the traits of weakness, or sins of heart, which a merciful charity would, if forced to record them, hasten to cover, the writer dwells and descants on, till infirmity swells into odiousness, and vice blackens into depravity.

If such is the treatment which the unfortunate artist has received at the hands of his professed admirer, the only excuse which can be set up for the defamer is, that his book is written in a style so disagreeable,—so absurd from its bombast, intolerable from its digressions, and unreadable from its want of arrangement,—that it seems impossible that, even in our unfastidious age, any bookseller's arts, and any newspaper puffs, should save these volumes from passing quickly into the hands of the tea-dealer, the butterman, and the tobacconist. For the sake of all parties, we wish them a speedy exit, and the sooner the better.

As they pass to oblivion, they suggest a few lessons. We trust that critics of greater authority than ourselves will use their influence to chastise the style of which these volumes are a flagrant example. That style has sprung from the imitation of some of our popular writers; and it is becoming so prevalent among a certain class of essayists, that it is time to notice it. One of its characteristics is, to try to give life to a narrative by introducing into it imaginary details, which have no existence but in the brain of the author. We can give examples from these volumes; and if they are suffered to live, their use may be to supply specimens of all sorts of the worst faults of authorship. For example:—Turner, in his boyhood, is sent to school. Of his days at school, and his habits and his companions, Mr. Thornbury knows what we do—that is, nothing. So he makes a picture, and fills pages with the boy "crying bitterly the first night under the sheets, then stifling his sobs, and in a day or two grew tamer and happier, and wrote home with good tidings." Then, getting into work, fighting the school bully, "probably a tyrannous West Indian, who bribes crowds of small parasites with jars of tamarinds and guava jelly." Then he describes the boys, his companions, of whom he says he knows nothing, "how they must have looked;"—then the master, and his habits: all equally unknown;—then the boy's first flogging: a mere invention;—then his essays in art: equally imaginary;—his father the barber's visit to one of his customers; and he describes the street, the door, and the "flamingo-legged footman." And thus we wade through pages of rubbish, heaped up by a dull fancy, which would be intolerable in the lowest class novel, but are, in biography, simply unbearable.

So, when Mr. Thornbury introduces Turner as a student into the Academy, he must needs tell us that "he flung bread about, and cut jokes on the keeper; by fits idled, and by fits worked;"—all mere invention. And when Turner was in love, and again when he failed in his love, he must describe his sensations, and the feelings of both parties, in language, the bombast of which is below criticism, but which we notice in order

to protest against a system, in history or biography, which substitutes the idle imaginations of the author for the incidents of the history.

The result of such a mode of writing narrative is, that a false impression remains—untrue views of character, incorrect impressions of fact; and thus fiction and history become so interwoven, that it is at last impossible to disentangle them. Such a style ought to be put down without mercy, and to be chastised out of literature with the sharpest punishment. Such authors deserve the pillory. When a work is written in this style, interlarded with episodes, and filled with stories of other men, of other places, persons, and characters, the result is a mere jumble, in which the reader gropes his way bewildered; and out of which, if a wise impatience does not rescue him, by leading him to throw the volume down, he staggers with a confused impression, which leaves him without one clear idea.

We cannot deny that through this labyrinth we have wandered; and we find the task we proposed to ourselves,—viz., to give an account of Turner's life and character,—one of extreme difficulty. Still we shall attempt it, and shall try to present to our readers the leading incidents and chief traits of a remarkable but an unhappy genius.

William Turner was born in 1775, the son of a barber, who lived in Maiden Lane, near Covent Garden. His mother, who was a native of Islington, seems to have had an ungovernable temper, and, in the latter part of her life, to have been shut up as insane. The boy seems, in early years, to have shown a love of drawing. Drawings of animals, taken from such representations as a child meets with, were his first efforts. When he was sent to Brentford, where his education began, he amused himself by drawing with chalk on the walls the figures of cocks and hens; and from these he proceeded to rude representations of birds and trees. From Brentford he passed to a school in Soho Square, where, under a drawing-master, he drew flowers. From that he passed to a third school at Margate; and in that place, then a small village on the Kentish coast, he derived his first delight in the sea, ships, sails, and white cliffs, which he retained through life. A print of Van der Velde—a single vessel, running before the wind, and meeting the waves—first, as he afterwards used to say, made him a painter. At that time the Thames was free in many parts from buildings, and, with its wharfs and boats, presented a marine appearance. The river was Turner's delight.

At fourteen, in the year 1789, he was admitted a student at the Royal Academy. But, before that, he had been sent to learn perspective with Thomas Malton, who kept a small school in Long Acre. But to geometrical figures Turner was impenetrably dull. It was not through mathematics that he was to

acquire his art. By his eye, and by imitation, he was in the meanwhile learning it. Still he used afterwards to admit that, in spite of Malton's severity, he had learned a good deal from him. In work itself he found instruction; for his barber father, caring little for art, but much for money, was anxious to turn to profit the powers of the boy. When, therefore, he had acquired some skill in colours, he was employed to colour prints for a printseller who lived near his father. He was used by obscure architects to colour-in blue skies over their designs, and to put in grass, trees, and gravel walks. He finished the landscapes of Grecian houses and ugly villas, and temples in gardens. Some of these now appear in the rich collection in the International Exhibition. This employment, and, above all, the money made by architects, induced his father to think that something might be done through this department; and Turner entered the office of Mr. Hardwick, who designed the St. Catherine's Docks. But this was not the direction to which Turner's mind turned. He continued, indeed, to wash-in skies and copy buildings; but he also tried his hand at copying some of the portraits of Reynolds, who was alive when Turner began to work, and one of whose lectures in the great room at Somerset House he heard. He copied also statues from the casts in the Academy. But the palaces, temples, and ugly villas which he copied, or for which he filled in landscapes, were not long to engage him. A sunset on the Thames, near the Red House, Battersea, supplied his first attempt in oil; and the first oil picture of any size was a view of fishing boats, in a gale of wind, off the Needles, which was purchased for £10. The skill he showed in his drawings induced Mr. Bell, an engraver, to see that something might be made out of him; and his father's stimulants were not wanting to urge him in the line that seemed to promise lucre. He was taken accordingly by Mr. Bell a tour of several weeks, to Margate, Rochester, Canterbury, and Dover; and from that tour several early pictures, especially one of Rochester Castle, arose. The scenery of the Medway, the chalk cliffs of Dover, fixed themselves then in his mind, and were afterwards his delight. He then also visited Bristol, where he had relations, and he went to Oxford to execute a commission for one of his early patrons. In summer, while busy in London, his resource and amusement was to be out on the Thames in a boat, and there to sketch. Dr. Monro, who had attended George III. in his madness, being fond of art, was attracted by some of Turner's sketches, which he saw in his father's window, in Maiden Lane. Dr. Monro had made a very tolerable collection of pictures, which adorned his house in Adelphi Terrace; and there, besides seeing several of the foreign masters, Turner could study the landscapes of Gainsborough, and the

works of Wilson and Cozens. From Wilson he may have derived his taste for Italian temples and Grecian buildings. Another amateur of art, Mr. Henderson, lived next door to Dr. Monro, and admitted Turner to examine and copy his pictures. There, too, he met with a young painter of the same age with himself, Girtin, whose talents Turner admired, and who would doubtless have risen to eminence, but that a careless life and dissolute habits cut him off before he had time to establish his reputation. But Girtin served at least the purpose of rousing Turner's emulation, who confessed himself his inferior, and, recalling in after life his favourable recollection, used to say, that in no part of his career could he equal his friend.

In 1796, Turner taught drawing in London and Herts, at ten shillings a lesson; but he was a wretched teacher. He could not explain his views, and he grudged bestowing work and care on his pupils. Custom failed so uncongenial a master. His first great efforts were in water-colour, of which he soon became a master. The art of painting in water-colour, though it had existed for some time in England, first gained vigour in the hands of Girtin and Turner. Girtin died in 1802, but some of Turner's best works were executed between 1800 and 1805, when the water-colour painters opened their exhibition, which has kept its repute ever since; and from that time Turner continued to add variety, richness of colour, and beauty of lights, to the more sober handling of his earlier touch. But other studies, and scenes of a different nature, were to open the taste, and form the mind, of the artist. Till 1796, when he was twenty-one years of age, he lived with his father in Maiden Lane; he then moved to an adjoining court, and in 1800 to Harley Street; in 1808, when he was professor of perspective, he crept out to Hammersmith, and in 1814 to a villa at Twickenham, where he lived till 1826. During this time he kept his house and studied in Queen Anne Street; but both in the studio and the villa, disorder, dust, and penuriousness reigned. The old barber had given up his shop, and now wrought as a menial for his son—straining and varnishing his pictures, attending to the gallery, and introducing visitors. Every penny that he could save for his son, he saved; and the furniture was of the meanest, the fare coarse and poor. The villa stood near Richmond-bridge, of the scenery near which the painter was fond; the Scotch firs and other trees there enter largely into his landscapes. He had models of ships, which enabled him to represent these faithfully; and his garden was not appropriated, as his father would have wished, to vegetables, or, as others might have suggested, to flowers, but to beds of osiers, the boughs of which he used to study from his windows, and to a pond, where he grew water-lilies and large weeds, which found

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principles of painting which he had discovered. He liked to work alone, that no one might observe his practice; and nothing annoyed him so much as for a brother painter to plagiarize from him. He was an excellent pedestrian, hearty and vigorous, and the fare and hard beds of a country inn fully satisfied him. Cheese, bread, and porter, supplied all the meal he wanted; bacon and eggs were a rare luxury. So he worked and travelled without let or hindrance. The bridge near the wear-head on the Tamar he sketched at early morning, altering again and again his position, till he got the precise point he looked for; and though the Tudor architecture of Cothele did not interest him, the woods and the river fixed his attention. At this time his sketches were made in pencil; but one of his companions fitted up and carried with him a small portable painting box, and when he offered this to the artist, who found everything ready, he immediately began to work. On this occasion, he departed from his usual reserve, and allowed his friend to watch him whilst engaged in the process. His vast collection of sketches shows the minuteness and universality of his observations. Foliage from every variety of tree, sheep, teal in their flight, swans resting on the water, or moving through it, poultry yards with their contents, pigs, donkeys, market ware, human skeletons, water sorel, dock and laurel leaves, chairs, tables, steam-engines, slabs and vases, the interior of a cottage with dead ducks, the light which a copper pan cast upon a blue jug; rocks—one bit of rock near Keswick cost him days;—trees he abounds in: the oak sparingly and the elm, but Scotch fir and willows, the poplars and trees of France; skies largely, with every variety of tint; everything on or near the sea—ships sailing, ships at anchor, every shape and colour of sails (lateen and English), boats, and boys wading round them, fishermen and their wives, wharves with their accompaniments, harbours in the North, on the Yorkshire coast, and in Devonshire. There are studies of the human figure nude, of statues and busts.

In his drawings, he did not profess to be a topographer, but drew the salient features of the neighbourhood, collecting such as he preferred into the landscape. Nor did he scruple to alter these as suited his picture—raising a spire, lifting a tower, turning an ugly house into a picturesque one, expunging unworkable objects, and substituting others. But if he was confined, as was sometimes the case, by the order of his employer, to paint the actual scene, he managed, by his command of lights and shadows, to cast unpicturesque objects out of sight, by throwing deep shades over them, and to bring points of beauty into view by brighter lights. If he was reproached with altering the natural scene, he only laughed; he said it was all there, by which he meant, that the features were taken

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Bacchantes, tombs, masks, and other objects, from the Vatican; studies of the aqueducts, the Campagna, and the Alban hills;—all these were to add speciality to classical landscapes or foreign scenery. His memoranda show that he had visited every object notable round Rome, and a great many of the Italian cities; notes on Venice, infinite; every object that is known has a place; Naples and its shores, tombs from Germany. But he is minute as usual in coast scenes, or objects in harbours; sketches of Genoa, Antibes, and Nice; then boats and lateen sails found a place in that vast sketch-book, and in the strong memory of the observing man. And it is remarkable, and shows the secret of his power as a painter of nature, that all sorts of objects, in all kinds of lights, are sketched and tried again and again. Thus you have seven studies of the Rhine at a single point, with stormy sunset, and banks of drifting cloud; elevations of the dome of St. Peter's, with shadows and reflected lights; measured moonlight as it falls on Trajan's pillar; studies of deer, sheep, children playing, haymakers, bargemen hanging clothes on the shrouds, bends of rivers; views of London bridge and its accessories;—now with boats, then with crowds of people on balustrades, then wharfs, or a tower crossing the light; trials of colour—purple and yellow and salmon, and shades of blue; studies of light and shade on hollow glass balls, empty, then filled; lights of the gaoler's lantern as it moves through the passages of Newgate; endless studies of skies. The student may learn how it was that this great genius gained his knowledge of light and colour, and truth of nature.

In the third period, which extended from 1835 to 1844, which contained his culminating power, but also began its decay, we find him retrace his steps from ideal scenes to truer delineations of nature. To this period belongs his Ehrenbreitstein, a glorious landscape; his Antient Italy and Modern Italy, and many others; the old Téméraire towed to her last moorings. This picture, which was exhibited in 1839, and which all agreed in regarding with profound admiration, is considered by Mr. Ruskin, Turner's admirer, the last complete effort of the master's hand. From this time decay sets in; the touch is less certain, and the colours more eccentric. In the last picture of his perfect style, his richness, variety, and truth of colour appear remarkable: marvellous is the Slave ship, in its sea, waves, clouds, and light of sunset, which was exhibited in 1840. But the pictures which followed the year 1840, full of genius as they were to observant eyes, showed a daring disregard of general opinion, and a capricious wish to flaunt and defy it. It was art unchastened by wisdom, and genius in its wildness. There were causes of a moral nature which account for this, at which we must glance hereafter. From this time

till his death, in 1851, his sight began to be more feeble, his hand lost its accuracy: sadder lot than Reynolds, the failure of whose sight just preceded the close of life.

In one sense, it is idle to speak of Turner's faults as those of a disappointed man. He won such sums by his works as to leave at his death £140,000 in money, and a collection of paintings of great value, which he bequeathed to the nation. Yet bitter mortifications he endured; his pride was great, and his sensibility intense. His mortification arose from his style of painting, taking a long time to be appreciated; and some of the pictures he valued the most were returned on his hands from the walls of the Academy. No pleasure which he derived from the admiration of the public was equal to the vexation which such events caused him. Rather than let his drawings be put up to auction, he would buy them back at the prices named; his acquisitiveness being conquered by his pride. He was early a member of the Academy, and was admired by his brother artists, eminent sculptors, and patrons such as Lord Egremont. Turner's work for the engravers was large and lucrative, but it led to quarrels with the parties who were producing the work. They of course treated him as taskmasters, anxious to buy his pencil as cheaply as they could; and he was grasping and exacting, resolute in fulfilling his side of the bargain, but determined that they should not fail in one iota of theirs; and as their verbal agreements were often obscure or ambiguous, the source of many quarrels sprang from this, and the bitter temper of both parties aggravated the dispute. The love of money, which he inherited from his father, broke out constantly; but there was mixed with it a love of justice which sometimes corrected it, though at times it inflamed it. Thus, on one occasion, you have him insisting on six shillings of coach hire, for bringing to his patron a picture of large price. Some traits there are of his departing early in the morning, and leaving his more lazy companions to settle the bill, but we are more inclined to reckon them the rough practical jokes of a humorist, than signs of meanness. On the other side are to be set instances of liberality to those in distress, and indulgence to debtors of his own, which, considering his love of money, must be accounted proofs of real charity. It is true that Mr. Thornbury mixes with these facts stories so exaggerated that we dismiss them as incredible; but even after this abatement, there remains enough to indicate in Turner great warmth and tenderness of heart. This, too, was shown strongly both in his relations with his friends when living, and in his sorrow for them on their death. The death of Wilkie, and Chantry, and Calcott, filled him with grief. Of his old Yorkshire friend, Mr. Fawkes, he could never speak without emotion, nor revisit his place after his death, nor look at the

scenes on the Rhine which they had traversed together, without anguish. Indeed, it is impossible to suppose that a man could have painted landscapes full of so deep a feeling, and infused into his compositions so many tender thoughts, without having in his heart strong emotions. His nursing his friend when sick, and the unwonted attentions which fell at such times from the ungainly man, were signs that in his heart lay many of its charities. But these were turned to poison by the impure passions which he indulged; nor can it be right, while we admire his genius, and trace his mastery of an art which so many good men have consecrated, not to record the evils which marred his course. It is not in a temporary disappointment of his affections, still less in the defeat of his plans as an artist, that we must seek the blighting power which desolated his life. The first great passion was the love of money. This led to burning desire and rankling hatred. Other passions followed, and led to criminal associations, low, wicked, and debasing. The more than housekeeper, less than wife, kept his sordid abode in Queen Anne Street. Another intimacy arose in his later years, and fixed him, ashamed of himself, ashamed to have his retreat discovered, in Chelsea; and it was those hands that comforted him with a miserable comfort in his last illness; those hands closed the great painter's eyes.

Of religion we cannot find throughout his life any trace. Neither in his youth, nor in maturer life, can we find any interest in it. His father's deity seems to have been money; and he transmitted to his son the same pernicious idolatry. In the attempts which Turner made as a poet,—miserable indeed as poetry, but which we examine with interest, as they afford us some insight into his feelings,—the utmost extent of thought which we reach is the beauty of nature, the mystery and the sadness of life, where, as he says, "both chieftain and vassal own the dread sway of death, tremendous lord." It was with this absence of restraint from any higher motive that he threw himself with vivid imagination into the study and practise of art. As far as art could carry him, he went. Whatever the observation of the works of nature could do for him was done. No man studied them more closely; none entered into them with a keener sympathy. Nor had he (this must be said in his praise) many of the meaner feelings which harass and debase artists. He was not jealous of others. He was not vain; the praises of Mr. Ruskin gave him no pleasure. He entered rooms hung round with his own paintings, and would not look at them. He had too lofty a conception of his art, and too profound an insight into nature, to be elated by his handiwork. He felt his own short-comings. Even his rivalry of Claude was rather emulation than envy. The rich colouring

of Cuyp or Van der Velde filled him with admiration. He willingly took a lower place. Even to Girtin, he thought himself inferior. But whatever he thought of the works of man, his admiration of nature was sincere. One stormy day at Farnley, he called out to his friend, "Come here, look at this thunderstorm. Isn't it grand? isn't it wonderful? isn't it sublime?" He stood entranced. As he was driving, on another occasion, to the house of a friend at Hendon, a beautiful sunset broke forth. He asked that the carriage might be stopped, and remained some time in silent contemplation of the sky. Everything in nature attracted him; a piece of moss, or a weed growing out of a wall. Seated in his boat, riding through the surf in a gale of wind, he watched the scene with interest. The burning of the Houses of Parliament was a scene which filled him with admiration. In his youth he had watched the fire at the Pantheon, and had caught the contrast between the smoking ruin, and the icicles which the frost had hung upon it. We have already spoken of his affection for his friends, of his sympathy with suffering. But these qualities, and they were great, were unavailing for moral purity without the influence of a higher power. His case, like that of Rafaelle, teaches us an emphatic lesson. It shows us a man, the admirer of nature, placed in the midst of her beauties, and filled with the loftiest conceptions, raised to the purest imaginations, and full of the tenderest emotion; and when nature has placed him in her temple, and showered on him her best gifts, she writes on the wreck of his character the story and the depth of his fall. It says to us, Not in nature, not in man, not within us, or about us, is the elixir of our recovery.

We return to our subject. Turner is often spoken of by Mr. Thornbury and Mr. Ruskin as a mortified and undervalued man. No doubt it was some time before he was fully appreciated. The public taste was in its infancy, and his merits were beyond its estimate. But his brother artists early perceived his power. Wilkie, and Calcott, and Chantry, admired and esteemed him. Nor is it reasonable to say that a painter was without success who made the fortune of £140,000, which Turner bequeathed. It was a day of illustrated magazines, and illustrated editions of poetical works. From the early age of nineteen Turner was employed on such things; to draw for magazines, almanacs, histories of counties or parts of counties, of England, of France, their rivers and their coasts; illustrations of Byron, of Rogers, and of Scott, followed. And if some of the engravers made hard bargains with him, we must recollect that he was as grasping as they were keen; and that the quarrels which arose between them were as much owing to the temper of the one party, as to the avarice of

the other. No doubt, in commencing the publication of his *Liber Studiorum*, after the manner of Claude, Turner suffered a disappointment. He had intended to publish a work which should embrace the whole field of landscape art. But the publication of the *Liber* stopped abruptly at the 14th number. The reasons for this were, however, in some degree personal. Turner made such hard terms with the engravers, that they threw up their bargain; and he himself, irritated by this, and mortified, ended in ceasing to wish to continue the work, because he had fallen into more profitable engagements.

No doubt, in some of his paintings, some too of the highest class, the public were slow to appreciate what they did not understand. When he lived at Rome, the Roman public, seeing the predominance of yellow in his pictures, made them the subject of constant jest. "One Englishman had settled at Rome to sell mustard," they said, "and another Englishman had come to paint it!" These jibes wounded severely his proud and irritable nature. But he received enormous prices for his pictures. For two of moderate size a merchant of the North gave him 1000 guineas. For a small sketch 120 guineas were often given; and his more finished oil-paintings rose to prices varying from 700 to 1400 guineas. One person, on a single day, purchased pictures of Turner to the amount of £10,000. It was not very easy for a purchaser to approach him. Some pictures he would not sell at all. It was with a wrench that he sold any. The well-known Mr. Gillott came from Birmingham to the dirty house in Queen Anne Street; with great difficulty he got in; when he reached the gallery, Turner pounced upon him like a spider on a fly. He did not want to sell, and he would not sell. "Have you ever seen our Birmingham pictures, Mr. Turner?" "Never heard of them!" Gillott pulled from his pocket a bundle of Birmingham bank notes of about £5000. "Mere paper!" said the artist. "To be bartered for mere canvass!" said the manufacturer. "You're a rum fellow!" said Turner. And entering into the joke, and the bargain, he suffered the manufacturer to carry off with him a bundle of the pictures, and to leave behind him the bank-notes. In these transactions, as indeed in all, there were strangely blended the passion of avarice and the sense of justice. He would have the price of his painting to the uttermost farthing. He would charge 80 guineas for his travelling abroad while he was engaged in executing the picture. He would charge the few shillings of railway hire or cab fare for conveying it. But, on the other hand, he would sell a picture for the price for which he had painted its companion, though in the interval the value of the picture had risen three-fold. He would refuse £5000 for the "Rise and Fall of Carthage," because he had willed these to

the nation. But woe to the man who attempted to bargain with Turner, and to beat him down. If the question related to his own pictures, there his pride, his sense of justice, and his love of money, all combined. 200 guineas was the price of one of his pictures, and the unlucky bargainer offered 175. Refused, he returned on the morrow to offer the price that had been named. Turner said he had changed his mind, and he should now take nothing but 225 guineas. Hesitating at this, he went away, and the next day, when he returned, he found the price raised again.

By these various means, by talent, an incomparable genius, a life of labour, and a course of diligent observation, Turner gained a just reputation, and amassed what he desired, an enormous fortune. How did his fame and wealth affect him? He learned, as all do, that success was disappointment. "Turner," said a blunt Irishman, as he was fishing with him at Lord Egremont's, "they tell me you're very rich." "Am I?" said Turner, whilst he chuckled. "Yes; everybody says so." "Ah! I would give it all up again to be twenty years of age!" To a friend he said, "Don't wish for money, you will not be the happier." Thus he spoke, with everything that he once desired; and thus he thought of life and its close. The end of life was regarded by him with gloom. When his friends dropped, he felt their departure keenly, and would not be comforted. One of his admirers went to see him in November 1844; he found him silent, restless, holding fast a letter in his hand. "At last he turned to me, and said, 'Mr. Hammersley, you must excuse me; I cannot stay another moment. The letter I hold in my hand has just been given to me, and it announces the death of my friend Calcott!'" Mrs. Wheeler, when her father, a friend of Turner's, died, found him at her house in an agony of grief. "Oh! Clara, Clara; these are iron tears! I have lost the best friend I ever had in my life!" In his pictures we find the traces of the same dark emotions; mixed with the brightest landscapes, and gorgeous skies, you have a blasted rock, a withered tree, a broken tomb, a ruined monument, to remind you of death and decay. In truth, the life of Turner, full as it was of genius and fame, of intellectual power and lively emotions, was covered with melancholy, which no faith lightened, and no hope penetrated. The closing scene was a sad one. In what habits he lived in his later days, it is better not to inquire. His biographer has painted them in the darkest colours. We are inclined to hope, from the testimony of other friends, that he has exaggerated them. But there is not the slightest doubt that an impure connexion held him fast, and threw its disordering taint both on life and its close. His hand began to show what the disordered heart was suffering. His pictures,

for several years in the latter part of life, became infirm in their touch. This might be accounted for; but they had also become wild and licentious in their fancy; as though he painted in a tempest of passion, and was resolved to exaggerate faults, and defy the world. They were like the paintings of a wild mind in the dreams of delirium. In 1851 he exhibited no picture in the Academy. This alarmed his friends; for he had many warm friends. He appeared at the private view of the Academy. He was then infirm and feeble; it was plain he was breaking fast. Mr. David Roberts wrote to him to express the regret of the artists that they never saw him, and that he no longer appeared at their meetings. He entreated that he would make known to him his retreat, and let him come and see him. The letter touched him, and in a short time he appeared at the studio of his friend. "'You mustn't ask me my retreat,' he said; 'whenever I come to town I will always come to see you.' I tried to cheer him up; but he laid his hand upon his heart, and replied, 'No, no! there is something here which is all wrong.'" He appeared only once more at his friend's house, two months before his death. From other friends, from his housekeeper in Queen Anne Street, from his acquaintances, he kept his retreat carefully concealed. He wished that no man should know how he lived. In Chelsea, where he had fixed himself, in a house looking upon the Thames, not far from the Cremorne pier, he settled himself to die. As he concealed his name, and the neighbours did not know the great painter, they, observing his affection for the water, thought him a sailor—some decayed old admiral—and christened him Admiral Booth. As his illness increased, he sent for a doctor from Margate, who had once attended him. The doctor told him that death was near. "Go down stairs," he said, "and take a glass of sherry, and look at me again." But the sentence could not be reversed; he must prepare to die. On the day of his death he had his chair wheeled to the window, that he might look on the river he had loved so well. It was December, one of the bright December days, and the river lay peacefully sparkling in the wintry sunshine; the light glanced on the white and brown sails of passing boats. But the hand could not paint them, and the eye was dim. A shadow deeper than ever his genius painted was passing over that master mind. Thus, at the age of seventy-nine, he passed away; a memorable example of genius, fancy, and feeling; but warning us that genius, and feeling, and fame, and wealth, will not suffice; and that we may look on nature, and observe and love her, and yet have our heart dead as the grave, and dark as midnight gloom.

an irrational one.

When Moses beheld the burning bu
been held to be a representation of the
tion,) he was conscious of two distinct v
rent, and even opposite, ideas, succeedir
saw a bush burning with fire. Whateve
fire, his immediate impression would
being burnt — consumed — destroyed.'
looked on it for a few moments, he p
supernatural working. Instead of a
leaves, and boughs, and stem, until the
which is what he unquestionably woul
marvel. The leaves are not shrivelle
boughs are not burnt to cinders; the wh
consumed. His ideas undergo a rapid
is just the opposite to what he expect
"I will go and see this great sight,
burnt."

Precisely similar is the wonder and a
the Church of Christ throughout the wo
story of Madagascar. When the queer
and power of a Nebuchadnezzar, denounc
changed the customs of their ancestc
actually slew many of the believers, Chri
of the world naturally looked for the at
truction of the infant church of that
many cases "the blood of the martyr
Church," we dare not assert this as a ge
heard it broadly declared in public, tha
succeeds;" but we felt that the speaker w
able assertion. The Albigenses of Prove

sown had been scanty, and the promise of fruit had not been very great; while the persecutor was mighty and most resolute. The rational conclusion, therefore, was, that, for the present at least, the Gospel would be entirely suppressed, or rooted out.

That this apprehension was not fulfilled, that a great wonder was wrought, is the topic of our remaining narrative. The European teachers had been driven away; the chapels had been closed, or pulled down; the schools were discontinued, or restricted to secular instruction; the voice of the Gospel was no longer heard. If half a dozen poor natives met together in a private house, to read the Scriptures, or to pray, some of them were generally put to death, and the rest "suffered the loss of all things," and were sold into slavery. That a Christian church could continue to exist, even for a year or two, under such a pressure, would have been surprising; but what shall we say, when we find it growing and increasing; and that not for two years, or for five, but for ten years, and for twenty? "Truly this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."

In our last chapter, we brought the narrative down to the year 1843, at which period all was dark and gloomy; presenting no other prospect than slavery, exile, or death, for every Christian in Madagascar. Contemplating such a picture with the eye of reason, the spectator would have said, "It is impossible for this little flock to bear up against such afflictions much longer."

The year 1844 was only varied by a political quarrel. Some English and French ships, deeming it necessary to defend the European settlers at Tamatave, made an attack upon the fort at that place, and were repulsed. This increased queen Ranavalona's ire and disgust against all foreigners. But the voice of God to England seemed to be, "Not by might, nor by power; not by any secular arms, is this work to be done."

The following year seemed to be the first which transmitted to England distinct and unequivocal tidings that "the bush was not consumed." Two letters were sent by "the little flock in Madagascar;" one to their friend Mr. Freeman, in England, the other to the Malagese Christians in Mauritius. From these we extract the principal passages, begging our readers to bear in mind that in 1845, when these letters were written, the poor native Christians of Madagascar had been left without a single European missionary for the long period of *more than nine years.*

To Mr. Freeman they wrote as follows:—

"Our salutations to you. We inquire after your welfare. We are sorry it is so long since we heard from you. We earnestly desire to hear of your state, and should be delighted to see your hand-writing.

"With regard to our condition here, we are well: but two sisters the Lord has taken away. . . . . Wonderful indeed is the blessing of God, for he has answered our prayer and yours, so that none of us have been apprehended by the persecutors.

"The number of learners is greatly increasing. Those among us who were sold into slavery 'never to be redeemed,' have had this prohibition taken off; and their friends have redeemed them. Altogether astonishing is the power of God; He rescues His people from the hands of the wicked, and He plucks them from the hand of the Devil, that they may become the people of God. Acts v. 39.

"Be strong, therefore, in prayer for us, O friends. Tell all you know that 'what is not possible with men is possible with God;' and that when He works none can hinder it. Be not unmindful of us, your children, for God will not be unmindful of you; and He will help us still more abundantly. Be earnest in prayer, O beloved friends, for prayer is power, and strength, and life. God hears your supplications, and sends His answers to us.

"Touching the general condition of the country, the people are more and more afflicted; the work becomes harder, the service more oppressive, and the government does not change. But, in conclusion, O beloved friends, when we examine the word of God, especially the passages which are suitable to us, we gain hope and confidence indeed. We see that God is powerful; that no one can pluck us out of His hands, or hinder that which He is doing. Read, if you please, Dan. iii. 27, 28; iv. 34, 35; vi. 20, 28. Earnestly, therefore, plead on our account and on your own; for 'if God be for us, who can be against us?'

"All the Christians in Madagascar present their salutations to all you that are in Christ Jesus; in whom friends who love one another, though distant, are united in one."

In a postscript, the Christians added, that several natives had lately joined their number, and that there were several who preached to them.

The second letter, to their friends in Mauritius, was still more interesting. We give the principal passages:—

"To our beloved friends, kindest salutations from all your companions. This is what we have to tell you: afflicted are we because of the fewness of the Bibles here with us, and we extremely desire to have more. We thirst for them, for the Bible is our companion and friend, to instruct and search us thoroughly when in secresy and silence, and to comfort us in our grief and tribulation. Blessed be God, the people who, through His grace, are going forward, are becoming many, so that the greater part of them cannot have Bibles. Send us, therefore, all you can, for even then there will not be enough; and let them be small, so as to be easily concealed. We need also hymn-books, catechisms, and Bunyan's Pilgrim; and also such tracts as are suitable for us. Remember, Jesus said unto Peter, 'Feed my sheep.'

"As to the condition of our country, it is still dark, and persecution continues. Nevertheless, the people are going forward. Blessed be God, who thus prospers them! On the Sabbath-day we always go

to some hill or valley far away out of sight. We leave home on the Saturday, and on the Sunday we meet together and worship God. But only those who are strong can thus go to a distance, and we feel very much for the sorrow of those who cannot go. Still we do not faint, but continue to ask of God that He will help us not to sink under our affliction; for Jesus has said, 'In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.'

"All our friends who were reduced to slavery have now been redeemed, blessed be God! We are going on safely, for He hath hidden us beneath the shadow of His wings, so that we have not been discovered. Yet many do see us, and know and hear about us, but they do not accuse us, as formerly; for they have become more compassionate towards us. Our salutations to all our friends."

Could such letters as these fail to excite, in Christian minds, emotions of wonder and thankfulness? Surely the parallel, if ever it existed, is scarcely upon record. Ancient churches, indeed, like the Waldensian, have, under persecution, clung to their faith during long periods of hardship and suffering; but here was a small Christian fellowship, established but yesterday, and suddenly deprived of all its teachers, on the one hand, and exposed to the sternest persecution on the other. That it should pine away, and dwindle, and soon become extinct, would have been the natural anticipation of every human being. Nothing but the mighty power of God could have preserved it; and hence its continued existence, and its large increase, is as evident and as irrefragable a proof of the Divine presence and the Divine working, as was presented to the eyes of Moses in the burning bush on mount Horeb.

It was in 1845, as we have said, that the news came to England, that the little church in Madagascar still lived. The next year, which was the tenth since the departure of the last European missionary, was a memorable one in the history of Madagascar. Several letters reached England, from which we shall extract the principal passages.

"Antananarivo, Jan. 8, 1846.

"The increase of people believing the Word of God is very great, and the prince, Rakoto-Radama, has received the Word; so that twenty-one native Christians, who had been seized, were not put to death by the queen, for Rakoto prevented it, by the blessing of God, and the queen has not slain them."

Another letter gives more particulars:—

"This is our state here. The Christians had become discouraged and lukewarm, after the martyrdom of the nine Christians in 1840; but a certain youth, named Ramaka, received the Word of God, and became exceedingly bold and powerful in proclaiming it. We had assemblies every Wednesday, and Saturday, and Sunday, in a large house. More than a hundred new converts joined us, and we became very numerous. Through the courage of Ramaka, the Word of God

reached even to the prince Rakoto; and it was through his intercession with the queen, that the twenty-one Christians who were taken were not destroyed. Tell all our friends that Rakoto-Radama does indeed receive the Word of God, but his mother remains a heathen."

"Antananarivo, Jan. 10, 1846.

"We received your letters, and were exceedingly delighted to obtain the Gospels and the Pilgrim's Progress; for they are easy to be concealed. But they are quite insufficient, for we are exceedingly numerous; and Rakoto-Radama has embraced the Word of God, by the Divine blessing, with true affection and joy.

"And we, five months after the prince had joined us, were the subjects of a new persecution; twenty-one being made prisoners; but by the help of God, afforded to Rakoto-Radama, their death was prevented; the queen's heart relented. These were part of one hundred who had recently received the Word of God, and had been accused to the government. By the blessing of God the accusation was not entered into; for Rainiharo, the prime minister, found among the names his own aide-de-camp. The number of believers increases very much."

Another letter gave the names of the twenty-one Christians, whose lives were spared, and the punishments to which they were subjected; nine to the tangena; three to slavery, &c.

Other accounts added various incidents, such as these:— That Rainiharo said to the queen, "Madam, your son is a Christian! he prays with the Christians, and encourages them in their new doctrines." To which the queen replied, "But he is my son, my only son; he must do what he pleases!" Also, that Rainiharo sent his nephew, who was his aide-de-camp, to inquire after a meeting of Christians, and to bring their names. The nephew brought no list, but confessed that he himself was a Christian, adding, "If you will, you must put me to death, for I must pray!" And this confession led Rainiharo to drop the inquiry.

A friend at Mauritius wrote thus:—

"You must not think that persecution has ceased. Sometimes the goods of the Christians are confiscated, their wives and children sold into slavery, and themselves reduced to perpetual bondage. They can only meet for worship in the night, or in caves, or in the deepest recesses of the woods. Even there they may be troubled by spies, sent by the government to take down their names; though, thanks to the mediation of the prince, things do not generally proceed much further.

"Amidst all these perils and distresses the number of disciples increases. One of the Christians writes to us, 'Oh, send us spelling-books; for many come to us to learn, and we have none left!' 'Do not forget,' writes another, 'to send us bibles, hymn-books, Pilgrim's Progress, and catechisms.' The prince keeps his mother from doing us harm; he comes with us into the woods on Sunday, to pray and sing, and read the bible; and he often takes home some of us with him to explain to him the Word of Truth."

Some time after the receipt of the above letters, another epistle found its way to Mauritius, from a native female, without any date. Its enumeration of the twenty-one accused persons and their punishments, assigns it to the same period as the foregoing. We give all the chief passages:—

"To our beloved brethren,—

"Through the blessing of God we present our salutation to you, for we are now able to write a letter. . . . Though we can hardly have a sight of the light which enlightens our path,* we do not cease to pray to God, in the name of Jesus our Lord, to bless both you and us; and that the Word of God may have free course in every country, especially in the island of Madagascar, where we remain. Do not forget us in your earnest prayers to God day and night, that He would strengthen us, open the door of our hearts, and cause the love of Christ to increase within us. Your fervent cry to the Lord will not be in vain; for He regards the groans of the afflicted, and the prayers of the disconsolate He answers.

"How wonderful is the power of God, as seen in the spirit of anxious inquiry produced in the minds of the people! They come to seek the Lord, in the prison with the prisoners, in the hiding-places of the persecuted, in the mountains, and in the caves of the rocks; wherever and whenever they can meet with any calling on the name of the Lord, thither they resort. What is still more marvellous, even some of the queen's family are thus minded. Sweet are the bonds of imprisonment to the prisoners, they are not ashamed of them; for what the Word of the Lord saith must be fulfilled.

"Tell all the churches in your country that we are famishing and hungering for the bread of life. Contrive in some way to send us bibles; for we are as an hundred hungry ones to one plate of food! The books we formerly had have for the most part been burnt. The persecution has not prevented the spreading of God's Word; but rather has caused it to spread far and wide. The bonds of the prisoners, and the blood of the martyrs, have aided the growth of God's Word in the hearts of men. . . . . When any are condemned to be sold as slaves, none will buy them; and when any of those who conceal themselves are seen, men do not accuse them; for the Lord softens the hearts of men.

"The five who are in confinement remain each with a guard. They speak the Word to all who see them, and even the jailors who watch them have become Christians. This fills the minds of the people with astonishment, and their own hearts tell them that there is a God. Blessed be God, the blood of Jesus redeems us, saves us, purifies us, and cleanses us from all sin. By a great and strong voice has Christ called us, and we have returned to Him. All the brethren and sisters desire to have a letter from you as soon as possible."

The period of renewed hopes, of fresh vigour, and of external encouragement, appears to have been given for the purpose of strengthening the church for a still more "fiery trial" which Satan was allowed to bring upon it. Of this, the

* Meaning the Word of God.

severest persecution that the Malagese Christians had to undergo, we do not possess the same full history which has been supplied to us of the earlier scenes of trial. No European missionary was present to record the successive steps by which this trial came on. We can therefore only surmise, that, after being withheld by tenderness for her son for several years, the queen at last discovered, at the opening of 1849, that the Christian faith was gaining such a hold on the people of Madagascar, as actually to bring in question the continuance of the national superstition. Laying aside, therefore, all consideration for her son, she blazed forth, in the February of that year, in the full heat of a furious persecutor; resolved, it would seem, to crush, while it was yet possible, the growing faith of the Christians, before it should quite overturn the "traditions of her ancestors." The only narratives we possess of the proceedings of the Malagese government on that occasion, are from the pens of native Christians, who seem to have written down one or two brief histories of what occurred, for the information of their friends in England. The first of these runs thus:—

"The persecution was commenced on Monday, the 19th of February, 1849, by an order from the government to destroy two private houses which had been used for the purpose of worship. This order was carried into effect. Five individuals were arrested at the same time, and put in fetters. All possible means were used to induce these prisoners to give the names of their companions. Three of the prisoners refused to do so; but from the other two they drew the names of several other Christians, of whom four were immediately arrested."

On the 22nd of February, two other Christians, a father and son, were arrested. On the 29th, the people were summoned to hear a message from the queen. One of her officers said:—

"These are the words of the queen:—

"I ask you, saith the queen, to tell me the truth, and no falsehood: What is the reason you will not give up this new religion and worship? I have deprived officers of their honours; I have put some to death, and reduced others to slavery; and yet you still persevere in practising this new religion! What is the reason you will not renounce it?"

Two of the Christians, speaking for the rest, answered, "We fear God, and dare not disobey His law."

"This reply was carried to the queen; and on the 25th another meeting took place. The queen's message now was:—

"'If any new religion or mode of worship, especially this worship of yours, be introduced and practised in my country, I forbid it,—it shall never be done. These are the things that are prohibited: the practice of baptism; abstinence from work on Sunday; forbidding to

swear by father or mother, or by the queen; refusing to sacrifice bullocks, or to worship the idols. Therefore, come forward and confess, all of you that have done so, that I may determine what punishment to inflict upon you. But if any one shall wait until he is accused, he shall be punished without mercy.'"

"On the 14th of March, nine persons from the province of Vonizongo, five of whom were women, were called upon to swear by the idols, and declared their adherence to the Christian faith. They were immediately put in chains, and wrapped in mats. On the 16th, a pious soldier, having likewise refused the oath, was added to the number.

"On the 21st, all the people who had accused themselves were ordered to repair to Analakely, to take the required oath. By that oath they were to invoke all the curses that the idols of the deceased kings could inflict upon them, should they offend any more. An officer of the 5th honour declared, that he worshipped God alone, and could pray to none other; whereupon he also was put in chains."

On the 22nd, this swearing of the people continued; when two more confessors, one of them a servant of the queen's nephew, refused to swear, and were put in chains. Next day, two others followed their example. One of these was also a servant of Prince Ramanja. He stood up before the people and said, "I believe in God, and wish to obey His commands: I put my trust in Jesus, the Saviour of all who believe in Him." A female also, named Ranivo, of royal lineage, added her confession, and with the others was cast into prison.

"Three days were then spent in making further inquiries; especially as to who were the preachers; when Rabetsarasaotra and Rasoalandy were named as having preached.

"On the 28th, another great assembly was held, when the queen's final decision was proclaimed. The officers of the palace read the following message:—

"'I, Ranavalo-Manjaka, say, that no religion whatever, excepting of Andrianampoinimerina and Radama, and the customs of the ancestors, shall ever be introduced and practised in this my country; anything else I totally reject. Had I not ordered the followers of the new religion to accuse themselves, they would soon have overturned everything, and all the people would have followed them. I deem them rebels; therefore I will punish them as the spirits of Andrianampoinimerina and Radama have revealed unto me.

"'The preachers, and those who sold books to others, I have set apart.' (Here the confessors before-mentioned were brought into Analakely, borne on poles on men's shoulders, naked, but with mats wrapped round them, and their mouths stuffed with rags. The female, Ranivo, was not carried, but was made to walk behind.)

"The sentences were then read, as follows:—

"The wives and children of all taken by the officers were condemned to slavery.

"The multitude who had confessed their guilt were to atone for

their crime by paying each three dollars and three bullocks. But one half of this fine the queen, in her mercy, forgave them.

"With respect to the confessors, who had avowed and maintained their crime, four (being of noble blood) were to be burnt alive, and the remaining fourteen to be thrown from the rock Itsinihatsaka, and their bodies afterwards dragged to the same fire which had consumed their companions.

"All the slaves who had confessed their guilt were to receive each twenty lashes, and to pay the same fine as the others.

"The Christians who had been condemned to slavery were then sold, in the presence of all the people.

"The prince Ramanja, nephew to the queen, was condemned to pay a fine of one hundred dollars; and Rajoaka, an officer of the palace, a fine of fifty dollars; but these fines were reduced to one-half, by the queen's mercy.

"All degrees of honour enjoyed by any of the Christians were declared to be forfeited.

"The whole of the sufferers on this occasion were enumerated as follows:—

"18 were put to death; four by burning, and fourteen by being thrown from the rock.

"6 families of wives and children were reduced to slavery.

"27 were ordered to pay half the valuation of their wives and children.

"42 were fined half the value of their persons and their property.

"27 of the province of Vonizongo, the same punishment.

"1643 persons to pay three dollars and three bullocks each, but one half of this remitted.

"109 slaves to receive twenty stripes each, and to work in chains for the rest of their lives.

"2 persons of rank heavily fined.

"Making a total of nearly 1900 sufferers of various degrees.

On the 10th of November in that year, the Christian officers who had been deprived of their rank, and reduced to the rank of common soldiers, were ordered to build a stone house. Here they had to quarry the stones, and to carry them to the building, for a whole year, under hard taskmasters, and with scanty food and clothing. In their letters they speak of this servitude, as "more grinding than the hard bondage of the Israelites under Pharaoh."

Such was one of the earliest accounts of these transactions. In another letter, dated "Antananarivo, 1851," a few other particulars are added.

"We now write to tell you of our state. The persecution of the people of God has been more severe than ever; yet the Lord Jesus causes His people to multiply. The houses used for prayer have been destroyed. The confessors were put in chains, and kept a long time in prison. When they were brought out, and as they passed through the multitude to the place of execution, they sang hymns to their Saviour. Four were then burnt alive, and fourteen others having

been thrown from a precipice, were afterwards brought to the fire, and their bodies consumed. While the first four were suffering, a great rainbow, a triple arch, stretched across, and seemed to overshadow the martyrs. The multitude were struck with amazement.

"We beg our friends to remember us in our sorrows, and to pray to the Lord on our behalf. May the peace of God be with them, and with all the congregations of His people."

These accounts reached England in the course of 1851 and 1852. But in 1856, the Rev. W. Ellis, by the queen's permission, visited Madagascar, conversed with many of the widows and orphans of the above-named martyrs, and brought back with him another and a more detailed account of this remarkable scene,—an account that deserves to rank with the most interesting of the narratives of old John Foxe. We give it, *verbatim*, from his volume.*

"On the 14th of March, 1849, the officer before whom the Christians were examined said, 'Do you pray to the sun, or the moon, or the earth?'

"R. replied, 'I do not pray to these, for the hand of God made them.'

"'Do you pray to the twelve mountains that are sacred?'

"R. answered, 'I do not pray to them, for they are mountains.'

"'Do you pray to the idols that make sacred the kings?'

"R. 'I do not pray to them, for the hand of man made them.'

"'Do you pray to the ancestors of the sovereigns?'

"R. 'Kings and rulers are given by God, that we should serve and obey them; nevertheless they are men like ourselves: when we pray, we pray to God alone.'

"'You set apart and observe the Sabbath-day.'

"R. 'That is the day of the great God; for in six days the Lord made all His works; but God rested on the seventh, and made it holy; hence we rest, and keep sacred that day.'

"So answered all the Christians. And when one who had stood by saw that even a woman confessed God, and remembered that to deny God is a sin, he went and joined himself to them. And when the brethren and sisters were bound, the husband of one of them, who had heard their confession, came and encouraged them, saying, 'Be not afraid, for it is well if for that you die.' He was a soldier, and not one of the accused. Then they took him, and examined him, and bound him also. And they removed these brethren and sisters, and made their bonds more hard, and put them in confinement."

The writers here add, "And at one o'clock in the morning we" (the other Christians who were at large) "met together and prayed." They then proceed:—

"On the 22nd of March, when one had said, 'Jehovah is God alone, and above every name, and Jesus is also God,' the people cried out with taunts and mocking; and the officer said, 'Rabodampoime-

* Three Visits to Madagascar. London. 1858.

rina (the sacred name of the queen) is our God, but not yours.' Our brother answered, 'The God who made me is my God, but Rabodo is my sovereign.' And when he would make no other answer, they said, 'Perhaps he is an idiot or lunatic, take him away!' And they took him to prison.

"And before light on the appointed day, the people assembled at Analakely. Then they took the eighteen brethren that chose God, and to inherit eternal life, and they bound their hands and feet, and tied each of them to a pole, wrapped in mats, and placed them with the other prisoners. And when the judges and officers arrived they read over the names of each class of prisoners, and placed each class by themselves, stationing soldiers round them. Then the sentences were read: some being adjudged to suffer fines and confiscation; some were consigned to slavery; some to prison and chains; some to flogging, and eighteen to death; four to be burned, and fourteen to be thrown from the precipice, and their bodies burned to ashes.

"These eighteen, as they sat on the ground, surrounded by the soldiers, sang the 137th hymn:*

"'When I shall die, and leave my friends;
When they shall weep for me,
When departed has my life,
Then I shall be happy.'

"And after this they sang the 154th:—

"'When I shall behold Him, rejoicing in the heavens.'"

When the sentences were all pronounced, the four who were sentenced to be burned requested that they might be put to death first, and then burned; but their request was not granted. So, when the officers had departed, they took those eighteen brethren away. The fourteen they tied by the hands and feet to long poles, which were borne on men's shoulders. And those brethren prayed, and spoke to the people as they were being carried along. And some who beheld them said that their faces were like the faces of angels. And when they came to the top of the rock they threw them down, and their bodies were afterwards dragged to be burned in the fire made for those who were burned alive.

"And as they took the four who were to be burned alive to the place of execution, these Christians sang the 90th hymn, beginning, 'When our hearts are troubled,' each verse ending with 'Then remember us.' Thus they sang on the road. And when they came to Faravohitra there they burned them, fixed between split bars. And there was a rainbow in the heavens at the time, close to the place of burning. And while burning they sang the hymn—

"'There is a blessed land,
Making most happy:
Never shall the rest depart,
Nor cause of trouble come.'

* Refers to the collection of hymns printed in the Malagasy language. The translat. is literal, not metrical.

"That was the hymn they sang while they were in the fire. And they prayed, saying, 'Lord! receive our spirits. Thy love to us has ordained this for us. And lay not this sin to their charge.'

"Thus they prayed as long as they had any life. Then they died; but softly, gently. Indeed, gently was the going forth of their life; and astonished were all the people."

We have already given one native account of the aggregate of the punishments inflicted on this occasion; and Mr. Ellis, being on the spot several years after, brought the following. The difference between the two, it will be seen, is inconsiderable, and is merely such a discrepancy as is usually found in two independent narratives. Mr. Ellis says:—

"Numbers were reduced to slavery, sold in the public markets, and subjected to all the ordinary miseries of captivity, with two special sources of suffering,—that they should be sold only to those who would engage to make them labour severely, and that redemption from this slavery should be prohibited. Many others, not sold to perpetual slavery, had been reduced in rank, and sentenced to the hardest kinds of labour—quarrying and carrying stones, &c. Several who had held considerable rank had thus laboured, and some of them carried to their graves marks of their punishments; others, living, were tortured with the whip. Some were still in imprisonment; others wandering as outcasts; others loaded with cumbrous fetters; while not a few had been put to death.

"Of the numbers implicated some idea may be formed from the fact, that at one time and place (1849) thirty-seven who had preached the Word were reduced, with their wives and children, to slavery; forty-two, who were found to have books, were made slaves, and their property confiscated; twenty-seven, who had possessed books, and had read or explained them, were sold with their families; six others were imprisoned; 2055 had paid a fine; and eighteen had been put to death, fourteen by being thrown from a rock, and four by being burnt alive."

Of this last execution Mr. Ellis adds the following particulars:—

"Seventeen of them had been tied each to a pole, and carried along between two men to the place of execution. One, a young female, was allowed to walk behind the rest. Four of them, being nobles, were not killed in the ordinary way, but burned alive. Two of them were husband and wife, the latter expecting shortly to become a mother. Amidst the smoke and blaze of the burning wood, the pangs of maternity came on, and the infant was born. It was thrust at once into the flames, its body to be burned with its parents, its spirit to ascend with theirs to God.

"The remaining fourteen were taken to the precipice,—the Tarpeian rock of Antananarivo; there each one was held by a cord on the edge of the precipice, when the option was offered him of life on taking the idolatrous oath. Not one even wavered. One of the martyrs spoke with such a calm self-possession, of the near prospect

of eternal life and blessedness, as deeply to affect all who heard him. They were all, successively, thrown over, till it came to the turn of the young woman who had been allowed to walk the last in the fearful procession. She had witnessed the fate of all her friends, and now, it was hoped, her fortitude would have given way, and she would take the oath. But she persevered, and expressed her readiness to follow in her turn. The executioner, in vexation, said, 'She is an idiot; she does not know what she says; take her away.' She was spared, but of her subsequent fate we hear nothing."

Such was the last great persecution which the poor Malagese had to undergo. But the animosity of the queen, though not always equally active, was unrelenting. At one period the following "General Order" was read, by command, twice in every month, to the troops on parade in the capital:—

"If any baptize, (*i.e.* administer or receive baptism,) I will put them to death, saith Ranavalo-manjaka; for they change the prayers of the twelve kings. Therefore, search and look, and if ye find any doing that, whether man or woman, take them, that we may kill them; for I and you will kill them that do that, though they be half the people. For to change what the ancestors have ordered and done, and to pray to the ancestors of the foreigners, and not to Andrianampoinimarina and Lehidama, and the idols that sanctified the twelve kings, and the twelve mountains that are worshipped,—whoever changes these observances, I make known to all people, I will kill, saith Ranavalo-manjaka."

One consequence of this animosity of the queen, and of the slavery and chains which followed detection, was, that every now and then there was an effort, on the part of some of the poor Christians, to escape. The sufferings thus incurred were very great. The poor people realized the full extent of the apostle's meaning, when he says, of the older martyrs,—"They wandered in sheep-skins and goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented; in dens and caves of the earth." Mr. Ellis quotes a passage or two from a narrative written by some of these fugitives, of the sufferings they endured:—

"We then entered a thicket or wood of small bamboos, where in many places there was water up to the knees, and there were many crocodiles in the water. We were nine days in that wood, having nothing to eat but clay and water. It was all water or marshy ground, and we found no place to lie down or sleep on, except we came to a tree, or a piece of ground somewhat raised and dry. We frequently came upon crocodiles, sometimes trod upon them, and at night we smelt them. . . . . We did not expect to live, or ever to see man again, for we thought we should die in that swamp. But after nine days we came to an open country; and when we had proceeded a short distance, we came to a place where there were great numbers of water-lilies growing; we gathered and ate the leaves of the lilies, and remained five days in the place where we found this

food. When we went on again, we soon came to a broad river, where we stopped two days, and cut a large quantity of long, coarse grass, which we tied in a bundle, to serve as a raft; we also made a rope of long grass to draw the raft across the river. Then I swam with one end of the rope to the other side of the river. My wife and another woman pushed the bundle of grass into the water, placed their bundles and the little child on the top of the raft of grass, and I pulled it across, while the women swam one on each side to keep it upright; and so we all reached the other side safely, though the stream was rapid, and there were many crocodiles in the river."

Such was the condition of the Christians in Madagascar for several years. But there were fluctuations of alternate hope and gloom. Towards the end of 1852, tidings reached England, that the rage of the persecution had abated; that the native Christians were unmolested, and that their number had increased to five thousand! It was also stated that Rainiharo, the queen's chief adviser, had lately died, and that the young prince's influence at court was now predominant. Expectations were held out that Madagascar would soon be again opened to Christian missionaries; and in this belief the Directors of the London Missionary Society raised a special fund of £8500 for the Madagascar mission; and despatched Mr. Ellis and Mr. Cameron, in April 1853, to visit the island itself, and learn the actual position of affairs. But Mr. Ellis found it impossible to obtain leave to visit the capital, and he returned with some feelings of disappointment. The truth seems to be, that for several years the determined hostility of the queen, and the friendly disposition of the prince, contended for the mastery; and hence gloom and sunshine frequently followed each other in rapid alternation.

The letters of the native Christians exhibited all these changes. Thus, in May 1852, one writes:—

"My heart and soul are full of sorrow and grief while I take up my pen to write to you. . . . . The wrath of the sovereign continues to rage against us. There is a law that no one shall pray or worship according to the religion of the white people; and that he that does shall be put to death. This law is read once a fortnight to the soldiers in their military exercises. . . . . Yet the people here are advancing. They meet to receive the Lord's Supper once a month. They worship in seven different houses, for the law of the sovereign is very strict. It says, 'Spy into the houses, make a diligent search, and if you find any practising this new religion, bring them to me, saith Ranavalo-manjaka.'

"Yet prince Ramonja, the queen's nephew, officer of the palace, is one of our company. He is a wise man, and he truly loves Christ. He continually preaches to the queen, though her heart kindles in rage against him when he speaks to her about the Christian faith. . . . . He does not fear the queen's anger. . . . . He is deemed

stubborn and obstinate; but the queen does not punish him, because he is her sister's beloved son.

"As to those that have been imprisoned, they are still in chains. Some remain in various prisons, others are at home, but still in chains. Those that took refuge in the wilderness are still wandering from place to place. The officers whose honours had been taken away, were ordered to carry muskets, as common soldiers. And having been thus punished and tormented, we remained nine months in town, and then we were sent to Mantasoa, near the forest, to build a stone house. When this was done, we were sent to drag timber out of the forest."

Another letter, dated "Tamatave, Aug. 23, 1852," was to this effect:—

"I come to see you with this letter, to mention to you the great changes which have taken place. . . . . The great minister, Rainiharo, is dead, and his son fills his place. The commander here, at Tamatave, is waiting for the English to come and make a treaty of commerce between the two nations, as in the days of Radama. The queen has issued an order by which all her subjects who have left the country may return."

A third note ran thus:—

"Rainiharo, 13th honour, is dead, and Roharo, his son, succeeds him as commander-in-chief. He was promoted by Rakoto-Radama, now reigning prince, for they are great friends. The laws of Madagascar are much better than they were before, for it is Rakoto-Radama who now makes the laws."

In 1853, Mr. Ellis himself wrote from Mauritius, to the following effect;—

"The prince, it appears, is third in rank. Very recently a chief presented 'hasina,' a token of allegiance, to the prince, and was reprimanded by the queen, who degraded him. Various letters speak of the great increase of Christians in Madagascar, and of their having in the capital no fewer than seven different houses where they meet in the night, for religious worship. There are also letters from prince Ramonja, nephew of the queen, requesting that Bibles, Testaments, and smaller books, may be sent to him, and naming the agent at Tamatave to whose care they may be sent."

Still, though Mr. Ellis reported these signs of improvement, he added, that the hopes and feelings with which he left England had not been realized. In fact, he could not obtain permission to visit the capital. The unhealthiness of Tamatave, from cholera, was made an excuse for recommending him to leave Madagascar. He discovered that there existed in the queen's council an active and influential party, opposed to the toleration of Christianity, and desirous even to prevent the accession of the queen's son to the throne. At the same time he reported, with natural wonder, the fact which we have already noticed, that the native Christians were commonly

estimated to exceed five thousand; and that there were, in the capital itself, not fewer than *one thousand* persons, known to each other, and mutually recognised as disciples of Christ. This, too, under the immediate eye of a government which had, in various ways, put fully *one hundred* persons to death for the profession of Christianity, besides condemning a far greater number to exile, slavery, and chains, on the same grounds!

The journal of Mr. Cameron, Mr. Ellis's colleague, adds many more details. Mr. Cameron indicates the rival and enemy of prince Rakoto, Ramboasalama by name, and observes, that the queen was so watchful over her son, that she took care to have one of the two always in her presence. When prince Rakoto was abroad, Ramboasalama was employed about the queen; and when Ramboasalama had business abroad, the queen kept her son in the palace.

Mr. Cameron observed, that the chief entreaty of the Christians was for "more books, more Bibles!" And in the following year this brief but touching note was received from Tamatave:—

"We were exceedingly glad when we received the letter from Mr. Ellis which told us about the Bibles with references for us. We went out to a distance from Tamatave, and there we sang praises to God in the fields. We desire much that the Bibles may soon come, and three of our friends are still waiting their arrival, and will not go up to Antananarivo till the Bibles come. We wish, if it be possible with you, to have many Bibles, for *we are numerous*."

Of this visit to Madagascar in 1853, Mr. Ellis, on his return, thus writes:—

"I spent a week among the native Christians at Foule Point, which is forty miles from Tamatave, and was surprised and gratified with the simple Scriptural views they entertained, as well as with the satisfactory manner in which they had proceeded. This appeared the more remarkable, when I remembered that the ordinances of the Christian church had scarcely been introduced among them, when their instructors were forced to leave, and that eighteen years had passed away since those teachers had departed. . . . . Every day, with few exceptions, from two or three to six or seven of the Christians passed the evening with me, either in conversing on passages of Scripture, or in reading, singing, or prayer, sometimes until midnight. Every Sabbath, we met to worship in greater numbers; and on these occasions the native teachers addressed their brethren with much affection and earnestness. . . . . Nothing can surpass the estimation in which the sacred writings are held, and I believe no treasure is so earnestly desired. One of them told me that for many years he had been chiefly employed in transcribing portions of God's Word for those who were destitute, until his health and his sight had failed. . . . . Very affecting accounts have been conveyed to me of the destitution and sufferings of some who were in conceal-

ment, or in prison, or in slavery. . . . . I was often surprised to find persons not in the least suspected of Christianity, either already possessing, and carefully preserving, Christian books, or else anxious to obtain them."

Although Mr. Ellis and Mr. Cameron were not able, in 1854, to penetrate to the capital, they received and brought back with them, a letter from the native church there, from which we copy a few sentences :—

"To the beloved Christian brethren in London.

"We have received the letter written by you, speaking of the affliction which we have endured, and telling us also of your love and oneness of heart with us in Christ. We rejoiced greatly in God when we read your letter; for your reminding us of the love of Christ deeply affected* our hearts. We praise God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us, and enabled us to bear those calamities. We search the Holy Scriptures day and night; they fix our hearts.... The books sent by our brethren, Mr. Cameron and Mr. Ellis, have arrived; but many are the people of God, and they (the books) are not sufficient. Therefore we say to you, Finish the work; for the people are diligent, through the great mercy of God. Also, forget us not in your prayers, day and night. May the love which comes from God, and the word of peace which is above all knowledge, be with you."

In the year 1856, Mr. Ellis learned that the chief obstacles were removed, and that if he again visited Madagascar, he would be allowed to ascend to the capital. He therefore quitted England, for a third visit to the island, in March 1856, and reached Tamatave early in July. Here he was received in a friendly manner, and by the order of the queen was soon after conveyed to Antananarivo; arriving in that capital on the 26th of August. On the 5th of September he was presented to the queen, in the courtyard of the palace. This interview was purely one of ceremony, and of a political character; no allusion to religious topics being ventured. Nor was his request, subsequently made, to be allowed to prolong his stay, acceded to. Still, as the queen could not have been ignorant of Mr. Ellis's character and position, this condescension shown to him excited hopes.

Yet even this large advance was destined only to lead to fresh disappointment. In spite of the queen's friendly reception of Mr. Ellis, a known missionary, and in spite of the prince's increasing influence, a fresh persecution sprang up, in the course of 1857; "a persecution," say the Directors of the Missionary Society, "apparently more vindictive and cruel than any that had preceded it. In an outbreak of heathen rage, at Antananarivo, in July 1857, as many as "thirteen

* The Malagese word signifies "to boil," as water boils.

persons were stoned to death, and their heads were fixed on poles, and their wives and children reduced to slavery; between fifty and sixty were subjected to the tangena, of whom eight died; nearly sixty were put in chains, of whom two died; and a large number were reduced to slavery."

In a subsequent report, however, the Directors modify this statement; explaining that a political conspiracy had been discovered, and that the punishments just described were probably not of the character of religious persecution. Still, year after year passed away in gloom, and in 1859 the Directors could only say:—

"The clouds which have so long impended over this unhappy island remain in all their density; if indeed they have not become more dark and portentous. The Christians continue to suffer bonds, imprisonment, and death; no white man is now allowed to proceed to the capital, who might aid them by his counsels, or cheer them by his sympathy; and, for the present, all that christian love can effect on their behalf must be accomplished by fervent prayer, that God would take pity on His afflicted saints, and turn the hearts of their persecutors, or break the iron rod of their power."

The following year's report, and that for 1861 also, were still more brief, and equally sad. But the darkest hour is often said to be that which precedes the dawn; and in this case the change was even more total and more sudden.

"On the 20th of September, 1861," said the *Mauritius Gazette*, "his Excellency the Governor informed the Council that he had received a communication under the sign-manual of the new king of Madagascar, Radama II., announcing the decease of the late queen, and his own accession to the throne. The king expressed the satisfaction he should feel in the establishment of a freer intercourse with this colony; and intimated that no obstacle would be thrown in the way of an approach to the capital. At the same time, a missionary in Mauritius, Mr. Le Brun, received a letter from the king, and one from his prime minister, Rahaniraka, both written in English, and expressing friendship for Mr. Le Brun, and the king's desire for the establishment of schools in his dominions."

So ended, then, and we trust for ever, the reign of open and relentless persecution in Madagascar. Into the political history of the last eighteen months we have not space to enter. There was a conspiracy, as in such states as Madagascar frequently occur, to exclude and murder the rightful heir, and to place Ramboasalama, the relentless enemy of the Christians, upon the throne. This plot God was pleased, in mercy to Madagascar, to frustrate, and the would-be usurper is now the captive of him whom he sought to supplant. The full narrative of these events would overpass our limits. We pause at the period of the queen's death, which is the natural close of our history. Our chief object has been to glorify the ex-

ceeding mighty grace of God in preserving this little church, by His power, in the midst of the fire, still unconsumed! No greater marvel is to be found in the whole of the Church's history.

Let our readers recal to mind the fact, that it was in the autumn of 1836 that the last Christian missionary quitted the shores of Madagascar; and let them then read the following letter, written by one of the converts, to the widow of Mr. Johns, whose labours in Madagascar were noticed in our former chapters, and dated "November 6th, 1861," or *more than twenty-five years* since the expulsion of the missionaries:—

"Beloved Mother,—When I lay hold on this paper, and pen, and ink, to write to you, my heart and all within me is moved. I have much to say to you. I wish to tell you of the sorrows that have befallen us. Very great was the persecution which drove us into the wilderness. They sought to put me to death. I was accused of praying to the ancestors of the English, and also of teaching the people to do so. They sent officers and many besides to take me up, and they took all the people they found in my house, and my wife Rabodo also. My children, servants, and everything I had in my house, they took away as a forfeit to the queen. They bound my wife Rabodo, and flogged her from morning until night, to make her tell who were her companions. She fainted, and they left her to recover a little, and then flogged her again. But she refused to give up the names of any, so that they were astonished, and said, '*She is a Christian indeed.*' Failing to get her to tell who were her associates, they put a heavy iron ring round her neck and round each ancle. They also fastened these rings together by heavy iron chains from the neck to the ankles, and then bound her to four more Christians. Five others were also bound together, and there was a third party of sixteen also bound together. Every Sabbath day, for seven months, they placed these three parties before the people, that they might see how they were punished for keeping holy the Lord's-day. At the end of the seven months they separated them, and sent five to the east—of these, two died, and three still remain. The other party of five they sent to the north—of these, four died, and one only remains; and the sixteen they sent to the west—of these, five died, and eleven remain. My wife Rabodo was among those they sent to the west. She was left in bonds, and died on the 4th of March, 1859. Yes, she died in her chains; her works follow her. They pursued me for four years and three months, seeking to put me to death. They issued a proclamation to search for me in every village for six months, and they sent papers in all directions, and a paper they called a Gazette, ordering the search for me. But the Lord watches over the afflicted, and will not give the enemy to rejoice over them. My children they have sold into slavery, and my property they have taken, so that I have now no house to dwell in or land to live upon. What has befallen me is too hard for nature; but precious are the riches in Christ, and in Him light are the sorrows of earth: 2 Cor. iv. 17; v. 6—8."

Another letter, dated "Antananarivo, Sept. 11, 1861," describes the re-appearance of some of the confessors of Christ, as soon as the death of the queen became known :—

"On Thursday, the 29th of August, 1861, we that were in concealment appeared: Rainivao, Ramiandry, Rainiketaka, Razaka, Raboda, and Andrianbahiny. Then all the people were astonished, when they saw us, that we were alive, and not yet buried, or eaten by the dogs; and there were many of the people desiring to see us, for they considered us as dead; and this is what astonished them. Ten days later, those that were in fetters came into Antananarivo; but they could not walk, because of the weight of their heavy fetters, and their weak and feeble bodies."

We must again repeat, that all this took place *twenty-five years after* the last English missionary had been driven away! When those missionaries left Madagascar, they could only venture to say, that they "had reason to believe that *several* persons were savingly converted to God; that many more were convinced of the folly of idolatry; and that great numbers were awakened to think and inquire."* And who, among the most sanguine of mankind, could have entertained the hope, that so weak and doubtful a plant as this could live through a relentless persecution of five-and-twenty years? In the ordinary course of events, an infant church, just planted, and numbering but a few living members, would be expected to perish, if left without culture for a long course of years. But here we behold a wonder quite as great as that of the bush whose preservation astonished Moses. The infant church is not merely deserted, and left without pastors; it is trodden down under the iron hoof of a relentless persecution. Yet the spectator has again and again to repeat the words of Holy Writ,—"The more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew." (Exod. i. 12.) Where it was only hoped that "several were savingly converted to God," above a hundred Christian confessors appeared, "not counting their lives dear unto them." The little flock, first reckoned by units, then by scores, now increased to hundreds, and at last to thousands; and still no foreign help appeared. The Word of God, used by the Spirit of God, performed all this great work. Well say the Directors of the London Missionary Society, that—

"When the founders of this mission were driven from their converts, in the infancy of their knowledge and their faith, the exalted Saviour called from among themselves faithful men, taught by His Word, and qualified by His Spirit, to become pastors and teachers of His Church. These native overseers have ministered the word and ordinances of Christ with singular wisdom and fidelity, and have in

* Freeman's Narrative, p. 76.

The Reformers, and the Theology of t
late William Cunningham, D.D., Pr
Church History, New College, Edi
Literary Executors. Edinburgh: T.
Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1862.

THIS volume consists of eleven article
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England. The question to which we allude is the comparative merit and demerit of the Scotch and English types of Evangelical theology.

Dr. Cunningham, as a consistent and able Presbyterian divine, moulded in the school of the Westminster Confession, performs, in these Essays, the part of an honest and skilful advocate, and prefers an indictment against the prevailing tone of theology among Evangelical Church of England divines. In this indictment there is no trace of bitterness, or controversial asperity; and, indeed, there is a more candid and kindly tone than might have been expected from the early history of the Free Church movement, and his own prominent place among the athletes of that controversy. His censures, we have no doubt, are partly true; and even where we dissent from them, they are simply the natural and unavoidable result of his own intellectual position, the stand-point of a consistent representative of the Scotch school of Calvinistic theology. His charge is, that our English Reformation was, in the main, "cautious, timid, and compromising," and that this fundamental defect is still repeated in the style of preaching and teaching of the English Evangelical clergy; whom he admits, to the exclusion of Tractarians and Latitudinarians, to be the genuine successors and representatives of the first Reformers of the Church of England.

"We are persuaded," he says, "that many of the Evangelical clergy come far short of doing justice to God's truth in these matters; nay, come far short of what their own convictions, defective and confused as they often are, should lead them to do. There are not a few of the Evangelical clergy, men of genuine and elevated piety, and faithful and devoted ministers, who, while really believing in the Calvinistic doctrine of election, shrink from making an explicit public profession of their judgment, or from giving it any prominence. We suspect that, in some cases, they are half afraid to think, or speak, or read about it, lest they should be led to form, or be suspected of having formed, definite or decided opinions. Whatever may be the precise cause of this mode of acting, or the precise form it may assume, it is a great weakness and infirmity; and involves, or produces, a neglect or disregard of the duty they owe to God's truth. We fear that some of the Evangelical clergy, who are really Calvinists in substance and at heart, are deficient in the manly, outspoken, independent, and courageous integrity of the Newtons and Scotts of a former generation. We believe that it would advance the peace of mind of many of these excellent men, and increase their efficiency and usefulness, as preachers of the Gospel, and defenders of God's truth, if they would bring out their convictions more prominently, and, by a deeper study of these subjects, were led to form, and to profess, more detailed and definite views of doctrine."

Nothing can be more kind and christian than the tone of this rebuke, and no subject more worthy of calm and serious *consideration.* The Christian Observer, if the remarks are

just, must accept its full share of these friendly strictures. It has now been, for more than sixty years, an accepted organ of Church of England Evangelical theology. Through this long period, under various editors, it has adhered steadily to its original prospectus, and stood for the defence of evangelical truth and church order, assigning to the latter subject, however important, only a secondary place. But its conductors, from the first, declined to pronounce on the Calvinistic and Arminian controversy. While most of its contributors, like the main body of Evangelical churchmen ,may, perhaps, be correctly described as moderate Calvinists, Evangelical Arminians have also been included among its ablest writers; and one of its late editors, we believe, retained those views to the hour of his death. We do not for a moment deny, that a closer unity of judgment, greater fulness of truth, and a more developed theology, if it could be attained, would add greatly to the moral power and spiritual usefulness of the Evangelical clergy. But still we believe that Dr. Cunningham's point of view is defective and erroneous; that the evils which he indicates in the state of our Evangelical Church of England theology are compensated by benefits which he does not rightly appreciate; and that there are very serious, and, in our opinion, still more weighty, evils connected with the hewn-and-squared school of Westminster Confession theology, which is the object of his deep and hearty admiration. We should be disposed to compare the English type of theology to a child, immature in years, all whose limbs are complete; and Scotch divinity to a full-grown soldier, strong, firm, and muscular, who has lost one leg and arm in the stern warfare of the battle field. The child may grow up into full and healthy manhood; but the missing limbs of the soldier, without a miracle, cannot be restored.

Since the subject is wide, and our space limited, we shall confine ourselves to an analysis and review of the eighth Essay, in which the views of the writer, and his strictures against our English divinity, are developed at much length. We differ from his statements, almost entirely, from first to last; and think that a calm exposition of our views may not be without interest, both in Scotland and England, to inquiring and thoughtful minds.

Dr. Cunningham opened his eighth and ninth Essays alike with a double statement. "No one acquainted with the subject," he says, "can fail to have reached two conclusions,—that everything of worth and value that can be said upon it has been said a thousand times; and that there are difficulties and mysteries connected with it, which never have been, and never will be, fully solved, till men get more enlarged faculties, or a fuller revelation from God." He then proceeds to vindicate his previous application of the term Arminian to Dr. Whately in the "North

British Review," which the archbishop had criticised rather tartly in these words:—

"So widely spread are these two schemes of interpretation, that I have known a reviewer, very recently, allude to an author as an Arminian, though he had written and published his dissent from the Arminian theory, and his reasons for it. On having this blunder pointed out, he apologized by saying, that he merely concluded him to be an Arminian, because he was not a Calvinist; and supposed that every one must be either the one or the other. It is remarkable that, by a converse error, the same author had been, some years before, denounced as Calvinistic, on the ground that he was not an Arminian."

Dr. Cunningham denies that he had committed any blunder, and adheres to his original statement. He proceeds to explain at length his reasons for this nomenclature, and to point out the confusion of thought which leads Dr. Whately, Mr. Faber, and many other English divines, to refuse the title of Arminian, while, in his opinion, it may be applied to them with strict accuracy. The real state of the question, he alleges, is confused by our English divines; and Arminianism is at the bottom of this confusion, which is promoted chiefly for Arminian objects. The fourfold distinction of Burnet,—Supralapsarianism, Sublapsarianism, Arminianism, and Socinianism; the fourfold distinction of Stanley Faber,—Calvinism, Arminianism, Nationalism, and Ecclesiastical Individualism; and, again, the sixfold distinction of Professor Harold Browne, who adds two others to these, one nameless, and the sixth and last, Baxterianism; are all visited with the same censure, of concealing from view the only substantial and really important difference. Calvinism, in his view, may be reduced to the one main principle of predestination; or, in the words of the Westminster Confession, "that God did from all eternity, by the most wise and holy counsel of His own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass." Whoever admits this doctrine is a Calvinist; whoever denies it, admitting still the Divine fore-knowledge, is an Arminian. Whoever denies it, and denies also the Divine fore-knowledge of contingent events, is a Socinian. Dr. Whately, therefore, George Stanley Faber, and others, in spite of their disclaimers, are justly to be styled Arminians. For the essence of Arminianism is its denial of predestination, and the special conception of an election through foreseen faith "is merely a certain mode of speaking, by which Arminians endeavour to evade a difficulty, and to approximate to scriptural language, without admitting scriptural truth." After a further development of these ideas, in contrast with the very different terminology of English works, he sums up in these words:—"When we reflect on the various indications that these views of Faber and Professor Browne pass current as undoubted truths among many of the clergy of

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diligent inquiry may be scarcely less than if truths wholly new could be explored. This is precisely the merit the Essayist has claimed for Calvin himself. He says that he "was far above the weakness of aiming at the invention of novelties in theology, or of wishing to be regarded as the discoverer of new opinions. By grasping with vigour and comprehensiveness the whole scheme of Divine truth, in all its various departments, and combining them into one harmonious and well digested system, he has done what neither Augustine nor Luther did, nor could have done." The amount of what has been written on these subjects, since the Institutes, is perhaps tenfold what had been written before. And hence, though every attainable truth may lie buried somewhere in this theological chaos, it is conceivable that works may hereafter be matured, as superior to Calvin's Institutes, as these are superior, in the view of the Essayist, to every earlier treatise of theology.

But the assertion is untrue in itself, though an *à posteriori* proof of its error may be impossible. Who, indeed, can be vain enough to pretend that he has read every published book on these subjects, that he has separated from the attendant dross "all that is of any worth or value," and that he can point out the *ultima Thule*, the last islet added to these domains of theology, beyond which, without a new revelation, all further truth must be for ever unknown? Its error may be shown, however, in other ways. Fresh discoveries of neglected truth, or clearer and fuller statements of truth already known, must be more difficult and rare, in proportion to the number and excellence of previous writers. But the very fact which creates the difficulty shows that further accessions of truth are still possible. The great law of its subjective revelation has been stated by our Lord himself: "To him that hath shall be given, and he shall have more abundance." To this wide ocean there is no fixed bound prescribed—"Hitherto thou shalt come, but no further." This landscape of Divine knowledge has no absolute horizon, but only that which results from the varieties of intellectual stature and spiritual elevation in every child of God. Few, indeed, can hope to attain, in this life, such insight into the deep things of God, as the most eminent saints and divines of former ages have attained. But still, every humble and faithful student of the Word, whom God has called to cultivate the gifts of a spiritual teacher, may hope to add a few grains to the heap, and to bring some offering of gold, silver, and precious stones, into the rich storehouse of the sanctuary of God. There is thus no reason why the indolent should hold themselves excused, on these subjects, from the duty of patient thought and research; nor why those of an opposite class should soothe themselves

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ignorance and prejudice to apply the name Arminian, in total disregard of what Arminius really taught, wherever there is dissent from the views of the Westminster Confession. For a simple rejection of the distinctive doctrines of Calvin, Anti-Calvinism is clearly the simple and proper name. Arminianism ought to be restricted to those forms of that rejection which agree in substance with the statements of Arminius. The use of the term will then be a pledge for some moderate acquaintance with the real facts of the controversy; instead of being a weapon of reproach, that may be hurled freely in the dark against all who reject one or two specific doctrines of Calvin's system of theology.

We come now to a more important question than the right or wrong definition of an historical surname. Dr. Cunningham strives to simplify the whole controversy, by making Calvinism consist simply in the assertion, and Arminianism in the denial, of Divine predestination, including election as one main corollary from the general truth. He sums up the *status quæstionis* in these words: "Has God eternally and unchangeably fore-ordained whatsoever comes to pass? There is no difficulty in understanding the meaning of the question. The fore-ordination of every event implies, that God from eternity had resolved it should come to pass, and had made certain provision for effecting this result. All Calvinists say that He has, and all Anti-Calvinists say that He has not." He then makes the following complaint of the indecision of the Church of England, and many of her best divines:—

"A church may think an indefinite and undecided statement the most suitable for a symbolical book; may deliberately intend to include both parties in her pale, and so regulate her deliverances, as not to make a definite opinion, on one side or the other, a term of communion. Many of the clergy of the Church of England contend that this is realized in the Thirty-nine Articles. It is quite possible they may hold this to be an actual feature of the Articles, and approve of it, while yet in their own convictions they have decided the question on one side or the other. But there can be no doubt that the peculiar character of the Articles, and the kind of discussion it has required, has tended largely to keep many Episcopalian divines in great uncertainty and confusion in regard to this whole class of subjects. The title of the Bampton Lectures for 1855, by the Rev. J. E. Bode—and they form a very respectable work—is 'The Absence of Precision in the Formularies of the Church of England, scriptural, and suitable to a state of probation.' And this 'absence of precision,' which they regard as attaching to the public formularies, they too often extend to their private personal convictions; and in defending the propriety and expediency of this, have introduced a vast deal of vagueness and confusion into the whole discussion. This course has been adopted chiefly by Arminians, and Arminianism has certainly got the benefit of it. Indeed, ignorance and confusion on this subject tend always to the

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condemned as inconsistent or ambiguous by those who occupy both extremes. The Calvinist will condemn it as vague, indecisive, and almost Arminian; and thorough Arminians will think it marred by some partial taint of Calvinistic rigour.

The Westminster Confession, and the symbolical books of the Kirk of Scotland, belong plainly to the second category. The Thirty-nine Articles, compared with the Collects and Liturgy, belong, we think, just as plainly to the third and last. Out of this contrast between the symbolical books of the two churches, two different types of theology have arisen. Each has its own excellencies and its own defects. But we differ wholly from the view of the Essay, that the balance weighs heavily against the Church of England. The Scotch theology, doubtless, is more fully developed, more complete in logical form, firmer and more compact in structure, more robust and massive in its general aspect. On the other hand, it is more artificial and one-sided, has less width and freedom, less honesty in dealing with the whole range of the Divine messages, less power of direct appeal to the hearts and consciences of men. The English Evangelical theology, in its typical forms, may be less manly, but it is also more childlike. It is less consistent and compact in form, less finished in outline. It has less to satisfy the craving of the intellect, sails closer by the shore, and ventures less into the wide ocean of theology. On the other hand, it is more unfettered in its statements, more impartial and comprehensive in dealing with the messages of God, less prone to lose itself in logical abstractions, more modest in pretension, more conscious of its own remaining ignorance, more open to receive truth on every side. It is more cautious and inductive in its tone, and thus more capable of real progress, without deserting the great landmarks of Christian faith and vital godliness. We have no wish to deny the high excellencies of Scotch theology, in its best, ripest, and most spiritual forms. But we still believe that the more balanced and cautious presentation of truth in our own formularies is nearer to the mind of the Spirit of God; and that, with less theological pretension, it is in reality a wiser and more excellent way. The latitude of thought, among evangelical churchmen, has always been wide, wider perhaps than a thorough acceptance of the Articles would justify, from the High Calvinism of Perkins, Toplady, and Hawker, to the strong Arminianism of Fletcher and the two Wesleys. But still the normal type, embodied in the natural construction of the Articles, and accepted by the main body of the Evangelical clergy, lies almost midway between these extremes. Its two poles of truth are contained in the two sentences of the Catechism, each received in its most natural meaning: "I believe in God the Son, who

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redeemed me and all mankind. I believe in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me and all the elect people of God."

Having thus explained briefly what we believe to be the fundamental difference between these two types of theology, we return to examine the friendly indictment Dr. Cunningham has brought against our church, and various classes of the English clergy. It may be summed up in these words: Calvinism is truth, embodied in clear and definite conceptions; Arminianism is error, striving, by various devices, to escape from the acceptance of a great scriptural truth. The first may be defined by the one statement, that God has decreed eternally whatever comes to pass, and made certain and infallible provision for effecting these results. The latter is to be defined simply by the negation of this one truth. It was unfairness and dishonesty, in Arminius and his followers, to insist on the diversities among their opponents, and to aim their arguments against Supralapsarianism, or the doctrine of reprobation, instead of confining themselves to the main issue. It is error and confusion of thought, in later English divines, to disclaim being Arminians, and describe themselves by other terms, when they agree with Arminius in rejecting this doctrine of predestination. Again, it is a serious fault in those clergy who are really Calvinists, because they receive this doctrine, that they do not develop their creed more fully, or state it more boldly; that they obscure it by the error of general redemption, the arguments for which, Dr. Cunningham observes in passing, have never made any impression on his own mind; and that they do not identify themselves more cordially and avowedly with all the leading doctrines of that developed Calvinism, which was adopted "even by those timid and cautious men who presided over the Reformation of the Church of England." (Essay iv. pp. 205, 209.)

Now, from all these statements, and the advice founded on them, with some slight exceptions, we wholly disagree. They seem to us only a proof of the misleading power of a one-sided school of divinity; and how easily zealous, upright, and able men may become grossly partial in their judgment of facts, motives, and duties; and seek to cast out a mote from a brother's eye, when a mote at least of equal size, and possibly even a beam, is in their own.

And first, we deny the wisdom or accuracy of the attempt to define Calvinism, as a school of theology, by the reception of a solitary metaphysical proposition on the eternal decrees of God. Epitomes, Lord Bacon has complained with truth, are the moths of history; and we may add, that such attempts at simplification are the moths of theology. They favour indolence, distort the facts of history, and tend inevitably to

substitute a strife of words and logical terms for a comprehensive meditation on all revealed truth. In botany, the Linnæan nomenclature, derived from one organ alone, has been wisely replaced by the natural system, which takes into account the whole structure. An opposite course must be a relapse, and not a progress, in historical theology. No one would think of defining the temple of Solomon by the presence or size of one corner-stone, however important in its place. Calvinism, truly defined, is a theological structure. It is to be distinguished, not so much by the presence or absence of any one doctrine as by the mode in which a whole series of doctrines are grouped together, and the relative prominence which one aspect of truth assumes, in a connected and scientific development of the plan of redemption.

This remark may serve to explain the statement of archbishop Magee and other English divines, in which the Essayist sees only a sign of misty and confused thought. Our Articles, Dr. Magee had said, "are neither Calvinistic nor Arminian, while they contain within them what may be traced to some of the leading principles of both. They are not enslaved to the dogmas of any party in religion. They are not Arminian; they are not Calvinistic. They are Scriptural. They are Christian."

If Calvinism were truly defined by the admission of one main doctrine, and Arminianism by its rejection, such a statement would be manifestly absurd. But if the former consists in the superior prominence given to the relation between the Divine decrees, and certain revealed results, past or future, compared with other aspects of truth, such as the conditional promises, or the revealed laws of God's moral government, then the description may be perfectly just. Our Articles may then include one main doctrine of Calvinism, even that on which the Essayist makes his own definition of it depend, and still be far from having, on the whole, a Calvinistic character. They may also include one or two of the main positions held by Arminius, while it may be quite incorrect to style them Arminian. The vagueness and ambiguity charged upon them may thus arise from no want of precision in their separate statements, but be merely a parallax in the eyes of those who are wedded to partial systems, from their balanced and impartial exhibition of the truth of God.

The first and immediate result of this attempt to simplify the definition of Calvinism, beyond what historical truth will allow, is historical injustice. Arminius and others are charged with dishonesty, because they distinguish supralapsarian from sublapsarian doctrine, and bend their chief arguments against the view most remote from their own. "He puts first and most prominently the highest Supralapsarianism, and dwells on it

his own Anti-Calvinistic doctrine.

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Reformed Church, and which he had been urged to defend, himself, against a more temperate Calvinism, so as to lead him into those troubled waters of controversy, in which he past the rest of his days. It was the local standard of Dutch orthodoxy, by departing from which he exposed himself to certain odium, and possible deprivation and banishment. Yet the Essayist complains that he deals with this real adversary, which he conceived, no doubt, to be actually working deep mischief throughout the Dutch churches; instead of confining himself to a discussion of the merits of an abstract Calvinism, as now simplified by the Essayist himself, and reduced to one metaphysical proposition. No complaint, surely, could be much more unreasonable and unjust.

Some one asked an old Austrian officer, during Napoleon's first campaign in Italy, how affairs were going on. "As ill as possible," was the answer. "The French have got a young general who knows nothing of the rules of war. He is sometimes on our flank, sometimes in our rear, and in every place but where he ought to be." Those "rules of war" would, no doubt, have been very convenient, if Napoleon would only have followed them, and assailed the Austrians in front, as in duty bound, in the strongest point of their successive positions. The Essayist lays down here the same rule for theological controversy. The system he adopts and admires is first condensed into one logical bastion, supposed to be impregnable; and all adversaries are then warned, under peril of being held dishonest, to assail this fortified position alone. But the claim is futile and unreasonable. Systems of faith are accepted because of their strong points, and distrusted or rejected because of their weak ones. It is quite natural that the Essayist, who "does not affect the designation of a moderate Calvinist," should aim to place in the strongest and clearest relief the direct evidence for a Divine fore-ordination of all things. But it is equally natural and lawful, that Arminians, and even moderate Calvinists, should bring into equal relief those consequences of his proposition which they find it impossible to reconcile with the main drift and tenor of the messages of God: namely, the idea that "God from all eternity resolved" to doom to eternal misery the majority of mankind, and also "made certain provision to secure infallibly the accomplishment of this result."

It is right and necessary that Christians, in maturing their own creed, should use all humility and reverence, and view doctrines mainly from within on their positive side. But since human additions, whether ceremonial or intellectual, easily attach themselves to the Divine precepts, and to the doctrines of the Gospel, it is well that the pruning-knife of honest controversy should be permitted to do its appointed work, without

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But we must hasten to the main point on which we dissent from the views of the Essay. It is a serious fault to charge more exact writers with ignorance and confusion, because they seek to define an historical term on historical grounds, instead of fixing its sense through an uncharitable guess at the motives of theological adversaries. It is also no healthy process to contract the whole Christian faith into one abstract proposition, which might be received by a heathen stoic, to whom the name of Christ was never known. But we go further, and venture to affirm that this simplified statement, by full acceptance of which the Church of England is to be raised to the higher and purer standard of Scotch theology, however plain it appeared to the lamented author, contains within it the seeds of a fatal self-contradiction.

Let us look closely at the proposition. "There is no difficulty," Dr. Cunningham observes, "in understanding the meaning of the question. The fore-ordination of every event implies, that God from eternity had resolved that it should come to pass." Here every event, past, present, or future, is affirmed to be the direct aim and object of Divine Providence. But the sentence continues: "And that He had made certain provision for effecting this result." Here events are parted into two categories: ends, or results; and means, or provisions by which the results are secured. These two modes of conception contradict and exclude each other. If every event is a direct end and object of the Divine counsel, all contrast is excluded between decreed results and means for attaining them. On the other hand, if that contrast be real, then there must be real events, which are means by which certain decreed results are secured, and to which that character, of ends or results, does not really belong.

The same event, no doubt, may be a partial end, and also a means by which some further and higher object is sought to be attained. This truth complicates the argument, but does not lessen, in the least degree, its real force. The notion of means, or "certain provision for effecting results," if allowed to enter at all,—and it must enter into every scheme but that of bare and naked Pantheism,—shuts out the idea that all things result, purely, simply, and independently, from the direct volition and decree of God. It involves the fundamental idea of conditions or relations of created being, which are objects of the Divine knowledge, but not positive appointments of the Divine will. It implies, further, that these are so mixed up and combined with the proper acts of Divine volition in the actual scheme of Providence, as both in thought and reality to be inseparable. And it points at once to the conclusion, that

alone. Its strength [illegible]
truth, that the fountain of all creat
pleasure of the Divine will, and that
vidence is the manifestation of the Di
two main parts of the sublime trilogy
Him, and through Him, and to Him,
be glory for ever. Amen." Its fail
with the middle term, where this g
wisdom is let down to earth, and m
confusion of our sinful and fallen wor
solemn results of judgment, revealed
them side by side, as if they were
order of thought, results of a decree
was to be secured. Parallelism in
sameness in moral order, or in relatio
fections of God. The name of Christ
not Apollyon, the Destroyer. The
not hatred. His glory consists in th
in all its most varied forms, and n
less in the exercise, of an abstract
creatures miserable. No glory ca
"making certain and infallible pro
ruin. On the contrary, His true gl
perfect love and goodness, would th
fallibly destroyed. Salvation, the
in the image of their Maker, and t
enjoyment of his love, is a worthy
dence. It ranks nearest in order to th
of the Thrice Holy and Ever Blessed
the wages and shadow of sin, are no
government. They are enemies to b

constitute its final object, the revelation of God's glory, are not simply the joys and sorrows of so many saved or ruined souls in each passing moment of the ages to come. They consist rather in the display of God's character and perfections in the whole course of his dealings towards the souls he has made, from the birth-day of Creation to the successive hours of that coming eternity. It is only by the enlarged memory of all the past, as well as anticipation of all that is to come, that the creature can mount upward toward the apprehension of His manifested glory, who is from everlasting to everlasting, the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever. Now if there has been a provision of mercy towards every sinner of a fallen race, intensely and sublimely real in its own nature, however slighted and refused; a genuine manifestation of Divine love, a solemnly proclaimed delight of the Holy One, sealed with an oath, in receiving back any and every soul that returns from its wandering; a real sorrow, expressed by the grieving of the Holy One of Israel, and revealed in the tears of the Son of man, over every case of stubborn and wilful impenitence; then, however awful and mysterious some of the revealed issues may be, the Christian may feel, by anticipation, the truth of those words, "That thou mayest be justified in thy sayings, and be clear when thou art judged." He can believe, with holy reverence, that in the depth, as well as in the breadth and height, mercy shall rejoice against judgment, and the God of love and holiness be glorified in all his wonderful works towards the children of men. But if the ruin of countless souls be the direct object and aim of a Divine decree; if no provision of mercy has ever been made for their recovery, but only full and infallible provision for their hopeless degradation and despair; if, behind the mockeries of human invitations to believe the Gospel, where there is no Gospel but in the ignorance or delusion of the messengers, there stands the veiled spectre of a settled purpose of Almighty power to bring to pass irresistibly their obduracy first, and afterwards their doom and destruction; then we may indeed repeat the confession of the Psalmist, that "clouds and darkness are round about" the presence of Jehovah, but not the glorious sequel, that "justice and judgment are the habitation of his throne." And hence we believe in the far superior harmony with the whole counsel of God—when compared with the pure Calvinism of the Essay, and its one sole principle of fore-ordination—of the normal type of Church of England theology, where the Jachin and Boaz, the two pillars of the spiritual temple, are those two pregnant and weighty sayings: "I believe in God the Son, who redeemed me and all mankind. I believe in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me and all the elect people of God."

This leads to another point, and the last on which our space

permits us to dwell. The Essay not only offers a definition of predestination, on which it would make the whole scheme of Christian theology to depend, and which has been shown to involve a secret self-contradiction, but it proceeds to offer, in like manner, a brief description of the kindred doctrine of election, which lies open to precisely the same charge. We read it in the following passage :—

"The Calvinistic doctrine is this, that God from eternity chose or elected some men, certain definite individuals of the human race, to everlasting life; that He determined certainly and infallibly to bring these persons to salvation through a Redeemer; that in making this selection of some men, and resolving to save them, He was not influenced by anything existing in them, or foreseen in them, by which they were distinguished from other men, or by any reason known to or comprehensible by us, but only by His own sovereign good pleasure, by the counsel of His own will; and that this eternal decree or purpose He certainly and infallibly executes in time in regard to each and every one included in it. This is the Calvinistic doctrine of election; every Calvinist believes this, and every one who believes this is a Calvinist. The meaning of the doctrine, solemn and mysterious as it is, is easily understood; and men are Calvinists or Anti-Calvinists, as they affirm or deny it."

Now we deny altogether the accuracy of this way of defining Calvinism by the acceptance or rejection of a single doctrine, and believe that it consists rather in the relative, and almost exclusive, prominence given to one aspect or part of Divine truth, and the direct association of the two revealed results of judgment with the will of God as their source, and the glory of God as their end, to the neglect or denial of any real, genuine revelation of the love of God to all mankind. We believe firmly, along with perhaps a large majority of Evangelical churchmen, the natural sense of Art. XVII. on predestination and election, and might in this sense accept the title of moderate Calvinists; though we think that the description would be incorrect; since our apprehension of the scheme of redemption, as a whole, differs as widely from the type and mould of Calvin's Institutes, as it does from a purely Arminian view. Tried, however, by the drift of the previous extract, our place would be among those who accept, and not those who deny, the doctrine to which it refers; while we gladly own that many excellent and pious clergymen within our Church, like the whole body of Wesleyans without, do not receive it, and feel no scruple in assigning to the Article some modified sense in which they can subscribe it. But while we thus agree with the Essayist in the main doctrine, we must repeat our former charge, that in aiming at simplicity and logical completeness, he has affirmed the doctrine in a shape in which no one but a virtual Arminian can possibly receive it.

The doctrine of election, as stated in the Article, or appa-

rently affirmed in various texts of Scripture, limits itself to the declaration that the choice of God is due to no foreseen moral worthiness in its object, beyond other men; but that all spiritual grace, and true moral excellence in the sight of God, is the consequence and effect of this choice, and not its determining cause. The practical excellence claimed for the doctrine, by those who receive it, is that it wholly excludes all human boasting, and teaches the believer to ascribe the undivided glory of his own salvation and holiness to the grace of God. But the definition in the Essay goes much further, and denies that this Divine choice is influenced "by anything existing in them, or foreseen in them, by which they were distinguished from other men; but only by God's sovereign good pleasure." This statement plainly introduces into our conception of the Divine will a power to determine itself between things strictly and absolutely indifferent, which is the fundamental assumption and necessary basis of a purely Arminian theology. It is, in truth, essential Arminianism, or the self-determining power of choice, without a motive for the choice, exalted from earth to heaven; and transferred from the heart of the sinner, who accepts or rejects the gospel in time, to the throne of God, where the counsel of grace is formed from all eternity.

But the statement is not only a logical inconsistency, which, while condemning Arminianism as a heresy, enshrines its leading maxim in the bosom of the Godhead—it is also directly opposed to the natural force of the leading text, from which the doctrine itself is inferred. The Apostle speaks as follows: "For whom he did foreknow he did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son." Fore-knowledge, of some kind or other, is here made to precede fore-ordination, and to be, in some mysterious way, its defining cause. And this clearly implies the previous recognition of something foreseen in them, and present to the mind of the Infinitely Wise, by which the objects of his choice were distinguished from other men. The stones in a quarry have no present and actual fitness to form a glorious temple, no natural or moral claim for the labour and skill of the architect to be employed upon them. Yet the eye of the architect, who knows the plan of the structure he designs to rear, may perceive a relative fitness in those rude blocks, some of them to occupy, when hewn and squared, one place in the structure, and some another; while others may be seen to be wholly unsuitable. The doctrine, within the scriptural limit, is sufficiently mysterious, and calls for the constant exercise of faith, humility, and reverence; where the issues are so momentous, and still any foresight of moral goodness is excluded from entering into the motives of this electing choice of God. But the addition made to it in the

Essay changes its nature from a solemn mystery into a logical contradiction, or at least into an adoption of the gravest difficulty of the Arminian theory in a highly aggravated form. It is hard to conceive a power of choice, without any reason or motive, between things strictly indifferent, even in the case of sinful volitions, where madness and unreason prevail. But it is far harder to conceive such a faculty of pure choice without any reasonable motive, in the counsels of Him who is perfect Wisdom and the highest Reason.

It may be urged, perhaps, in defence of the statement, that the mention of "any reason known to or comprehensible by us" is a tacit admission of the existence of some other reasons, though incomprehensible and unknown. But this, however true it may be, only completes the proof of self-contradiction. One clause will thus tacitly allow what the clause before it as manifestly excludes altogether. If A is chosen, and B is rejected, without any reference to anything that distinguishes one from the other, the decision is just the same as if B were chosen and A rejected; for one proposition can be discerned from the other, only because some difference has first been recognized between the two objects of choice and rejection. And thus the true result of the double effort to erect a purely Calvinistic theology into the only sound type of Christian doctrine, and then to condense and simplify it into two abstract definitions, —one of predestination, and the other of election,—is, to destroy the balance and harmony of truth, as it discloses itself to impartial and honest readers of the word of God; to rob the truths retained of those sacred associations, those tones of mingled grace and Divine authority, which alone can bow the conscience to receive them with submission and reverence; and, finally, to set up two direct self-contradictions for main pillars, or chief corner-stones, on which the whole fabric of doctrinal Christianity is to repose.

The practical conclusion from this brief review of the Essays before us is, we think, very plain. We honour the name and works of Calvin, and the bright examples of Christian faith and piety which the Kirk of Scotland, with its confession moulded by his writings and influence, has furnished in great abundance down to the present day. But while we honour, we do not envy them; or believe that our own Church would be a gainer, if its Articles and Liturgy, and the prevailing views and teaching of her Evangelical clergy, were formed on this model, and moulded into a type which is sensibly different from their own. The theology of the English Church, though less systematic, and apparently less profound, is, we believe, closer to the mind of the Spirit, more truthful, more impartial, more comprehensive, more honest in following simply wherever the voice of the Spirit clearly leads the way. It may

often wear the appearance, indeed, of a series of uneasy compromises; a compromise between the Catholic tone of the Liturgy, in the best sense of the word, and the more directly Protestant tone of the Articles; a compromise of different schools, each building strongly on some part of the formularies directly in contrast with the others; a compromise, in the minds of the clergy themselves, between apparently diverging truths, which have been only half reconciled in their own imperfect faith. But it has one great excellence, which, in our opinion, far outweighs these defects. It does not force the whole of Scripture, violently, into one mould of human logic, or place the sovereignty of God in such relief above other truths, as almost to blot out all right conceptions of the plan of Providence, and of the true nature of that moral government which is exercised over our sinful world. The true and genuine type of its whole teaching corresponds, we think, in every part, and more closely than the Scottish confession, to that beautiful summary, which is one of the latest legacies of the great Apostle of the Gentiles to the whole Church of Christ: "For the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, hath shined upon all men; teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." May all its clergy adhere faithfully to this mould of heavenly doctrine, and increase continually in their knowledge of the Son of God, in their faith in His cross, and their hope of his coming and his eternal kingdom!

A FEW COMMENTS ON "A REPLY" TO OUR "REVIEW OF THREE LETTERS ON JUSTIFICATION."

A Reply to the Christian Observer's Review (August 1862) *of Three Letters on Justification. By Catholicus. London: Rivingtons.* 1862.

UNTIL we received the little work, the title of which appears at the head of this notice, we were unconscious that our remarks would be honoured by so marked a recognition. As "Catholicus" has favoured us with his views of our observations upon his "Letters," we should be lacking in courtesy if we were not to acknowledge the compliment which he has thus paid us. We will proceed, therefore, at once briefly to com-

With respect to David and Goliath, we
that David went against Goliath in "
only." What we did deny, was the co
tration to support the views of "Cat
ture does *not* say that David conquer
Lord, by faith, *without* the use of a slir
"that a man *is* justified by faith, *without*
iii. 28.) Our author, in taxing us (p.
glory between the Creator and the cr
Goliath's overthrow, because we do
seems to be unconscious that he has ac
a fair retort; viz., that *his* idea of *justi*
the *name* of "faith only," is practically
charge, on more reasonable grounds! "
of faith" to be the work which results fro
of its existence and reality.

With respect to his references to E
we had searched in vain through ou
years, the edition of Hooker in two volu
at the Oxford University Press, withou
to the Christian Letter" with the pass
"Catholicus." We have at last been
obtain the loan of the second of Keble'
three volumes. And there, in volume
do find the passage in question. Th
works thus quoted as the "Answer to
turns out to be the "Fragments of an
certain English Protestants," published f
and printed by Mr. Keble as No. 1,

553, of Keble's edition, we cannot admit that it is identical with the teaching of the Three Letters of "Catholicus." Take the following passage:—

"The general cause which hath procured our remission of sins is the blood of *Christ*, therefore in His blood we are justified; that is to say, cleared and acquitted from all sin. The condition required in us for our personal qualification hereunto is faith," &c. (p. 552.)

After the passage quoted by "Catholicus" to show that St. Paul, in Romans iii. 28, refers only to "the fellowship of worth through precedent works," we find the following:—

"Nor doth any faith justify, but that wherewith there is joined both hope and love. Yet justified we are by faith alone, because there is neither *Jew* nor *Gentile*, neither *martyr* nor *saint*, no man whose works in whole or in part clear can make him righteous in God's sight. Now between the grace of this first justification, and the glory of the world to come, whereof we are not capable, unless the rest of our lives be qualified with the righteousness of a second justification consisting in good works, therefore as St. *Paul* doth dispute for faith without works to the first, so St. James to the second justification is urgent for works with faith. To be justified so far as remission of sins, it sufficeth if we believe what another hath wrought for us: but whosoever will see God face to face, let him show his faith by his works, demonstrate his first justification by a second as *Abraham* did: for in this verse *Abraham was justified* (that is to say, his life was sanctified) by works." (p. 553.)

Such is the context of the passage cited by our Author from the posthumous fragments of Hooker, and which he contends is a proof that Hooker repudiated, "in his maturer judgment, a sentiment of his youth," expressed in the sermon on justification, "the least 'judicious,'" and the "earliest" of "all his writings," as our Author expresses it. (*Reply*, &c., p. 7.) Now, we ask for proof that Hooker ever repudiated his Sermon on Justification. And if there were any material difference between his sermon and his posthumous fragments, we certainly should give the preference to the former. Mr. Keble tells us that the fragmentary treatise was "part of the *intended* reply to the Christian Letter." Also, that the valuable matter is "in a very undigested and imperfect form." Also, that the portion of it on the Sacraments, which is the portion now under our notice, "as far as it goes," is "wholly defensive against Romanists." (Vol. i., Editor's Preface, p. xviii.) This circumstance may explain the adoption of their phraseology respecting a first justification, and a second justification. For it is no new thing for controversialists to adopt the *argumentum ad hominem*, to show that the phraseology of opponents is capable of use in an innocent sense. In the case before us, Hooker is careful to show that he does not contradict the doctrine of his Sermon on Justification. For he speaks of "the righteousness

in our review, (see his pp. 9, 10, 11, 1
well to consider what his own chosen au
upon the subject! Taking into acc
on justification and sanctification in s
Justification, there would seem to be
between his view of St. Paul's being a
second, justification, and that of Mr.
Romans iii. 20, 28, refers to justific
St. James, in ch. ii. 21—24, to justifica
to say, to the manifested justification o
August Number. (See Faber, ch. ix., s

With respect to the passage quot
Augustine, in the first of his "Three
he refers in his "Reply," p. 6, it o
whether Mr. Faber had discussed it or
Primitive Doctrine of Justification, ir
find twelve pages filled with quotatio
eight more with comments upon them
quoted in the "Letter," may be f
Mr. Faber. Even if taken by itself
justify the inference drawn from it by
so, when other passages from Augustin
Mr. Faber quotes Augustine's commen
Bishop Bull's attempt to get rid of it.
that they follow after a justified persor
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non præcedunt justificandum." He als
on Psalm cx., that man can work no
first be justified; and that not good w
tion, show what man has merited; b
what man has received:—

confess that the above quoted passages from Augustine do not seem to us to warrant the inference of Catholicus, that Augustine understood Romans iii. 28, as referring exclusively to works done in a natural state and before the first act of faith in Christ. Our author, it is true, seems disposed to run down the authority of Mr. Faber (*Reply*, &c., pp. 15, 18—20); and hints at his interpreting the Fathers with prejudice. But Mr. Faber taxes bishop Bull with the same prejudice, and argues that, on *his* principle, we may "make an ancient author say pretty much what best suits our own purpose." (p. 175.) For our own part, so far as our reading extends, we are disposed to consider Mr. Faber, bishop Beveridge, and archdeacon Welchman, to be quite as trustworthy interpreters of the Fathers, as "Catholicus" and bishop Bull. Nor are we bound to Milner's opinion of them, which appears to be the result of prejudice, and is combated by Mr. Faber.

With respect to our author's remarks at pp. 7, 8, of his *Reply*, it will suffice to say that when we speak of justification "by" faith, we mean by means of faith or "through" faith—through the instrumentality of faith. The Latin version of the 11th of the 39 Articles clearly preserves this idea, "per fidem." So that faith is not "thus a work," as our author argues that it is. (p. 8.) The learned bishop Kaye, in his Charge of 1843, in discussing this very point, has well stated the case as follows, that faith "is the only hand which puts on Christ unto justification,—which applies the merits of Christ to the individual." (p. 31.) This learned prelate also cites the Homily on Salvation, that faith doth not shut out repentance, hope, love, &c., "but it shutteth them out from the office of justifying: so that, although they be all present together in him that is justified, yet they justify not altogether."

Our author appears to think that we agree with him in placing sanctification before justification. This is a question of words. In the popular acceptation of the term sanctification, as involving a course of good works,* we decidedly place it *after* justification, in common with our 12th Article and Hooker. But we did venture to suggest that the term "sanctification" may possibly be more correctly applied to the preliminary work of the Spirit in the soul, producing that faith which results in obedience.† We must, however, decline to enter upon a course of mere logomachy with him upon this point.

Our author appears to have completely mistaken our mean-

* See J. A. James's Anxious Inquirer, ch. vi. p. 75.

† Thus, in the Baptismal Service, "Wash him, and sanctify him with the Holy Ghost; that he, ... being steadfast in faith," &c. It could be shown how the particle "then" in the fourth of the four Questions to the Sponsors seems to imply a query as to the genuineness of the faith professed in the former questions, and to hint that true and lively faith will necessarily result in obedience, as the 12th Article teaches.

Arminians maintain that it may expire, a
But the moderate Calvinist will maint
actually and completely die out; though
in wilful sin he has no right to suppose
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than David himself at one period of hi
faith, then, is a habit which forms th
"for as he thinketh in his heart, so i
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dently of any notion of progressive ju
same. And as to the charge of antinor
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this. (See our August No., p. 590.) W
express a hope that when "Catholi
Marsden's "Discourse for St. Simon an
xxviii. p. 514,)† he will see the error a
his own system of justification by work

The real question, after all, as Mr. I
is the ground of our acceptance with G
p. 21.) *We* say faith, which lays hold
leads to the obedience of love; while '
and works together; though he endea
ject by saying that the works are not o

the Gospel." He simply uses their case as a passing illustration. And we protest against the inference drawn by our author from our Note at p. 586. Once for all, we say that we fully admit St. James's Epistle to be canonical, and that our Note was designed as an *argumentum ad hominem* against the Romanists, who often attempt to throw discredit on the Protestant doctrine, simply because Luther erred as to St. James's Epistle.

We believe that we have touched upon all the points of any importance raised in our author's Reply which may seem to require any comment.* He seems to marvel that we should cite our Articles and Homilies. We certainly deemed that they would be admitted as authorities by the writer of "Three Letters" in the "British Magazine."

We will just add, that to some minds a slight verbal change of definition renders a subject more clear. We have used the phraseology of our Articles as to justification, viz., the being accounted righteous. Dr. Baylee has clothed the same idea in other words, viz., the being brought to trial and acquitted, or pronounced just. He shows that this definition will fit in with the ten applications of the term in Scripture; viz., in Psalm li. 4; Rom. iii. 4; Matt. xi. 9; Matt. xii. 37; James ii. 24; Rom. iii. 28; Luke xviii. 14; Rom. v. 9; Rom. v. 18; Rom. iv. 5; Dan. vii. 14. Thus we arraign God for His providential dispensations; we "justify" Him, or pronounce Him just. Dr. Baylee well observes that St. James is not dealing with the justification of a sinner, but with the justification of a man who professes to be a believing Christian. If we profess to be believers in Christ, we can only be "justified" in our profession by proving and showing it in our actions.

We cannot notice every pamphlet which may be published to call in question the statements made in our Review of books. In the present instance, we feel that our space does not allow us to transcribe our author's charges, which course would be essential to a *full* view of the questions at issue. We have had our say. He has had his. Our differences still remain. And there the matter, as between him and us, must end. So long as G. S. Faber's Primitive Doctrine of Justification is accessible to the public, we trust that our clergy will be well prepared to combat such views as those propounded by Catholicus in his "Three Letters," and in his "Reply" to our review of the same in our August No., and that he too may see reason to espouse a different theory on a matter of such moment.

THE REVIEWER OF THE "THREE LETTERS," IN THE AUGUST NO. OF THE CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

* In the case of glorified saints, (see his *Reply*, p. 21,) all temptations to pride and other sin will have ceased. And even *they* will duly recognise Christ's work *for* them. (See Rev. vii. 15.)

late Archbishop of Canterbury, you say, "he h
churches some years before he left the diocese
but wish to make known what is well known t
viz., that he had consecrated, in all, 232 chur
of Chester, the largest number ever consecr
was at the average rate of one per month, fo
months short of twenty years in the diocese.
circumstance was that on one occasion he
in ten successive days: it had been arranged t
but something interfered to prevent it. I w
the Treasurer of the Chester Diocesan Ch
which enabled me to learn these particulars.

There is an article on Durell's "Latin and
Revised Book of Common Prayer." In G
Faith," second edition, there is a passage sho
the Communion Service proves that the wo
stood by the framers of the Rubrics, could not t
of bread and wine. I think it is in the l
volume (speaking from recollection). But
mind of the writer of the article, as he say
"against the very strong negative eviden
Rubrics." Dean Goode points out that a
beginning of the Prayer for the Church Mil
the bread and wine are to be placed "upo
Rubric follows, viz., "if there be no alms
clearly that the bread and wine were not co
remain, &c.

NOTICES OF NEW B

auspices of the bishop of Rochester. Sound judgment, piety, and quiet earnestness in doing good, characterize her pages. "It seems," says his Lordship in the preface, "as if a *new commandment* had been put in operation, when we read the series of successes which the pages of this little volume relate; and yet it is the *old commandment*, which we had from the beginning, that has produced such happy results. The Saviour's *dicta*, 'Love one another,' 'Do to one another as I have done to you,' supply the remedy for every difficulty. The love of Christ, acting on our own hearts, and those of others, in the spirit of gentleness and peace, has accomplished, and will effect, wherever it is brought to bear in simplicity, as much, and, with God's blessing, *more* than is here detailed." There are a few hours in the afternoon or evening of the Lord's-day which often hang idly on our hands. Here is the remedy; and a happy one it is. There is much said at present of women doing men's work in secular life; now, men, young men in particular, may with advantage try to do some of "woman's work on the Lord's-day."

The Spirit in the Word: Facts gathered from a Thirty Years' Ministry. By W. Champneys, M.A., Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, and Vicar of St. Pancras. Seeley, Jackson, & Co. 1862.—The little volume which lies before us bears the deep traces of ministerial zeal and fidelity, mingled largely with trials and success. The records of human life which it unfolds, are often strange and startling. The ghastly wounds which sin inflicts, the writhings of a guilty conscience, the joy of the first spring-time of the converted soul, the doubts that often follow, the triumphs that succeed at last, all these pass before us, all are real. No artificer of pious frauds, or maker-up of pious fictions, could have fabricated such a book as this. It is a store-house for thinking men, it is a book to interest a Sunday scholar, and will be devoured by every pious reader in a parish library.

We select one whole chapter, with the exception of a few introductory words. Canon Champneys was a bold man to publish it, but he would have been a timid one if he had withheld it. Its importance depends upon two facts, as every reader will instantly perceive. First, the reality of the seeming state of death, or trance, in which the woman lay; and secondly, the reality of the moral and spiritual change which, from that hour, she displayed through life; and to the truth of these two circumstances we have Canon Champneys's attestation. It will be observed that he declines to offer any theory or explanation; in this we shall follow his example, commending the subject to the dispassionate consideration of the reader:—

"The sect of the Pharisees is not extinct. * * * * There lived in my parish a woman of this sect. She was almost the most determined one I ever saw. Her husband was a humble, penitent, modest Christian; truly enlightened, and deeply self-abased. The Spirit of Truth had told him the truth concerning himself. He had, like so many of us, once 'heard of God by the hearing of the ear,' but now, when compared with what he once knew and felt, it was as if his 'eye saw Him;' the effect produced was what it ever is on all,—'he abhorred himself and repented in dust and ashes.' His poor wife could understand nothing of all this; it was 'foolishness to her.' 'She had never felt what he felt; she had no fear. She had lived many years in very religious families; she had attended family prayer every day; she had always been regular at her church; she had read a great many

thought likely to meet her case, but they seemed to
took all as a matter of course, and drew from every
gratulation. It seemed as if the edge of the knife ac
with the flint. I was obliged to leave for a few weeks,
of a faithful and beloved brother. During my abs
appeared to sink, and, as all thought, died. For abou
No signs of life appeared. At the end of that time
surprise and awe of those who had watched the face of

"When she could speak, she told them, and told n
for there was an originality about the way in which
thing itself, which fastened it distinctly upon my mer
ceased to see those around my bed, I found myself w
deep, clear river; it was so wide that there was no th
deep that it was impossible to ford it; it was so clear
bottom; and yet I had an impression that I *must* cro
seemed impossible. I wandered on along the banks, l
that deep, wide, clear, rapid river, when, at a distan
bridge. On getting near to it, I saw that it looked lik
so narrow, "so high that it was dreadful"'—the ver
Ezekiel, when describing those emblematic wheels,
another, symbolised the inscrutable and awful provide
angels, instinct with angelic life. 'As I came up to th
how can I ever cross it? and, as I looked at it more a
not only so high, so narrow, but studded with sha
hopelessly looking, convinced that I had to cross it, y
saw hovering over the bridge an angel, with a crow
flashed and glittered and sparkled so brightly, that I
My eyes were fastened on that crown. As I look
Instinctively and unconsciously I moved forward, m
crown, for I could look at nothing else. He moved
looking down at the bridge or the thorns, but only look
my surprise and joy, I found that I had safely passed
and thorny bridge, without hurting my feet upon a
false step.' Such was her account to me of the impr
when her body was, to all appearance, dead.

"She recovered, and she certainly was a Pharisee r
that seeming death really alive. God's word was now
Holy Spirit had opened the eyes of her understanding t
so much of which she had heard, but of which she
Self-confidence was gone, and a humble trust in God's
in its place. Her gentle Christian husband was no r

and that crown of living light, that crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give at that day . . . to all those who love His appearing.

"I venture no theory, attempt no explanation, but simply state the facts—what she was *before* this seeming death, what she was *after*, and the striking impression made upon her mind, and, as the result proved, upon her *heart*."

Mick Tracey, the Irish Scripture Reader; or, the Martyred Convert and the Priest. A tale of facts. By W. A. C. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1862.—Had we noticed this little book a month ago, we should have thought it necessary to use some caution. The story is said by its author to be nothing more than a series of facts, woven by the slightest threads into one tale or story. An interesting tale it is, and we believe every word of it. For we have been in Ireland, we have conversed with Scripture readers, and we know something of the nature of an Irish priest, of Maynooth teachings, and of Roman canon law; and therefore we believe in Mick Tracey—in all he saw, said, and suffered, especially from the malignity of the Romish priests. But many of our readers, we are aware, one short month ago, would have believed nothing of the kind; or, at the utmost, the evidence of their own senses, had they been upon the spot, would have forced from them no further admission, than that Mick's case was a rare exception, an exception proving the rule, as exceptions are said to do in logic. The ferocity of the Birkenhead priest, the insulting pastoral of Cardinal Wiseman, the haughty tone of Sir George Bowyer's letter, our popish mob, and bleeding policemen, have suddenly wrought a strange, and by no means premature conversion, in many thousands of excellent English Protestants. Popery, that we may no longer be deluded, has kindly rung the bell at our own street door, and there it stands in front of our own home, howling defiance, and threatening, when the time comes round, to repeat all the horrors it ever practised.

Mick Tracey is an excellent fellow, a true Christian, and a true Irishman withal. He has a deal of fun in him, in common with all his countrymen, whose hearts are not turned into gall by the Italian sorceress. He has, too, a wonderful command of temper—not in common with all his countrymen, but with those of them who, like himself, "have been renewed in the spirit of their minds." In short, good reader, if you would know something of the real state of Ireland, read Mick Tracey. Whether your mood be grave or gay, whether you wish to heave a sigh, or shed a tear, Mick will respectfully conduct you to the scene where your tastes shall be gratified; and you will not resemble Mick, if, when you leave the scene, the prevailing sentiment of your soul be not one of compassion, deep compassion for the benighted Roman Catholics of Ireland.

Christian Missions: Six Discourses delivered before the University of Dublin; being the Donnellan Lectures for 1861. *By William Pakenham Walsh, A.M. Dublin: George Herbert. London: Hatchard and Co.* 1862.—A course of sermons on Christian Missions preached before an University is, we say it not without shame, even yet a novelty. It is painful to reflect that the whole subject of Christian missions is almost new to the Protestant churches of Great Britain. Our readers are of course aware that, so long ago as the beginning of the last century, two now venerable societies were founded

on the *Eras of Light*. Dean Milner, [illegible]
consulted as to the propriety of bringing
motion that the sermon should be printed
his advice that the triumph should not be
it was twenty years after this date befo
to fix the serious attention of either Univ
in our apathy. The subject of missions
everywhere suspected.

We receive with the greatest satisfac
us. It is wise and thoughtful, sometim
cause, and therefore of the learned Unive
lectures were delivered. The volume is
very moderate; but in addition to the si
are to be found on every page, full of inf
have to speak much and to preach often c
take care to have this volume in their
forth on missionary work. It is a manu
deserves high commendation, written as
that is, a truly evangelical spirit. Tl
we subjoin: they are—Lecture I. The
warrant and its object. II. The missio
ment, and its expansion in the New. II
and middle ages. IV. Modern missio
V. Results of missionary labours. V
missions.

The Irish branch of our church has
Missionary Society, as well as our other
best missionaries. With the blessing
course of lectures is calculated to draw o
men, and to lead them into the mission
this, than courses of sermons on the evid
cavil they are intended to refute, and wh
the conscience unimpressed!

Meditations on Death and Eternity. T

death. We cannot be surprised that they should be highly appreciated by her who lives to mourn his absence. And there is much in them, very much, from which a cultivated christian mind will draw stores of comfort. Yet, on the other hand, much is wanting. There runs almost throughout the volume the same fault which we have occasion so frequently, and so sternly, to rebuke in a vast deal of that which is otherwise most beautiful in our modern theology. God's love to man is exquisitely touched upon; but alas! for the rebellion of man, the hardness of his heart, his utter ruin,—hopeless, endless ruin,—unless sprinkled with the blood of an atoning sacrifice—all this is passed over in silence, or presented only in a dim and spectral, and shadowy outline. For instance, in a chapter entitled "A foretaste of heaven," we meet with the following sentence:—"How unutterably happy must not the man feel whose heart has not one thing to upbraid him with in respect to any of his relations in life; who does not permit his mind to be unduly disturbed by cares of any kind; who does not allow either unbridled anger or unrestrained affection to lead him into any excess! In him dwells a sublime calm, of which ordinary men can hardly form a conception,—that calm which is the true peace of God."

If this were true, farewell to human happiness, farewell to the true peace of God. But, blessed be God, it is not true. In us (that is, in our flesh) dwelleth no good thing: when we would do good, evil is present with us; and how to perform that which is good, we find not. Romans vii. 18. The peace of God comes from another source. "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." Romans v. 1. Would that there were some humble Christian near at hand to whisper these saving truths to those whose sorrows are greater than their splendours, deeper than their rank is high. We could quote other passages as little satisfactory as that we have transcribed, but we forbear. Nor should we have gone thus far, had not a sense of duty compelled us.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

Popery, ultramontane popery, in one form or other, thrusts itself upon our notice, and seems determined to provoke a conflict. Its demonstrations are of the ancient character, fierce and reckless, insolent and inflamed with bigotry. It allows of no freedom, not even that last resource of the wretched, the freedom of complaint. And even in the United Kingdom it has not lost the hope of crushing the right of calm and open discussion. At Belfast, the recent assassinations, the frequent threats of further violence, and other grievances, whether real or imaginary it matters not, induced the Protestants to announce a public meeting. They assembled to the number of at least sixty thousand, in a public garden or park; and their conduct was so far

town. The same scene was threatened
to be clearly understood in Ireland, tha
may do, Protestants must hold their pea

Our public writers made light of this,
of outrage. It was represented as nothi
the old factious contests, in which both
Protestants more especially; though why
to explain. However the scene was soon
and Birkenhead were the field of battle,
our apathetic journalists. In London
thought proper to announce a public m
sorry to say on Sunday afternoon, to exp
present state of Italy. An immense mo
vided with stones and bludgeons, appe
acted with such promptitude and metho
mind, as to their having been well drill
graceful uproar was the consequence;
severely injured, as well as many of the c
for some hours the Park was the scene o
renewed the next Sunday afternoon
Irish mob in both cases being driver
them, as well as their opponents, cruell
by the low Irish in any of our towns
but in this case, Cardinal Wiseman,
driving by the Park during the fight,
poor Catholics of London, which has bee
papers as unequalled for its insolent effr
a member of parliament, has likewise ad
in the same vein. But since he is cro
cardinal, and agent to the pope in Lo
But it is to be noted that, in each of the
a public meeting to express sentiments i
Italian patriots. is assumed to be in its

with still less excuse, and still greater ferocity. We are not entirely indebted to any public writer for our information of what occurred; but we will take the facts of the case from a Liverpool newspaper, which has hitherto been known as the advocate of very liberal opinions, and, for many years, the champion of Roman Catholics. It appears that there is an association, or debating society, in the town, which meets in a large room adjoining Trinity church, of which the Rev. Dr. Baylee, the head of the clerical college of St. Aidan, is also the incumbent. The subject announced for discussion was "Sympathy with Garibaldi and Italy." The Irish Roman Catholics, following the example of their countrymen in London, assembled in front of the building, evidently bent on mischief. Before the proceedings began, they formed a vast crowd—an Irish mob. A window was broken as the signal for disturbance; the meeting was immediately, at the suggestion of the police, abandoned, and the lights extinguished. But the crowd of ruffians outside rapidly increased, and in a few minutes there were some thousands on the spot, many of whom were women and children. Although the lights in the Institute were extinguished, stones and other missiles were thrown at the windows, and whenever a smash of glass took place it was accompanied with "Three cheers for the Pope." Dr. Baylee's congregation, which had assembled for an evening service, was now attacked; stones rained through the windows, and the terrified worshippers of God were hastily dispersed. In short, for two days the streets of Birkenhead were in a state of siege; every house, shop, and warehouse, and the lives of the inhabitants, at the mercy of an infuriate rabble. Great injury was done both to persons and property. Two Romish priests were in the crowd, and at the proper time dispersed the rioters. The *Liverpool Mercury*, as well as the other journals, distinctly trace the riot to the influence of the two Romish priests; one of whom, "Father Brundrit," was seen haranguing the crowd, calling for cheers for the pope, and abusing Garibaldi in such language as was suited to the taste of his degraded followers. In self-defence he has published a letter, in which he tells the world he wishes it to be clearly understood that "he does not by any means lay the blame on the Catholics. If misguided fanatics choose to call a meeting, by large orange-coloured placards headed 'Sympathy with Garibaldi,' in the very centre of at least 15,000 Catholics, they must take the consequences, and be answerable for them."

"Thus father Brundrit," to quote the Liverpool Mercury, "with opportune audacity avows his sympathy with turbulent and destructive mobs who think that stones, sticks, and fists are the best arguments in political discussion. Now we venture to ask him whether one of the most valued privileges of the people of Great Britain is not freedom of thought and of speech on every political subject? Are we now, however, to understand that the very priests, who were once so clamorous on behalf of civil and religious liberty, seriously intend to interdict English Protestants from the enjoyment of that liberty? Is their triumph to herald our debasement? Is there henceforth to be no liberty of speech save such as is tolerated by Roman Catholic priests, and assented to by mobs of ruffianly and uneducated men? Are peaceable congregations, when worshipping God, to be stoned, and are churches and chapels to be destroyed, because men dare to express opinions which are disliked at Rome and by some Romish ecclesiastics? If this is the new code of civil and religious freedom which the priests and their flocks are to

The Primacy has been filled up by the tr
from York. The appointment has given g
bishop of Ripon for twenty years, afterward
recently in the northern Primacy of York, D
church with wisdom, gentleness, and quiet
exalted station, we can only repeat the pray
ago, that he may be like-minded with his re
the garment of Elijah descend upon Elisha
York has been declined by the venerable bi
by the bishop of London. It has been stat
been made to Lord Auckland, but the r
firmed. It would be a good appointment.
ship gained much practical experience at B
him a high character. He found the parish i
during his incumbency effected a moral cha
of similar extent have witnessed during so sh
of Sodor and Man, and since at Bath and
been known as the friend of all his clergy, a w
moderate churchman.

Of foreign politics there is certainly n
of those bold strokes of which the next g
speak with unbounded admiration or unmix
contemporaries find it extremely difficult t
The king of Prussia and the emperor of F
guished themselves in this respect; each h
The first has abruptly dismissed his parlian
nister. The king of Prussia has taken for hi
First. Charles insisted on keeping up a larg
ment approved. William of Prussia insists c
Charles's house of commons voted him, in
sum than he demanded. So have king W
Whereupon each dissolved his parliament. C
raise ship-money on his own authority; the
John Hampden and a civil war. Oliver Crom

submits to the dictation of Antonelli, and becomes obsequious to the pope. Thus all appearance of a cordial understanding with Victor Emmanuel ends. Napoleon III. gains the pope, and loses the confidence of a large body of his own subjects, and the respect of the whole Italian people. The pope is to France and Italy what the negro is to the Northern and Southern States. He can neither be retained with safety, nor got rid of without new dangers. Happy are the people who have no concern with either pope or negro; except to do them (the black man at least) whatever good they can. Neither in the one case, however, nor the other, can "the situation"—as our neighbours have taught us to use the word—continue long.

As we were closing our remarks last month, the telegraph brought home the news of a great battle on the Potomac, and a victory, in which the Confederates were utterly routed. But we have been taught of late to place no reliance even upon the official *bulletins* of the Washington government. McClellan had acquitted himself as a brave general: he had fought on successive days two sanguinary battles, and as an immediate result the Confederates withdrew across the Potomac. But each side now claims the victory. Several engagements have taken place since, all more or less appalling in their waste of human life, but the aspect of the war remains almost unchanged. The Federals make no deep impression on the Southern States; the Confederates, on the contrary, have pushed a small army, probably by way of bravado, several miles across the border state of Maryland, into the Northern territory of Pennsylvania. The reverses they have met with in other places are comparatively slight; their determination has risen to the highest pitch, and it is evident to the whole world that, to use Mr. Gladstone's words, "Mr. Jefferson Davis has created a nation."

It now becomes an urgent and a very serious question, What is the duty of Great Britain? Decide it as we may, it is full of difficulty; never did a nation and its rulers stand in greater need of divine assistance to help them to decide aright. Had we but a tenth part of that hostile feeling, of that jealousy or malignity for which the Northern States of America give us unbounded credit, nothing could be more to our satisfaction than their present condition. We plead guilty, on behalf of our country, to no such inhumanity.

But Great Britain surely owes a duty to suffering human nature and to the law of God. The independence of the South must, some day or other, be acknowledged; the only question is, how soon? In weighing the answer, we put slavery and the interest of the negro aside, simply because it seems impossible to determine on which side his interest lies; though, on the whole, we are disposed to think that the disruption will be for his advantage. He feels that the North is not his friend, whatever may be the character of his Southern master. He would not even meet with a kind reception from the Federals until another revolution has taken place, and Mr. Lincoln's policy and party are overthrown. Whereas, if the Southern States become independent, the slaves will be a numerical majority, the master in self-defence must become humane; and if cotton ceases to be grown, slave-labour will be no longer wanted. The question, then, narrows itself down to

swept off to the last man before the close
imagine nothing more than what is no hi
horrible reality in America. And all this
in last year. Can we stay the plague? ca
combatants? As to the threats of what n
interfere, it has never been the infirmity of
threats of any kind. If we listen to the vo
not be to that which comes to us across
wailing sounds of misery, louder and more
hand, wrung from our own starving, patient,
men in the cotton districts. We do not
have confidence in our government. But
now presses upon every mind, and the natic
to meet it with a decided answer.

TO CORRESPONDEN

We have received a letter from a clerical friend to
name we need not publish, charging us with adv
sionists, and therefore of the pro-slavery party.
having done so; but we believe, as we have repeat
is at an end, and has been long ago; that the
are quite as little the friends of the negro as the S
that the war is a very wicked one: we are sur
a very wicked spirit.

J. T. calls our attention to several errors in the fi
our last number. We observed them when too
tremely annoying to us, however it occurred.

THE

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"THE NAME OF THE LORD."

NAMES are of the utmost importance in the provinces of thought and utterance. It is true that, speaking after the manner of men, we may regard them as merely conventional—of little or no value in themselves. We feel that none of us would be much the better or the worse, were our patronymics changed. The highest title would only be like an external robe, incapable of affecting anything essential to our character or our individuality. Indeed, it not unfrequently serves to distinguish the philosophical from the superficial mind, that the former is able to look steadily through the accidental appellative to the thing it represents. Thus we have proverbial cautions against allowing ourselves to be caught by a cloud of words, or to forget the distinction there must ever be between the sign and the thing signified.

But while on our guard in this direction, we must not forget that there is an important use of words and names. In this way men express their ideas, and receive and communicate knowledge. Names, or, as grammarians call them, "nouns," are at the root of all language. Through them, as a medium, we obtain our widest knowledge of persons and things. At the very fountain of history, therefore, the first man is found—instructed, no doubt, by God Himself—giving permanent names to everything around him; he himself is recognised by a certain significant name; and, finally, God is pleased, out of condescension to our capacities, to reveal Himself in this way in mercy to mankind.

In Holy Scripture, according to the genius of the Hebrew language, almost every name has a meaning, expletive or typical. There is Noah—the comforter; Moses—drawn out (of the Nile); Abraham—the father of a great multitude; Bethel—the house of God. A whole history is comprised, in germ,

upon nature, and much of Him m
works. But "He has magnified His
all things." He gives to us somethi
personality, and more suggestive of
make known to us—even "the nan
syllable, every letter, of the Sacred Na
is full of light and love. A regular
ment is observable in the Holy Script
whereby God would be known wa
existent; or Elohim, the Divine Tri
announces Himself as the Lord of Hc
the Mighty God of Jacob, the Jealou
Presently he lets branches of mercy
able to the various needs of His peop
of which they have great delight u
hovah-Jireh, Jehovah-Nissi, Jehovah
lum. And finally, He gathers togetl
Himself, and precious to us, in one
Jesus, the Saviour, "Emmanuel, Go
is," says Ambrose Serle, in his *Horæ*
ledge of these names, which are but
generality, that the gospel of the Ol
drawn out, and as gloriously describ
related to the persons of the Godhea
New Testament. God is what E
Among the creatures, they and their
things; but respecting the blessed G
et nomen ejus est ipse.'"

It is on this account that the pec
of the Sacred Name. To see it or l

rejoice that they know His name, and are called by it, and included in it. It is dearer to them than all names besides; "The name of the Lord is a strong tower; the righteous runneth into it, and is safe." Whilst the idolators of the world still call upon their gods, as in Elijah's time; and whilst many blaspheme this Holy Name, the saints bless it, and say, "O Lord, our Lord, how excellent is Thy name in all the earth!" "In the name of our God will we set up our banners"—"Some trust in chariots and some in horses, but we will remember the name of the Lord our God."

The various titles of God, regarded as descriptive, have an important bearing upon the believer's sanctification. It is one way in which he is assisted in his growth in grace, and in the knowledge of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To allow the mind to stagnate is fatal to Christian progress. If we use words, especially such sacred words, without reflection, and as a mere form, how are we better or wiser than the poor parrot in his cage? But if we think of what we so often say, and regard the names of our God as divinely chosen and intentionally synoptical; as something inestimably precious, summaries of Gospel truth, the diamonds of the Word, ever flashing out holy thoughts, and the very light of heaven—then, it is evident, we have a means of self-improvement which, if exercised by us, God the Holy Ghost will continue to use and bless. In the exercise of prayer we shall find this especially true. In prayer we necessarily begin by addressing the Supreme Being. Now it is very much as we begin aright, that we shall be taught to pray, and find comfortable acceptance. God is a spirit, and invisible; we cannot see Him; we can only think upon His name. Out of His name we draw His attributes, and His attributes teach us His will. As we think seriously of these, suitable suggestions will arise, and attend us even to the close. At any rate, this course will be a great aid to prayer, in giving us realizing thoughts of the Divine presence and character. And with that sacred impression everything will be tinged, and our prayer will be like a beautiful emanation from the name of God, a glowing fire kindled by that one spark, many rays of sunshine enlivening and beautifying our souls, all traceable to that Sun of Righteousness above, the only author of true prayer. Hezekiah's prayer evidently opens thus. Approaching with the open letter, and with the feelings of depression which it had produced, the pious king at once runs and hides himself in the names and attributes of God: "O Lord God of Israel!" he says, "which dwellest between the Cherubims, Thou art the God, even Thou alone, of all the kingdoms of the earth: Thou hast made heaven and earth." And thus he gets the key for his whole prayer, and fills his mouth with arguments. So the words "Our Father" form the key to the

Lord's Prayer. We have much need to be thoughtful, therefore, when we kneel down to engage in this sacred ordinance. The titles given to God should be well weighed, and have a special adaptation in them. They should not be chosen without reflection, but with solemn care, as suitable to our present feelings and exigencies, and likely to suggest petitions, strengthen faith, and encourage hope, as we proceed. Traces of this adaptation are discernible in our scriptural Liturgy. For instance, the Litany opens with addresses to the three Persons in the Godhead, which spread a certain hallowed influence over the whole prayer; the deprecating the wrath, and imploring the pardon and providential protection, of the Father, being followed by the adjuration in view of the meritorious life and death-work of the Son; and that by the earnest pleadings for all the fruits of the Spirit—direction, illumination, peace, and grace, in behalf of ourselves and others. The same thought may be traced in the prayer for peace, which opens with entitling God "The God of peace and lover of concord;" and that for safety, where He is designated "Our Heavenly Father, Almighty and everlasting God."

We need not dwell further upon this very obvious use of the Divine Name. But there is yet another thought connected with it which is equally worthy of attention. It has no doubt often struck the reader how frequently Holy Scripture employs not only the cognomen or proper name of God, but also this particular and systematized form of expression, "the name of the Lord," "the name of the Lord Jesus Christ." Now, what is the force of this expression? We find the Old Testament full of this. Nor is it otherwise with the New. The Saviour Himself, as the obedient Son, does everything; spends His strength and His life in coming and speaking and acting in the name of the Father. And then the disciples afterwards, especially after the outpouring of the Spirit, are led to go and speak and act in the Divine Son's name, as the new and complete manifestation of God. Nothing is to be done, or is done, but in that precious name. Like ascending incense, it seems to enfold everything, and carry it up with itself to heaven, fragrant and accepted. Are men saved? "There is none other name" whereby they can be saved. Does the Church meet together for mutual edification and comfort? It must be in that Name. Is the Gospel preached—is reproach endured—are lives hazarded—souls justified—holiness inculcated—thanksgivings offered—acts of practical religion commended—answers to prayer promised;—all turns and depends upon its connection with that sacred name. Even the future—the glories of the eternal state—are involved in this: "At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven and things in earth."

This being the law, as laid down in Scripture, what are we to

understand by it? First, I think the formula conveys a most exalted idea of God and His Christ. Of itself, indeed, it may not be considered a direct proof of Deity, and so be used in the Unitarian or Arian controversies. But, taken with other evidences, it will, I think, be found an incidental and cumulative testimony, very refreshing to the reverent and impartial mind. For here we have a very remarkable form of expression applied interchangeably to God and to His dear Son; not only wonderful and significant names of Godhead, but a certain rare form of language, restricted among men to royalty, or to affairs of the highest moment. Indeed, it may be questioned whether the earthly use of this idiom may not have been borrowed from the Word of God altogether. But be that as it may, the only use of it on earth seems to consecrate it to purposes of the highest dignity and prerogative. The Christian, when he meets with this expression, will feel at once that it is sacred to his God and Saviour. Eastern monarchs, indeed, may have assumed it for selfish purposes, in order to enhance the mysteriousness of their seclusion, and the majesty of their office; but it belongs only of right and in perfection to Him who is the King of kings and Lord of lords. Such language, systematically used, belongs not to the creature. Open books of common history. We read there of kings, and heroes, and judges of the earth, of all the good and great; but it is without any of this solemn periphrasis. They are spoken of directly and personally, by their own proper names or titles. Jesus alone is worthy to receive this ascription of honour and power divine.

This peculiar expression also conveys the idea of delegated authority. When so much is said and done in the name of another, it not only exalts him, but indicates that there are ambassadors, persons appointed to act for him as servants and agents. And we find this element appearing throughout the Word. Moses speaks and acts with the delegated authority of God Himself. Ezra prophecies in the name of the God of Israel. Half of the prophetical writings consist of burdens of the Lord in this way. In the present dispensation, this authority is delegated by the Head to the whole of His body, the Church. It is not restricted now to any particular nation, or individual popes, but to the Church generally, there to be exercised "decently and in order." The minister has his particular authority, serving and helping his people's joy, keeping within the limits of the Word. In Christ's stead he comes as an humble ambassador, beseeching sinners to be reconciled to God, or exercising needful discipline, or administering the sacraments. The people, on the other hand, as kings and priests unto God, too, have their authority. They rule and help in the family and in the church; they speak for Christ, at least, by a consistent walk, representing and glorifying Him whose they are, and

whom they are bound to serve. Thus all the Lord's people are, in one way or another, engaged, still chosen and sent forth together, still commissioned by the Saviour as those of old: "And as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give." We allude to this subject here the more, because there seems to be a manifest timidity and shrinking back in many of the Lord's people in these days from recognizing this authority graciously lodged in their hands. Such a feeling is by no means unnatural, indeed, as a reaction after the blasphemous assumptions of the Romish hierarchy, and also of some of our own clergy. But, after all, there is a true and happy, because scriptural, "*via media*" here. The Christian, whoever he is, may and ought to realize his spiritual dignity, and to remember that he holds a certain official position and mediatorial character towards his fellow-men. He acts, not according to the dictates of his own fancy, or at his own charges, or for his own purposes, but for the Lord's.

Once more, this expression denotes an actual power, a present personal blessing, on the part of the believer. I think no one who has carefully observed the use made in Scripture of the formula before us will doubt this. Just as David in ancient times was not accustomed so much to say, "praise the Lord," as "praise the name of the Lord;" so the apostles continue to speak of "the name of God," and "the name of Christ," and indeed to leave it in a way which shows that there is a concentration of power connected with and accompanying the sacred name.

I know that we must tread cautiously here, lest we slip into an egregious error. This form must not be regarded as a charm or talisman, acting of itself, or independently of the moral condition of those who use it. A venerable bishop once said in our hearing, "Let us avoid everything like necromancy in religion." So here: this name, indeed, must be allowed to have a certain universal power, including the troubling of God's enemies as well as the benefitting His church. Like the pillar of cloud of old, it has a dark and a bright side. Evidence to this effect appears in the way in which the name of Christ was felt and acknowledged by the evil spirits in the days of His flesh. We also remark it in a way yet more exactly suitable to our present purpose, in the case of the sons of Sceva the Jew. These exorcists, for their own ambition, or covetous purposes, had ventured to call over a possessed man the name of the Lord Jesus. God immediately allowed the evil spirit to answer them in a very unexpected manner, showing that the whole spiritual world was at once set in motion by the mere mention of that name. These instances, together with the prevalence of prayer

when offered in that name and in that only, and the use of it in baptism and the apostolic benedictions, prove beyond dispute that a direct and constant power surrounds it. Whatever may become of other sounds, it is certain that this always reaches the skies, and attracts the Father's ear, and draws down some sort of reply. If used irreverently, or for worldly purposes, it may prove "a savour of death unto death." Like a high and towering sin, it then acts as a conductor, and tempts and draws down the lightnings of vengeance from above, even those terrible denunciations levelled against any who tread "under foot the Son of God." But when used properly, that is, scripturally, faithfully, very different is the effect. It then proves a safe, and blessed, and powerful charm indeed. The case of Peter and John healing the lame man at the beautiful gate, may be cited as conclusive on this point. The moment the waves of air began to undulate with that name which is above every name—as soon as it was said in humble faith, "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk" — that moment those weak ankles received unwonted strength, and rose and leaped to the glory of God. Such were some of the wonders of old done in the name of God's holy child Jesus! And so spiritual wonders are done now. The name of Jesus is written on a redeemed world, and preserves it from destruction. If His people are the salt of the earth, preserving it from corruption and annihilation, how much more the Lord and Master! "Him the Father heareth always." This was well foreshadowed under the old dispensation. When Samuel was asked to plead for Israel, he first took "a lamb," and then, after offering it, he prayed, and found acceptance. Nothing could be done without the altar and sacrifice first. Then presently followed the song of Ebenezer,—"Hitherto hath the Lord helped us." So it is now. The Lord looketh down from heaven, and seeth no righteousness in us,—nothing but sin and sin's desert. Our name is, as it were, blotted out of the book of life. But there is a name, the name of His Son, which is as ointment poured forth; on which the Father ever rests with pleasure, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."

And God has been glad to accept us in that Saviour, to account to us His righteousness, and to give us His name as our new name inscribed in our foreheads. When the Holy Ghost, therefore, applies all the merits and righteousness of the Lord Jesus to a poor sinner, he finds just what he wants before God and in himself. Looking down into the depths of my fall and degradation, I feel I want a name to plead and appear before God in. I find this in my Lord and Saviour. His name stands for His person and meritorious work, and all His credit at the right hand of God. Thankfully, therefore, I seize upon this name, and rejoice in it, and use it. I find it an inward

mighty power, always at hand, always successful. This name becomes precious beyond compare, healing every wound, and filling every service with fragrance.

When a southern princess, not long since, was being conveyed as a bride to France, the vessel which bore her to her new home was received by a deafening volley of salutes. The admiral turned to the young bride, scarcely sixteen, with the words, "I hope your imperial highness is not afraid." "Sir," she replied, haughtily, "a princess of the house of Savoy is not afraid of the sound of cannon." Here was power,—the power of a name to communicate strength to a young heart! How much more may the Christian feel thus fortified, even amidst the roar and shocks of hell, when he remembers his high birth, and the refuge he has in that name which is of itself, under God, a guarantee of protection. In times of depression, when, through some sinful indulgence or careless walk, his title to heaven has become apparently obscured, here is his sovereign remedy for the recovery of peace. Says David: "For thy name-sake, pardon my iniquity, for it is great." And not only in times of danger and trouble is this name precious. It seems to sanctify every innocent joy. The Christian, as he walks in his garden, loves to recal it, and finds that it throws a fresh glow of beauty over his flowers and fruits, and makes the sky more lovely, and the flowing river more bright. Recognizing this name written on his heart and on all around, earth and home become more than ever consecrated and enjoyed, and auxiliaries rather than hindrances to his walking closely with God. With this prevailing name he often retires to plead at the mercy-seat for those he loves, and for those who pray not for themselves, and for the universal Church, feeling assured that he is not pleading in vain. He is even enabled to look at death without dismay. How often have dying Christians, while wiping off the sweat of the last conflict, been heard to declare that the name of Jesus fills their inmost soul with joy, and takes away the sting of death!

This seems to be some of the force of the familiar expression before us. It exalts the Saviour; it shows us our responsibility as His servants; it reminds us of the various blessings we enjoy as Christians in the power of this name. Such considerations tend to make us value the Word, and Him who is the grand subject of it, and who, in every aspect in which He is viewed, brings both peace and holiness to His people. The poor human heart can never be driven to duty like a bondslave by the lash of fear, or kept long to it by the dread even of eternal wrath. But the gospel of Jesus—that name, and all it includes of pardon and privilege, touches the motive of love, and, by the Spirit's working, brings about all that is wanted. "Seek, then," says one, in writing upon this very subject, and

with whose words we cannot do better than close these remarks: —" Seek, then, thy refuge in Christ, whose holy name thou hast the honour to bear. In the name of Jesus the whole gospel is hid, and so should thy present and eternal hopes. Let thine all be laid upon Christ, who beareth thy name upon the palms of His hands, and, that it may be indelible, hath engraven it there. Bear His name, in return, upon thine heart. Thou wilt soon find it thy happiness and thy heaven." *

B.

A FAREWELL GLIMPSE AT THE OLD EDUCATION CODE.

Report of the Committee of Council on Education, with Appendix. 1861-2. *London,* 1862.

To many minds, certainly to our own, the records of the past are full of interest. Old buildings, old manners, old customs, old furniture (except for use), old institutions,—how pleasant have been the hours which we have spent in the contemplation of such objects! This volume comes into our hands with a certain spice of this interest attaching to it. It is the last complete record of a system which is fading away, and on the eve of becoming extinct. The current year is the year of transition. One more Report, and the change will have been established. Augmentation grants to the certificated teachers, allowances to pupil teachers, gratuities for their instruction, and grants for apparatus and books, will soon be reckoned amongst the curiosities of our educational history; mourned over by their inventors, missed by those who have enjoyed their benefits, and replaced only in part, from other sources, and chiefly at the cost of the recipients of education.

Under such circumstances, it cannot be otherwise than interesting to catch some few utterances from the voices of experience and authority which speak in these Reports, and which tell us of the operation of the system which is doomed and departing.

But while giving chief attention to the past, we shall not omit to introduce suggestions and counsels for the future. Only we must limit ourselves to the Reports on elementary schools connected with the Church of England, and in England and Wales.

The Report of the inspector of such schools in Wales is so dissimilar in tone to that of the rest, that we shall notice it separately. It is very discouraging. There has been a little

* Horæ Solitariæ, p. 200.

improvement, a little progress; but many difficulties and obstructions are left untouched; and there appears to be a want of spirit and zeal and life in the cause, on the part of managers and teachers, without the correction of which the prospects for education in Wales are poor indeed. The points of failure are not such as the new code is likely to remedy. According to Her Majesty's inspectors, infant schools are scarcely to be found in the principality, while they are sorely wanted by the state of the population; the existing schools are but slowly improving in cleanliness and ventilation; the junior classes are so ill taught, that "a thorough revolution in this respect is required." (p. 123.) Young masters prove to be bad teachers, and are found to have deteriorated in skill during their sojourn in the training colleges. The improved school-books which have been published are beyond the reach of the narrow finances of the managers. A seafaring population, in boyhood and manhood, engaged in the coasting trade, and spending its winters at home, craves education; and no efforts are being made to provide for its wants.

More hopeful are the facts, that the schools under inspection are rather more numerous, the attendance of the scholars rather more regular, and that the work of education is not much impeded by the religious differences which have long been formidable in that part of our country. We have readers in the principality. We venture to commend Mr. Jones's Report to their serious consideration. We sympathise with them in view of such obstructions to education as cannot be removed, but we venture to suggest to them to make a courageous effort to conquer the rest. Ventilation need not be costly. Cleanliness ought to be enforced, even where it may not be valued for its own sake. Wherever the population is considerable, infant schools, if once provided, will almost support themselves. To mention the wants of the sailor-boy and his older comrade, is almost to insure some provision being made for the profitable employment of their winter evenings.

Turning to the reports of the other inspectors of Church schools, we shall not notice them respectively, but only with reference to the prominent points in the last year's survey of their work.

With regard to the inspectors themselves, several of them give an abstract of their labours, in proof of their having fully employed their time. Some expressly vindicate themselves from the charge of overlooking the lower classes, and of not making religious knowledge, reading, writing, and arithmetic, the chief objects of their care. Incidentally there is an admission, which we are glad to notice, of the power possessed by the inspectors,—a power indirectly withdrawn from the managers,—of stimulating the school work in any direction

which they have thought it right to favour. We know by experience that a word or two from the inspector, at the yearly examinations of schools, affect the aims and labours of the teachers through the whole of the ensuing twelve months. Hence, if the lower classes had been neglected, and the elementary subjects too little pressed, the means of effectual correction have always been in hands which could enforce immediate amendment.

That education has made great progress within the last fifteen years, has been conclusively shown by statistical tables, which exhibit an increased per-centage of the population to be at school. The same fact is made evident throughout these reports, and is asserted in at least one of them. Mr. Moncreiff concludes with these words:—

"Before another report is called for, the educational system will, I presume, have entered on a new phase of its existence. I have only to express my hope that, under whatever modifications, the progress of the next fifteen years may be as sound, and as striking, as the advance in this district from 1846 to 1861." (p. 119.)

So also speaks Mr. Kennedy: "It is almost like life from the dead." (p. 65.)

Mr. Brookfield alone represents by his tables that improvement is barely perceptible; but even he considers that the existing apparatus might bring about more satisfactory results, if applied with increased stringency. (p. 63.)

As the march of improvement has been generally observable, so also the standard to which the schools have attained is described as of a most encouraging character. For instance, one inspector reports that in his whole district there were only four schools under certificated masters which he could classify as bad, or even moderate. (p. 40.) The great foes to progress have been the irregularity of the attendance of the children, their frequent removal from school to school, and the short average duration of school life. Failures produced by these causes are innumerable; but they are not chargeable to the system; neither, we add, is the system which is next coming in provided with any appliances for its correction. "The supposed case of steady attendance with inferior results, is," says Mr. Moncreiff, "in my district at least, so rare, as to be virtually imaginary." (p. 116.)

Another inspector, Mr. Stewart, admits that many children leave the schools imperfectly instructed; but he attributes this entirely to the parents, who have removed them too early; he asserts that any child may be sure of a sound elementary education, if he will remain long enough in a school of average efficiency; and that besides imparting elementary instruction.

to all who choose to accept it, they exercise a moral influence which is at times most striking. (p. 103.)

The subject matter of instruction is frequently noticed in these Reports. Much has been said of the importance of teaching the children "common things;" and at first sight it seemed plausible enough. But it is now pretty generally acknowledged that the proper exercise and training of the mind is a more worthy aim of education; and Mr. Moncreiff justly speaks of it as an error, "to measure the usefulness of the work by its direct applicability to the necessities of after life." (p. 117.) He also intimates, what we fully believe, that to set up reading, writing, and arithmetic, as the professed aims of education, is not the most likely way of gaining the desired end. He says:—

"If I were to select, in my own district, a dozen schools as the best in higher subjects, and again another dozen from my marks on elementary subjects, I should find the two lists almost identical. The best reading, the best arithmetic, the best dictation, even the best writing, would be found in those schools where grammar, geography, and history have held their proper place. The only exception is needlework, &c." (p. 118.)

The observations of the inspectors on the present state, past progress, and future prospects, of education in poor districts, are at the present time important. Such districts may be rich in the productions of labour, or the reverse. They are characterized as poor, because they are chiefly the abodes of a struggling or needy population, and not inhabited by the rich and prosperous. Here, change of residence, fickleness of choice, and a low value of education, necessarily clog the progress of this important work. The removal of the two latter of these obstacles is not impossible, but its progress must necessarily be gradual and slow.

Mr. Fussell represents in a true light the condition of such localities. He is describing a certain class of schools,—those "situated in the quarters chiefly inhabited by the labouring classes," his own acquaintance with them being formed in certain districts of the metropolis.

"They draw their children in great part from the teeming populations which lie along the river side, and extend northwards through Bethnal Green, and other adjoining districts. Poverty holds her court here; and when aggravated, as is periodically the case, by the prevalence of epidemic disease, or a general scarcity of employment, the pressure is extreme. To maintain a school in a state of efficiency under these circumstances, is next to impossible, without regular and large external help. . . . . In many of these large schools it is found that a very large proportion of the parents are migratory, to an extent that at first sight would appear almost incredible; and thus

their children pass from, it may be, the lowest classes of one school into the lowest classes of another, without the teacher of either, hard working and conscientious though he may be, being able to satisfy himself, still less to satisfy others, that they have received any adequate benefit from his labours." (p. 18.)

These schools have been kept open, though not sufficiently assisted, by the old code; they will be shut up by the new. Yet they receive within their walls many children who are not thus irregular; and even as regards that larger number whose attendance cannot be relied on, Mr. Fussell truly declares that nothing could be "more false in principle, or more pernicious in practice," than to abandon them. We must needs quote his most important remarks:—

"The festering soil of these congregated masses *must* be tilled with a prudent hand, if we would not see it covered with such rank growths of vice and crime as would, ere long, fill the boldest economist with dismay, and bring upon us swift and irremediable ruin.

"None can doubt that every one of our fellow subjects has an equal claim upon our sympathising care in this matter. But if we can accomplish but a part of the great work which lies before us,—if indeed the many, whose necessities plead for some aid, must be passed by from sheer inability to help all,—then, assuredly, we should, before all, and at almost any sacrifice, avert so terrible a source of incalculable evil to society at large, as would inevitably follow any extensive neglect of the education of the swollen and still swelling population of our great centres of industry. In truth, however, the results for which these schools may lawfully claim credit are great. . . . . It appears to me that we can scarcely dwell too thankfully upon the results exhibited by schools of the class to which I have been referring. They may almost be said to have created new bonds of union and sympathy where their absence threatened to be most fatal; to have linked together classes heretofore all but strangers to each other; and to have substituted feelings of confidence and respect, for those of distrust and hostility." (p. 19.)

These are the words of a wiser policy than are many to which we have listened of late. The new measure will take from this class of schools the support essential to their existence. Beyond the insufficient grant for average attendance, what portion of the parliamentary vote can they reasonably expect to obtain?

Other inspectors speak of the general benefit which schools are conferring on the country. Thus Mr. Tinling, after enumerating various discouragements encountered by the promoters of education, (a class treated of late with much contumely by politicians,) says, "With all these drawbacks, it is my firm conviction that both in attainments, and in the moral character of the children, the schools of my district have

effected a very great amount of good for the working classes." (p. 34.)

Another, Mr. Bellairs, repudiates the disheartening notion that the children leaving school at ten years of age soon lose entirely all that they have learned. (p. 30.)

Some of these reports deny that the lower classes in schools are neglected; assert that the instruction given in reading and writing is creditable to the teachers, due allowance being made for the disadvantages under which they labour; and stoutly maintain, that while children cannot fairly be tested relatively to age, because they are not observed to advance in learning according to age, a just test for the whole school may be found in the condition of the upper classes, whose state fairly indicates what the earlier stages of training, properly followed, must be. They also notice the beneficial influence exercised by a good first class, which never fails to communicate its tone to the rest of the school.

One fruit of the labours of the last few years is encouraging in the face of the certain diminution of the supplies derived from public sources. The proportion of self-maintenance has increased; parents are gradually taking in the lesson, that the education of their children is worth paying for; and probably, in the approaching emergency which all schools must encounter, the fees will in many cases be raised to a higher weekly amount. Indeed, this must be done wherever it is possible without repelling the children from the school. A note of seasonable warning, however, is raised by Mr. Kennedy, (p. 71,) that caution must be used in all such alterations, lest their result be the exclusion of the very poorest.

Concerning the teachers raised, and in part supported, by the system which is on the eve of being revolutionized, the inspectors speak in favourable terms. Mr. Moncreiff, differing from some opinions which he has heard as well as ourselves, considers that the first-class men are usually the best teachers, and that when they fail at all, it is in respect of nerve, force of character, and power of command. But he does not believe that failure in these respects is more common with these than with other certificated masters. He attaches great importance to the master's having a thorough knowledge of the state of his lower classes, and likewise to there being an even progressive gradation from class to class throughout the schools. But he considers that the head teacher's personal instructions ought chiefly to be devoted to the upper children.

Mr. Jones alone, the inspector in Wales, speaks disparagingly of the results of training the masters in the colleges. He would prefer to see the pupil teachers becoming assistant masters, and so being prepared to take charge of schools of their own. The office of assistant teacher is commended in these reports for

its own sake, and likewise as serving to retain in the vocation of schoolmaster many valuable persons who, failing to obtain Queen's scholarships, would have had to turn to other callings, if this means of continuing their services in the chosen work of education had not been provided. Under the new system, it is difficult to foresee whether the demand for these assistant teachers will increase, or diminish. But it is quite within the verge of probability, that the class from which they are drawn may soon be wanted to undertake work beyond the scope of their qualifications; for it is observed by Mr. Kennedy, and is just what we might expect to hear, that already the best national school masters are quitting their schools for other spheres of duty, foreseeing, as he gently hints, that their incomes are on the eve of reduction. There can be no doubt but that in other districts the new code is producing the like unfortunate results. Hence inferior teachers may be in requisition.

The pupil-teacher system is spoken of as being a valuable agency, but as difficult to maintain even with all the encouragements of the past. In some districts, the supply of male teachers has been progressively diminishing. Must it not diminish rapidly under the new circumstances introduced by the revised code? According to Mr. Fussell, the allurements hitherto have been "government recognition, and its prospective advantages." These have induced many parents to prefer this to other more lucrative employments. The question now arising everywhere is, can the pupil-teacher system be sustained, when the finances are reduced, and the present attractions have vanished? The inspector's view, above quoted, supplies a discouraging answer. Mr. Jones, we believe, stands alone in questioning the efficiency of the pupil-teacher system, and he suggests an alteration, which necessity may ere long enforce, and of which we should be by no means inclined to judge unfavourably, as an experiment proposed to be tried. He says:—

"I am convinced that the period of five years for the apprenticeship does not work well; and I believe that many experienced and practical school managers would prefer a probationary period of two years' monitorship, and then one of three years' apprenticeship, to begin at a time when the young teacher's capabilities may have been tested, and his inclinations more decidedly ascertained." (p. 123.)

This change would be, we think, in itself desirable, if it can be accomplished. But it is questionable whether it would tend to increase the number of pupil-teachers; and certainly neither the new nor the old code encourage such an arrangement, but rather render it, for the present, impracticable.

There are a few suggestions to be gleaned from these Re-

ports, which are worthy of consideration under either the past or the coming system.

Night schools are commended, while the difficulty of maintaining them, and providing them with teachers, is recognised.

Mixed schools are discouraged, as affording too little opportunity for the special training which is important for the girls.

The moral influence of the best girls' schools is very highly estimated, but not too highly. (See Mr. Norris's Report, p. 88.)

The half-time system is described as working well in large factory towns.

It is objected, that in too many infant schools the instruction is confined to "simultaneous gallery lessons, in which a kind of loose indolent preaching is accepted as a substitute for industrious energetic teaching." (Bellairs, p. 27.)

It is suggested that holidays, disliked by parents, and less loved by the children of the poor than those who belong to other classes would suppose, may be dispensed with, where there are two certificated teachers, if each of them were to take their intervals of relaxation at different times, the other, meanwhile, carrying on the work of the school.

Lastly, there is a good hint as to a way of interesting children in their reading-lessons; and that is, by selecting some work of acknowledged interest, and reading it aloud round the class, the teacher often taking his turn, and thus giving the children an example of good reading. For this purpose a single copy would suffice, and thus books of higher cost than ordinary school-books might be used. The books mentioned by Mr. Norris, as suitable for this purpose, are *Sir Roger de Coverley*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and Cowper's *Task*. But obviously, the plan, and not any particular selection of books, is what we chiefly desire to commend. The two or three dozen copies of dry lesson-books may give place to an interesting story, which will hold the attention of the class, whether as listeners, or as readers.

Viewed through the eyes of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, the work of education in England, through the last fifteen years, has been conducted with continually increasing efficiency, and has made remarkable progress. It had to stretch itself into new regions, and to adapt itself to their requirements. The inspectors appear to concur, almost with one consent, in believing that its success has surpassed reasonable expectation. At the end of that period, there still remained occasion for further expansion and adaptation, in order to provide for the wants which as yet it had touched imperfectly, or not at all. Instead of this, suddenly the whole system is revolutionized. Whether the results will prove calamitous and retrogressive, or whether the experiment will

be a success, it is impossible to pronounce with certainty. Time only will show. Difficulty and perplexity appear to threaten the schools, which are to suffer a diminution both of revenue and of teaching power. We must hope (though we do not foresee) that the new system will avail to promote the cultivation of ground hitherto unbroken, and to foster and improve some of the educational work which the departing system failed to overtake. But at all events, since the revised code is now the educational law of the country, it behoves us to endeavour to employ it, as much as we can, as an instrument of good to the people, and to set ourselves with conscientious diligence to devise the means of supplying its deficiences.

We would earnestly and trustfully commend this new phase of the educational life of the nation to the providential care of the Highest Wisdom, asking that it may be so overruled and directed, through Divine goodness, as to be made fruitful of great and increasing blessings to the people of this land.

VENN'S MISSIONARY LIFE AND LABOURS OF FRANCIS XAVIER.

The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier, taken from his own Correspondence: with a sketch of the general results of Roman Catholic Missions among the Heathen. By Henry Venn, B.D., Prebendary of St. Paul's, Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. London: Longman and Co. 1862.

Francis Xavier was the disciple of Ignatius Loyola, and Ignatius Loyola was the founder of the Jesuits. Of all his followers Xavier inherited most of the character of his great master, and of all of them Xavier was the most distinguished. The two were canonized at the same time; and when Gregory XV. admitted them amongst the Roman hierarchs in heavenly places, he thus explained his motives in the preamble to his Bull:—"At the time when new worlds were just discovered, when in the old, Luther had risen up in arms against the Catholic church, the soul of Ignatius Loyola was inspired to found a company which should devote itself specially to bring about the conversion of the heathen, and the return of heretics. But of all its members Francisco Xavier proved himself most worthy to be called the apostle of the new discovered nations. For this cause both are now to be received into the catalogue of saints."

It is only within the last few years that anything has been known in England, except to a few secluded scholars, either of

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formation has been drawn, and assigns to each of them its relative worth. The biographies of the Jesuit Fathers, Tursellinus, who wrote in 1596, forty-four years after Xavier's death, and Bohours, who wrote in 1682, are the most celebrated; but, as we should expect, are not entitled to much confidence. There is happily a large collection of Xavier's letters, and with these they are often inconsistent; they abound in loose statements, and geographical mistakes, such as to destroy all confidence in the competence of their authors, or their historical fidelity. There is a still earlier sketch of Xavier's life, by Acosta, also a Jesuit Father, published in 1573; but this is merely a compilation from Xavier's letters. Of these Mr. Venn speaks in the highest terms, which we quote to show how free from prejudice is the latest of the great Jesuit's Protestant biographers:—

"The letters would at this day be termed missionary journals, or reports. They are written with great clearness and freedom of style. They enter into minute details, they furnish graphic descriptions of passing scenes, and reflect the varied feelings and the spirit of the writer. They breathe throughout a fervent devotion to God, and an ardent zeal for bringing the heathen into the fold of the visible church of Christ."

But with regard to the letters themselves, some explanation is required. Most of them, but not all, were written from India, and these have been collected and preserved with superstitious reverence by the Jesuit Fathers. A few, during Xavier's life, or within a year or two of his death; a more numerous collection by Tursellinus, as a separate volume, in 1596; and a third volume in 1661, consisting of new letters, by Possinus, also a Jesuit. We have no reason to doubt the authenticity of these last, although the story which the Father tells may possibly be questioned. A Jesuit friend of his had suffered excruciating pain for two years and a half; and being past all hope of recovery, prayed at last to Francis Xavier. The happy thought occurred to him in the morning, and before noon he was miraculously cured; whereupon, out of gratitude, not to the Great Physician, nor this time even to the Virgin, but to his "healer," he determined to follow his example, and go to India as a missionary; and before doing so, to procure the publication of so many of Xavier's letters as could be found. For this purpose, the archives of Rome, of Lisbon, and of Goa, were searched; and the result was the collection of ninety new letters, in addition to those previously published by Tursellinus. Of all the saint's miracles, and they are to be counted by the score, we are disposed to regard this as by far the most useful, and by no means the least authentic!

Xavier was a Spaniard, born in 1506, in the castle of Xavier, in the kingdom of Navarre. He was of princely descent,

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already infected the disciple. It is
reader will observe, but devotion t
become the master passion; yet Mr
early acquaintance with Protestant tr
ence on his after life. In India, whe
sonal influence of Loyola, and the mor
ciations for which Rome is indebted
ritual, his mind occasionally exhibite
something not unlike what he had onc
early friends from whom the mast
beguiled him. His standard of sp
higher than that of his associates. H
with the attainments of his followers
Protestant truths by which alone pu
can be reached.

Xavier was one of six friends, to wl
Assumption, in the year 1534, Loyola
forming an association for the convers
Pope sanctioned the design; and in t
Jesus was formed—a society which,

mission to the Holy Land. This failed; and the attention of the *Jesuits*, as they must now be termed, was directed to the East, where the king of Portugal had several possessions. He was then powerful in naval resources, and the Pope had invested him with rights of sovereignty over all countries east of the Cape.

Xavier visited the court of Lisbon, where he was received with great distinction. The king, John III., entered warmly into the scheme; a college was set apart for Jesuit missionaries, from whence a large and regular supply was to follow in the wake of Xavier; and he departed on his mission in 1541, with two associates; a missionary in name indeed, but, as Mr. Venn remarks, one who had little in common with the simple missionary of the present day. He carried letters to the Viceroy at Goa, and briefs from the Pope. The former gave him his royal authority to convert his subjects in the East; the latter made him a papal Nuncio, with all the powers which the Church of Rome could give to aid him in his work. The king furnished him with a general order to his officers to provide for all the wants of the missionaries. The Pope commended him to the king of Ethiopia, and to all the princes and governors of the islands and continents between the Cape of Good Hope and the mouths of the Ganges. Selected under such august auspices, to supersede the existing missionaries in the East; travelling from Rome, through Europe, to his port of embarkation, in the suite of the ambassador of the king of Portugal; sailing with the new Viceroy, and a guest at his table;—it is difficult to conceive more splendid worldly attractions to any enterprise, and greater temporal advantages for its prosecution, than those which accompanied the call of Xavier to become "the Apostle of India." Our Protestant missionaries, viewing the end of his career, might well take up the prophetic strain, and address the mighty shade which still overawes some portion even of the Protestant church, and say, "How art thou fallen, O Lucifer, son of the morning; thou who wert honourable, and we despised! Kings bowed down to thee, and judges felt themselves exalted in patronising thee; we went forth in the simple power of the cross of Christ, helped on our way only by the fervent prayers and cheerful contributions of a handful of God's believing people. Let Western Africa, let New Zealand, let India tell on which side lay the power which subdues nations to the cross of Christ!"

When Xavier left Europe for his Indian mission, in 1541, he had completed his thirty-fifth year; for life amidst new scenes, where judgment and activity are equally required, the fittest period. He laboured with unremitting zeal ten years, and died on the coast of China in 1552. He landed, and began his work at Goa, the chief Portuguese settlement, and com-

in a few months, along the sea coas
among the coral fishermen. Here, at
own course, he began his work in earn
to Loyola, and to the Jesuits at Rome,
employed. First of all, he had the C
and the Decalogue translated; he ther
tions to memory, for he was unacquair
tongue.

"I have begun to go through all the v
bell in hand, collecting together a large c
men. Bringing them twice a-day into a
them Christian instruction. The boys, in
committed all to memory beautifully. T
what they had learned to their parents, h
On Sundays I called together the men a
into a sacred edifice. They came togethe
with an ardent desire to hear. Then I
the Holy Trinity, the Lord's Prayer, th
Apostles' Creed, pronouncing them in th
clear voice. All followed me in the repetit
uncommon pleasure. Then I went throug
upon each article, asking whether they be
All, in an equally confident tone, with thei
cross over their breasts, affirmed that they
them to repeat the Creed oftener than th
them, at the same time, that those who be
in the Creed are called Christians. I inc
similar manner, that I may show that the
in those ten precepts, and that whoever ke
do is a good Christian, and attains to eterna
hand, that whoever neglects one of these i
be thrust into hell, unless he truly repents

before them this versicle in their native tongue—'Jesus, Son of the living God, grant us that we may fully believe this first article of the Christian faith, to obtain which from Thee we offer to Thee this prayer which Thou hast appointed.' Then to the other we add this versicle—'Holy Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, obtain for us, from your most precious Son, that we may believe, without any doubt, this article of the Christian faith.' We pursue the same method in the other eleven articles of the Creed.

"We then inculcate the precepts of the Decalogue, chiefly in this method: when we have chanted the first commandment upon the love of God, we pray together, 'O Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, grant that we may love Thee above all.' Then we say the Lord's Prayer. Afterwards we all chant together, 'Holy Mary, mother of Jesus Christ, obtain from thy Son that we may diligently keep His first commandment.' Then we add the Angelic Salutation. The same method is followed in the other nine commandments, the versicles being varied according to the matter. These are the things which I accustom them to ask of God in their prayers; and I assure them, that if they shall have obtained these things, other blessings will follow in greater abundance than they can ask. I then command all, as well as those to be baptized, to recite the form of general confession; and, as they repeat the Creed, I ask them at each article whether they believe without doubting. Upon their assent, I add an exhortation, composed in their own tongue, in which the sum of the Christian religion, and of the discipline necessary to salvation, is briefly explained. Afterwards I baptize those who have been instructed. The close of the ceremony is a Salve Regina, by which we implore the help and assistance of the Blessed Virgin." (pp. 33—35.)

As the Viceroy had furnished him with 4000 gold *fanams*, about equal to the same number of rupees, the missionary had no great difficulty in securing the attendance of vast crowds of needy fishermen upon his missionary services. The work of making Christians, Xavier's favourite expression (*feci Christianos*), now proceeded with amazing rapidity. He baptized a whole village in a single day; he repeated the Creed and his other forms, till his voice and strength failed him; he baptized, till his hands refused their office. It is true, he could not speak the language; but, as he himself remarks, he wanted no interpreter to baptize infants just born, or those which their parents brought; nor to relieve the famished and the naked,—that is, to distribute the 4000 fanams. "The number of converts would have been equal to the number of the population, had there only been a sufficient number to baptize." His district included thirty villages, and when he had accomplished his work in one village, he removed to another; and the process of "making Christians," and the distribution of gold fanams, was repeated. "Multitudes," he says, "were only not Christians, because none were at hand to make them Christians." But we may form some opinion of the numbers thus converted, from the fact, that within twelve months he only had baptized

yet it is a profanation of the wore
where no real baptism took place.
sign there may have been; but we h
that our Lord would have sanctioned
none whatever to believe that it was
and spiritual grace. We must refer
the description of this expeditious
tians;—thousands annually in a singl
boast and glory of the Romish missio

But soon the great missionary hi
work. All his converts, unfortunatel
verter of the heathen, did *not* die wit
their baptism; and those who live
as they had lived before; or they m
minism with a few Christian observ
Christ on bended knee in public plac
idol was adored. Xavier writes hc
seraphic joy, such as nuns now write
perverts from their colleges. The
The biographer of Henry Martyn wa
he said much in saying that Henry M
to be compared with that of Xavier;
passes in which our missionaries are
lated by his example. Mr. Venn ha
dispelled the charm. Xavier wrote li
time that he felt like an angry and
evident that he was already vexed wit
his associates, vexed with himself.
women, "drenched themselves with t
call arak." The men were the scum
The village head-men were enjoinec

the Viceroy, to have them apprehended, and carried in chains to Cochin; and they must not flatter themselves with the hope of being soon released with a slight punishment, for I am thoroughly determined to use every means in my power to prevent their ever returning." The prince of missionaries did not, it seems, think it necessary to walk in the footsteps of the prince of the apostles. The one threatens chains and dungeons, and what more is left to conjecture; the other cautions the elders of his church not to lord it over the heritage of God; while his "beloved brother Paul" was "gentle" among his rebellious converts, "even as a nurse cherisheth her children." But in fact, Xavier was growing weary of his work; and at the end of one short year, it is clear, says Mr. Venn, that he had abandoned all idea of setting up the Christian kingdom of pearl fishers. All his thoughts were turned from the conversion of poor fishermen into a new channel.

His imagination was now filled with a scheme for the conversion of the rich and powerful, especially of the native princes. Of his exertions, and of their failure, we have no space to write. Our readers will find the story in the biography before us. Two years were spent on this second mission, when, disgusted with repeated failures, he resolved to visit the Spice Islands; and thus, though he returned to India after a few years' absence, his missionary labours on that vast continent were closed. He shows a restlessness extremely unlike the "patient waiting" of a true missionary. He persuades himself, and endeavours in his letters to convince his friends, that his labours are no longer at all required in India; though, at this very time, he was making his appeal to the universities of Europe to send fresh labourers to reap fields ripe for the harvest. The number of converts baptized before he quitted India, including a visit to Ceylon, appear to have been greatly exaggerated by the Jesuits of Rome. Mr. Venn calculates that his thirty villages of pearl fishermen contained then, as now, a population of not more than four hundred each, giving a total of four thousand. Add to these the converts in Travancore, hastily visited and baptized by Xavier, and their whole number would not exceed twenty thousand. But many of these had been baptized by Franciscan missionaries before his arrival. His own letters give no statistics, except a questionable account of ten thousand baptisms in Travancore, to be found in one of his letters published at Rome. Mr. Venn shows, however, that the passage is most likely spurious.

Xavier's patience was exhausted, but not his energy. In 1545, he deserted India for the Spice Islands, and arrived at Macassar, in the island of Malacca, at the end of October. It was a Portuguese settlement, and he had no difficulties to

Portuguese merchants and of preceu
first Amboyna, then the Moluccas, t
a few months at each, and "making
process, in great numbers at some of
royal converts among the native prin
he terms the Mauricae, or country
describes as distant sixty leagues fi
mained but three months. His ow
is moderate. He "baptized very
the Christian villages, and bound the
and to myself." But it was of the
Jesuit's triumphs to expand in the
biographers, and grow into larger di
assures us that, besides restoring laps
into the faith idolaters to whom other
in vain, "there was neither town no
did not visit, and where those new
crosses and build churches. Tobo, th
25,000 souls, was entirely converted,
How mean were the apostolic tri
himself, compared with these!

But his successes, whatever they
long in the Spice Islands. He re
assumed the absolute control of the
missionaries who had by this time
The grasping and ambitious dispo
diately appeared. He gained posse
Augustines and Franciscans, and
He secured the direction of the g
Goa, with its provision for a hu
divinity. He placed Jesuit associate

magnanimity of the man." Yet this perfect discipline, so dear to ecclesiastical theorists in every church, saved none of these missions from disgraceful failure, or a melancholy end.

Xavier now obtained a royal commission from the king of Portugal, which not only placed him at the head of the church in India, but invested him with no small degree of temporal power. Mr. Venn tells what use he made of his authority; sometimes, indeed, for good, more frequently in the true spirit of a Jesuit. He would have reduced the antient Syrian church to a miserable bondage: he did, in fact, undermine its independence, and cramp its freedom. To himself the new dignity was highly mischievous, surrounding him with flatterers, creating enemies, and cherishing his own worst faults—spiritual ambition, and dependence on the arm of man.

Here let us pause, and ask the reader to reflect on the result of Xavier's labours, as described, not by ignorant or unscrupulous biographers, but by himself in letters addressed to friends, to Loyola, and to the king of Portugal. After seven years' labour, then, he tells a brother missionary that "if he search through India, he will find few that will reach heaven, whites or blacks, except those who depart this life with their baptismal innocence still upon them." To Loyola he says, "the natives, from the enormity of their wickedness, are as little as possible fitted to embrace the Christian religion." He describes the obstacles which prevented his success, and adds, "Hence, since there is not the least need of my labour in these parts, I have determined to start for Japan as soon as possible." The confession of failure is still more manifest from a proposal he seriously made to the king of Portugal, that the conversion of India should be taken out of the hands of the missionaries, and placed in those of the civil authorities! The scheme is elaborately drawn out in a letter to the king, which will be found in Mr. Venn's biography of the patron saint and great apostle of the Indies. (p. 157.) Nor is it only his own failure, and that of the Jesuits, his associates, of which he speaks; but of the whole body of Romish missionaries, some of whom had now been at work for half a century. In fact the utter disappointment, whether of Xavier or of other missionaries, is freely admitted by candid Jesuit writers. The Abbé Du Bois, whose letters on "The State of Christianity in India" were published in 1823, declares his conviction that "the conversion of the Hindoos was impracticable; for the work in which Francis Xavier failed is not likely to succeed in other hands." He himself had laboured twenty-five years in the south of India, and this was the disheartening and faithless verdict with which he throws up the work:—

"Francis Xavier, entirely disheartened by the invincible obstacles he everywhere met in his apostolic career, and by the apparent im-

the story of the Japanese mission
Xavier, like some of our own late wi
at first, with the seeming morality
but he soon discovered his mistal
voured him; he was received with
king; he "made many Christians," a
but after a time his perseverance o
than three years he abandoned
century, it was utterly extinguish
A great number of nominal Christ
made not so much by Xavier as b
behind him; but the mission perisl
work has disappeared. Having no
it withered away.

Returning to India for a while
China; for he had learned in Jap
country, having vast influence.
Japan would follow. The Japane
fountain of the arts, and the moth
as ever of the most sanguine hope
his way to China, in April, 1552; l
unexpected opposition of the g
reasons, seized the ship, and forb
Xavier chafed beneath the affront,
thwarted by the civil power. I
journey, notwithstanding the prob
terview with the emperor of China.
down vengeance, civil and ecclesia
head. With a view to the one, he
tugal; in prosecution of the other,

from Malacca. I forbid you to hesitate, whatever entreaties or fallacious promises may be addressed to you. Do not bestow any more labour upon a community so ungrateful, and so unworthy of the benefit of our establishment. That labour may be far more usefully bestowed anywhere else." Above all, Perez was to expedite and publish the edict of excommunication against the governor, which he supposed would shortly arrive from Rome. This act of questionable piety was followed up by one of questionable morality. Any attempt of the Chinese to smuggle an European into the country would, he knew, be visited with the death of the offenders and their families; still he attempted to bribe the Chinese to run the risk. Numbers refused. At length one was found who, for a bribe amounting to nearly three hundred pounds, undertook the enterprise; but his courage failed him, and he deserted. This was the last scheme which occupied the thoughts of Xavier, and this he describes as an act of faith in God.

"Within three weeks of writing this letter, on December 2, 1552, Xavier died. That teeming and anxious head ceased to think; that fervent heart ceased to throb. No companion was near, to whom he could breathe out his dying thoughts. No priest gave the last offices of the Church, or committed his body to a Christian grave. He expired in a crowded mart of traders and mariners, and was hastily buried in the sand beside the sea shore. He died, says one of the narratives, in a shed constructed of stakes and branches of trees. Portuguese merchants found him there, ere the last spark of life had been quenched, and were present when he drew his last breath."

We have yet paid no attention to the "legendary life" of the great Romish missionary. Mr. Venn has a chapter on the subject, and it must be read by those who would do justice to the character of the real Xavier. He is the great *thaumatergus*, the wonder worker of the Papacy. If their legends are true, his miracles exceeded in number those of all the apostles put together. Paley has taken the pains to investigate some of them in his treatise on the Evidences of Religion, and to show that they will not bear investigation. But we need not have recourse to Paley. The alleged miracles of the great missionary have this peculiarity,—not only were they first heard of far from the scene of action, but their numbers grew as time rolled on. Xavier, like Edward Irving, was a great enthusiast, and credulous, but no impostor. He does not take credit to himself for a single miracle. There is no intimation in his letters that he thought himself in possession of the power of working miracles, or that he expected such power to be granted to him: in this respect, less a fanatic than Irving was. On several occasions he believed that God interfered on his behalf in a manner that was almost, if not quite, miraculous. Many good men have thought so too, who never

appeared in a volume entitled *Epist*
in that volume, who had just arrive
have had no personal acquaintance w
what he saw or knew, but merely wha
heard. Four years afterwards, the J
courage, and published an account of
"blessed Father Francis." Amongst oth
man, who was dead, arise in the name
arose, and from that hour resolved to
But, unfortunately, the date of this chil
to coincide with the date of Xavier's
Mr. Venn tells us, is the best attested
it completely breaks down; for a new
might be restored from the dead, cou
good or bad; and Xavier, writing hon
pretended miracle, makes no referenc
saint, however, was not particular as to
wrought. Some of them certainly h
related in the Bible. A Portuguese s
pieces of gold in gambling, and tells hi
desired to bring his dice. Xavier turns
and bids the soldier go back and try ag
all his money back, and gives up ga
length, seventy years after Xavier's d
1622; and now we have it under the
fallible pontiff, that ten stupendous mi
beyond all dispute," besides a profusi
were not thought worthy to be enu
latter was the gift of tongues which
The Bull declares, that "when he vi
tongues which he had never learnt,

Bull may well astonish even those who are acquainted with the effrontery of Papal Bulls and edicts.

There are other subjects of high importance discussed in the biography, for which we refer the reader to this admirable work itself, the only authentic life of Xavier with which the world has yet been favoured. Mr. Venn writes of him without prejudice, and even with some partiality. He sees in him much to admire. He is "to his virtues very kind;" but he shows that he was no model for a Christian missionary, and that in his hands the work of converting the heathen was an utter failure. More than this, he proves that Romish missions are a heartless, hollow enterprise; that wherever her emissaries go, and on whatever field they enter, they scatter only the seeds of superstition, which hasten to a barren harvest or a premature decay. It is everywhere the same—"a field which the Lord hath not blessed," and this, perhaps, is the great lesson of the book; a book abounding in wise reflections,—discriminating, candid, spiritual, and therefore impressive. The wide gulf which separates the zeal of sentimental piety from that holy devotedness which springs from the love of Christ, is clearly marked. That pity for the perishing souls of men, which first began when the missionary discovered the worth of his own soul, is shown to be far different from the wild romance of missionary life which tempts some into the field. The notion, too, that an autocratic power is wanted in a mission, such as a missionary bishop might exercise, and the demand for a degree of self-denial in a missionary, bordering on asceticism,—these, and many such sentiments, are refuted in this life of Xavier. Some recent failures of missions sent out not long ago from our own shores, and, as we then remarked, with only too much pretence, and in a spirit far too boastful, show to those who are willing to profit by the painful lesson, how little a missionary owes to the plaudits of the great and wise of this world, or to any church mechanism. But we must close. Mr. Venn has set himself, not to build up the romance of missions, but to destroy it; and in its place to substitute the evangelical motives on which all true missions rest. His work is not meant to charm the idler, but to instruct the Christian student on some of the most important questions connected with God's work on earth. It is a wise book, and we say much in saying that it is every way worthy of its author, and of those glorious principles which, in his connection with the Church Missionary Society, he has so long and ably represented.

doorway as we went in, but they did [illegible]
notice of us, and we were instantly
known that we were friends of Matamo
we were met by one of the Protestant
evident traces of a long imprisonment.
stone staircase, and into a corridor w
soners were idling about, smoking, eati
at cards; and then he led us into a go
a window looking out into the court,
some chairs; and where, from a pho
England, I instantly recognized, in the
us, Manuel Matamoros.

He is in the early summer of man
middle height, with jet black hair and
—Italian rather than Spanish. His
gence: I confess he took my heart b
found in him a most beloved brother,
stantly, if we meet in heaven. My firs
him was that he was a κοιρανος ἀνδρῶν
There was a force and an authority in
ing himself that, to our mind, stamped
genius; and our guide said to us th
sublime, he had the greatest difficulty
gave me the notion, moreover, of bein
tions; for the love in him seemed to
as he showed us photographs of fi
recognised Dr. and Mrs. Tregelles, s
been remarked that he wants judgmen
the church zeal is even more necess
been as judicious as Melancthon, the I
been strangled in its birth.

left the room. There was present also Joseph Alhama, a hatter of Malaga, who has since been sentenced to a more severe imprisonment than Matamoros. He is quite unlike his friend, both in appearance and cast of mind; but there was an air of quiet strength about him, that showed he knew in whom he had believed, and that if he could not confess his Lord with excellency of speech and wisdom, he could at least suffer for him.

Well, we introduced ourselves by giving a letter from one English friend, and a Spanish bible from another; we then spoke together over the three first verses of John xv., and I was trying to comfort him with the assurance that prayers were being continually offered for him in all parts of the world, by his brethren in Christ, when a touching incident interrupted our conversation. His half brother, a lad of about fifteen, was about to leave for Malaga that afternoon, on his way to England, and it was time for him to be going. The brothers evidently felt that it might be the last time they would meet in this world; and while down the boy's cheek the tears flowed like rain, the elder brother shook with the strong emotion that he was better able to control, till it seemed as if they could not part without strength from heaven. At length a voice seemed to say to one who looked on, "Pray." On the lad's shoulder he laid his hand, and we all knelt down. Almost the first sentence was enough to make us feel God's presence near, and His love precious, and His grace sufficient; when we finished, all was calm and still, and with one more embrace they parted.

We then took up the broken threads of our discourse. He made no complaint whatever of the prison authorities, and not one bitter word escaped him against the government. He dwelt with emphatic thankfulness on General Alexander's visit to Madrid, which had resulted in his being treated with far greater consideration than before; and spoke gratefully of funds provided by friends for his defence. I then proposed that we should say the Lord's Prayer, to which he gladly assented; and oh, how blessed it was, out of that prison, to be calling up to a Father in heaven, whose name we asked might be hallowed, whose will we desired might be done, whatever it might be; who we knew would not suffer His people to be tempted above that they are able, and who would keep them from all that is really evil.

Before going, I asked Matamoros if he wished us to come again, as it had been hinted to me that it might do him harm if it was known that an English clergyman had been to see him. He instantly scouted the notion that our coming could do him harm. "They know we are all Protestants, and it gives me the greatest pleasure to see you. It does my soul good."

had heard at Gibraltar, from a Spanis
resides there, and that he had sul
instruction from a book by a Wesl
which he showed me, translated into S
to be a digest of the principal truths
he had already been in prison two y
of which had been passed at Barcel
Granada. He was arrested through
quence of a letter found in the hous
the wonder is he was not arrested
preaching for two months to a co
assembling in a private room. St
conversions are not always reliable ;
he had been made useful to many
of several towns in Spain, where th
congregations, and evidently thoug
Gospel is spreading. He also intima
surrendered his principles, a pardon
for him ; but, through God's grace,
in real distress to find the word h
meaning, till one of us pointed to th
in St. Luke's Gospel—"No man h
plough, and looking back, is fit for t

Time went on, and we had to part
the word of God and prayer. We
and I suggested that he should rea
Romans. I can never forget how he
seemed to open up to him a new min
grandly it sounded in the majesti
emphasis he laid on the passages th
of the gospel liberty, and on the cert

blessing, because the sympathy of intelligence was incomplete. Because we believed in the communion of Saints, because we knew that our hearts were reaching out after the same thing, going up to the same mercy seat, resting in the same Mediator, worshipping in the same spirit, we knelt side by side, in one thing severed, in everything else one; and He who knoweth the hearts, and who despiseth not the sighing of the prisoner, will pay back those prayers with usury.

And then once more at the prison door we parted,—we to our mountain ride, and to our full liberty, and when our ramble was over, to our happy English home; he back to his prison, but also to his Saviour; "persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed;" presently to come out before his judges, and to be sentenced, and then sent away from his native country, to the fierce African sun, and to bad food, and to galling toil, and to rough treatment, and, worst of all, to the incessant and degrading companionship of the very refuse of his race.

Hopes have been felt, in which he himself shared, that the Queen would pardon him. This is now unlikely, especially as the Crown prosecutor has appealed against the leniency of his sentence.

But if he does not get his reprieve from man, he will presently have it from God; and either way it shall be well. I could not but notice, when with him, how the restless spirit seemed to be fretting its way out of the prison-house of the flesh, and how the anxieties of his captivity were telling on him.

If the galleys kill him, we know who hath said, "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground, and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."

If he is set at liberty, and comes to England, and from this free land can carry on the work God gives him, then also we shall bless God for giving us in our own way our hearts' desire. "All things work together for good to them that love God;" and this severe discipline may be the predestined training for the reformation of Spain.

But Matamoros is only one man, while Spain counts her millions; and this paper may be fitly concluded with a few remarks on the present state of religion in the Peninsula, with special reference to the prospects of Protestantism.

In any country, the three forces that have most to do with the regulation of public opinion, are the clergy, the government, and the press. The Spanish clergy belong to the middle ages. Though their celibacy must, in some respects, materially affect their social influence, their power as a corporation is so great, that the government does not dare to provoke it; and their personal authority, working through the confessional, is immense. When the monasteries were suppressed at the

to come to any distinct opinion abo
clergy, except from what we hear
them, you would not think that the
The cathedral clergy, in some plac
bred looking men; but those in th
clergy everywhere on the Contine
trast to our own clergy at home.
bishops have but little direct influ
directly they are very powerful.
walking up and down at a railway
us both of the bishop of Mancheste
had a face of marvellous keenness.
not unbecoming, being the usual bl
the hat is very comical,—a kind o
turned up at both ends. When, ho
or the bull-fights, they lay this asi
clergy in learning, in presence, an
far less hopeful as to any chance of
and it will be on the soil of Spain t
fought for the assumptions of the P

Government, which is generally s
public opinion on the question of
hand and foot by the Constitution.
effected, and Isabella became a co
liberty was secured, but religious
speaks volumes. The Roman Cath
Constitution. Any one who dissen
and must be punished. If he is
galleys, and ought to be very than
If a foreigner, no one compels him
chooses to live there, he must take

ventured to invite a young Englishman, a resident in the country, and to whom it was an evident refreshment and joy, to use once more those holy and well-known prayers, and to listen afterwards to one of the best of Dr. Vaughan's Harrow sermons.

Now, it is evident, that till the Constitution is altered, or the priests made so far tolerant that they will leave the government alone, and the people free, there is no hope for the religion of the Bible. The case is made yet worse by the fact, that the Opposition is more bigoted than the Ministers. In the very last session of the Cortes, Olozaga, the leader of the Liberal party, rose in his place to censure the government for allowing more liberty in the American colonies, giving as his reason, that no religion is more liberal than the Roman Catholic, since a man can do just what he likes, and then go and be absolved.

But to the Ultramontanism of the Court, the bigotry of the people, and the tenaciousness of the priests, must be added the utter indifference of the higher classes. In all the European capitals, the proportion of men to women in the attendance on public worship, is small; but I doubt if anywhere it is worse than at Madrid. We travelled once with a young Spanish gentleman in the coupé of a diligence, and, as none of his countrymen were present, he conversed with entire frankness on every subject that turned up. On the bigotry and mismanagement of Philip II., he went as far as I did; but when I touched on religious liberty, his ignorance of the real state of things astounded me. "Oh," he said, "there is perfect religious liberty in Spain. No one cares about religion, and no one believes it; it is a mere affair of government. But Catholicism is a matter of national pride, and we must maintain it." When I took the liberty of affirming that religious freedom does not exist in Spain, and gave, as a proof of my statement, the Protestant prisoners at Granada—he had never heard the name of Matamoros, or of anything connected with his imprisonment. "He is some gamin, confined for a political offence, and you have been misinformed."

And yet, though there is such an utter indifference among the higher classes to religion as a vital power over the soul, the clutch of a dead orthodoxy still holds them in its talons, and the spirit of Torquemada broods over the land. We were told at Madrid, that nothing was more common than to hear the most indecorous jests on the facts or offices of religion from the very same persons who would be indignantly tenacious of every iota of its dogma. By ninety-nine hundredths of the people Protestantism is abhorred. I shall not soon forget the look, partly of horror, partly of pity, that came over the face of a kind old Spanish lady, travelling with us in a railway carriage,

when her daughter, who had been conversing with us in English, said to her that we were Protestants. But a gentleman at Madrid told me, that a Spanish lady with whom he had long been on terms of most cordial friendship, on hearing from his own lips that he was the son of a clergyman, was so shocked that she entirely dropped him. The public opinion of Europe is now, no doubt, making itself felt in Spain; and even Spaniards are not quite insensible to what their neighbours think of them; but if they were left to themselves, and no pressure came on them from without, the Inquisition might come back to-morrow.

Two things are needed in Spain; and apart from the hidden workings of the Divine Spirit, there are two chief instruments which may ultimately accomplish them. If Spain could attain religious liberty, and the free circulation of the Bible, we might be well content to leave her to herself; but they must come together, for they are essential to each other. There can be no advantage in making them free to choose their own religion, if they have no means of ascertaining for themselves what the true religion is. And the Bible, without liberty to follow conscience, would only make them feel their chains, and recognize their misery. Bibles *can* be bought in Spain, but the cheapest are £2 each; which amounts, of course, to an actual prohibition; and as they are not sold without a Commentary, to prevent them from doing harm, they might almost as well not be there.

But if two things are chiefly needed in Spain, there are two instruments already at work in preparing for them. One is the railway system, which, by bringing foreigners into the country, and taking Spaniards out of it, is continually infusing fresh ideas and facts into men's minds, and so familiarising them with more liberal opinions. The prodigious material results already produced on Spain by the fragments of railway now at work, are a token of the impulse that will be given to trade and commerce, when they are completed; and though commerce is not the Gospel, it often makes a road for it; and while it softens prejudice, it conciliates esteem. But an instrument yet more powerful and rapid, is the press. Not the Spanish press; for, though entirely free on politics, it is gagged on religion, and a Spanish journal has just been suspended for a satirical comparison (with reference to the Spanish Protestants) between China and Spain. Nor, again, the English press. For a variety of reasons, England is disliked in Spain, but she is hated for her heresy; and though it is to be hoped that we shall never shrink from manfully speaking out our opinions, and maintaining in the face of the world the cause of God and His saints, anything like dictation or interference with a sensitive and proud people will throw back the cause of Protestantism for years. It is the

French press that has power across the Pyrenees. Acute, vigorous, satirical, with a tact that flatters Spain just enough to gratify her self-love; with a pungency that pricks her in the most tender part, sharply enough to excite fear, not so sharply as to engender hatred; with a language unequalled in the world for point and clearness, and on the same platform of orthodoxy as Spain herself, it is steadily writing down religious intolerance. And a curious conflict is thereby excited in the Spaniard's heart, between the pride that makes him cling to the traditions of his ancestors, and the pride that makes him respect himself. Spain identifies Romanism with her loftiest glories. She contended for it eight long centuries against the Moors. Ferdinand and Isabella, her greatest monarchs, are "the Catholic kings." Under Charles V., and Philip II., she maintained her faith against all adversaries; and rather than permit heresy, she lost a great province, and sacrificed hecatombs of lives;—and yet the haughty Spaniard is cut to the quick, when a keen Frenchman twits him for being under his priest's thumb, and tells him to his face that his is the only country in Europe where a man cannot think for himself. In this way we may hope that public feeling in Spain may presently be roused to demand liberty; and though it by no means follows that toleration will mean reformation, it is a step in the right direction to make it possible.

As for us in England, there is but little we can do, but pray, and wait, and look on. There is no field at present for our excellent friend, Mr. Burgess, and the Foreign Aid Society, nor has the British and Foreign Bible Society any open door. The sky is almost without a break in it; and one Spanish gentleman, with whom we had the happiness of a confidential conversation on the subject, felt so sadly, and spoke so gloomily, that I felt constrained to beg him to go down on his knees with me, and say, "Lord increase our faith." It is not so much any particular phase of Romanism in Spain that makes one despair about it. Any one who has seen priestly irregularities at Rome, or popular image-worship at Padua, has seen about the worst that Europe can show him. Rather it is in the traditions of the country, in the nature of the Constitution, and in the character of the race.

Yet there is One who hath said, "All things are possible to him that believeth;" and Spain is part of that world for which Jesus died. He, who worketh all things after the counsel of His own will, hath His own times and seasons in which He worketh. We must plead with Him, but we cannot hurry Him. If Spain is in bondage, Italy is free.

Let us watch for opportunities, and pray for wisdom to use them skilfully. Let us bless God for our own privileges, and stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free;

The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua
the Right Rev. John William Colen
London : Longman and Co. 1862.

THERE is an important note added
Birks's volume,* on "The Human El
which we shall copy a few sentences
to insist on "the importance of rec
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but He carefully watches over them, so that not one untrue or improper word shall be given forth in His name. When an earthly sovereign desires his secretary to write a letter in his name, will he not take care that the letter, when written, shall faithfully express his meaning? Yet there may be one or two immaterial inaccuracies in the document, of which he does not care to take notice. Thus, to return to the Bible, Matthew and Mark tell us, that the women at the sepulchre saw an angel; while Luke and John, with equal explicitness, state that there were two. Why were these discrepancies permitted? Most assuredly, because if the four evangelists had been divinely overruled to describe every event with precisely the same particulars, we should have had no four human witnesses at all, but four "organ-pipes" through which one Divine Spirit played one and the same tune. Thus writes Mr. Birks:—

"In the history of our blessed Lord four testimonies have been provided; and though each is distinct, they have been closely woven together into one seamless robe of historical truth. One evident purpose, fulfilled by this peculiar structure of the narrative, is to secure, by the concurrence of four human witnesses, so strong and clear a proof of reality in the Divine portraiture, as to force conviction upon every thoughtful and candid mind. To neglect the human authorship, in this case, is thus to run counter to the plain design of the Holy Spirit, in choosing this particular form for the message. It turns the pledges of truth and sincerity, in the voice of the four Evangelists, into stumbling-blocks and paradoxes; and robs the Gospel of one main element in their moral power." (pp. 479, 480.)

Of that which forms the topic of bishop Colenso's volume, Mr. Birks thus speaks:—

"The Pentateuch is the first main portion of the sacred history,—the basement or pedestal on which all the later books repose. The human element, in the doctrine of its inspiration, consists in its being the genuine work of Moses; the Divine, in its being a real gift from the Spirit of God, and composed under His heavenly teaching and guidance. Experience and reason prove alike that these two elements are so closely united, as to be virtually inseparable. Once deny the Mosaic authorship, and the strongest pledge for the Divine authority of the book disappears, and is replaced by a presumption of its merely human character; and indeed, that it is nothing better than a skilful and successful forgery. How can we possibly believe that a series of Divine messages have begun with an open fraud on the credulity of mankind? . . . The genuineness of the Pentateuch, the human element in its composition, is thus the logical starting-point, by which alone we are guided into an apprehension of its true character, as the word of the living God, the pure and holy fountain-head of all later revelations to mankind." (p. 479.)

Bishop Colenso admits his inability, resembling that of Coleridge, to grasp this double truth. He says:—

"God is my witness! what hours of wretchedness have I spent at times, while reading the Bible devoutly from day to day, and reverencing every word of it as the Word of God, when petty contradictions met me, which seemed to my reason to conflict with the notion of the absolute historical veracity of every part of Scripture, and which, as I felt, *in the study of any other book*, we should honestly treat as errors or misstatements, without in the least detracting from the real value of the book! But, in those days, I was taught that it was my duty to fling the suggestion from me at once, 'as if it were a loaded shell, shot into the fortress of my soul,' or to stamp out desperately, as with an iron heel, each spark of honest doubt, which God's own gift, the love of Truth, had kindled in my bosom. And by many a painful effort I succeeded in doing so for a season." (p. 6.)

But where was the occasion for all this "wretchedness" and "desperation"? Had he but honestly and thoughtfully adopted archbishop Ussher's view, every real difficulty would have quickly disappeared. Matthew and Mark, inspired and caused to write their two gospels, honestly said that which they believed—that the women saw an angel at the sepulchre. This was truth from their pens, and it was also true in fact. Luke and John, with equal sincerity, wrote, that the women saw two angels. And this also was a fact. How frequently, in common life, do we see two persons or two things, at one moment, and only one person or thing, in the same place, a few moments after! This sort of discrepancy is an inseparable feature in human testimony. In our own history, we find three of the chief actors or cotemporaries giving three different dates for such an event as the raising of king Charles's standard at Nottingham; while the king's own private secretary gives a wrong date, by a whole month, for Charles's departure from Oxford. And if four men had witnessed the murder of Mr. Perceval in the House of Commons, and had, separately and apart, written four narratives of the occurrence, there would have been like discrepancies, and yet probably no untruth. This is universally found to be the case. We see, as a fact, that it did not seem good unto the HOLY GHOST to exclude all such immaterial discrepancies from the Gospels. And we may easily discern, as a probable reason, what would have been the inevitable result of making all the four gospels alike in every particular. Men would have reasonably objected, that never, since books and writing were known, had four independent witnesses been found to give precisely the same account of any transaction. This narrative, therefore, they would have argued, or rather, these four narratives, all so marvellously alike, were evidently concocted,—the whole was a concerted story, and the pretence of four genuine and separate witnesses was a fiction and a fraud.

For want of accurate ideas, therefore, of the nature and

boundaries of inspiration,—in short, for want of theological knowledge,—did bishop Colenso venture into the field of sceptical criticism without the needed armour, and he soon received some fearful wounds. But we cannot stop to go into his personal history; his forty-eight pages of preface and introduction must be passed over without further remark: for the substance of his book consists of about 130 pages of "insuperable difficulties," designed to lead the reader to conclude, first, that the Pentateuch was never written by Moses; and secondly, that it is in many parts untrue, and, as a whole, a monstrous and incredible fable! To these 130 pages we must now address ourselves; for if they should prove to be worthless, then the "prefatory" and "concluding" remarks can have no kind of value or importance.

The bishop's theses, then, are these two: "That the Pentateuch, as a whole, cannot possibly have been written by Moses, or by any one acquainted personally with the facts which it professes to describe;" and, secondly, "that the (so-called) Mosaic narrative, by whomsoever written, cannot be regarded as historically true." (p. 8.) Let us see, then, what are the criticisms by which he hopes to establish these two fearful charges.

1. That with which he opens his attack, astonishes us by its narrowness of view, and its carping spirit. It turns upon this verse, in the account of the migration of Jacob's family into Egypt:—

"*And the sons of Judah, Er, and Onan, and Shelah, and Pharez, and Zarah; but Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan; and the sons of Pharez, Hezron, and Hamul.*" (Gen. xlvi. 12.)*

Bishop Colenso then sets to work to prove, that Hezron and Hamul could not have been born at the time of the migration; and hence, that the whole narrative is untrue, and unhistorical. Does he deal with other historians after this fashion? Is there nothing in Herodotus or Xenophon but exact, literal truth? Or, when he finds an incorrect statement in these writers, does he throw their works aside, as "not historical, because not true"? If so, then he can have no history at all, and is in perfect darkness as to all the past.

"Aye, but we are dealing with 'inspired writings' now, and have a right to look for absolute truth."

* It is rather unfortunate that bishop Colenso's very first quotation from Scripture should be a misquotation. The passage, as it stands in all our Bibles, is this:

"And the sons of Judah; Er, and Onan, and Shelah, and Pharez, and Zarah: but Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan. And the sons of Pharez were Hezron and Hamul."

Here the writer first sets down all Judah's sons. Then he corrects himself by two after-thoughts: 1. That Er and Onan had died in Canaan: 2. That Pharez had two sons, who filled their places.

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Canaan."

sending Jacob away. (Gen. xxvii. 46.) Hence, if he reached Laban's house in his forty-first year, and was married to Leah and Rachel in his forty-eighth, there would remain a period of more than eighty years before his going down to Egypt, when he was 130 years of age. (Gen. xlviii. 9.) In this interim, there was abundance of time for Judah's birth and marriage, the death of Er and Onan, the birth of Pharez, and his marriage, and the birth of Hezron and Hamul. It seems strange that this very obvious solution should never have occurred to bishop Colenso; but we cannot see that he even alludes to it.*

Bishop Colenso, however, demands, even in matters of this kind, perfect accuracy, and absolute certainty. In other words, he loses sight altogether of the human element; or forgets that, wherever man is found at work, there error will invariably be found to accompany him. Is the Bible, then, full of errors? No, not full; but in several places, such as that before us, and in the accounts of the Resurrection, and in the accounts of Judas's death, discrepancies have been pointed out. Those discrepancies, however, concern no doctrine, or precept, or important fact. What, for instance, can be more immaterial than the question now before us,—whether Hezron and Hamul were born before the migration, or a few years after? Or what matters it, whether one angel, or two, appeared to the women? Or of what importance is it, whether Judas died of simple strangulation, or whether the rope broke, and he fell, and burst asunder in the fall?

But bishop Colenso, after this most weak and futile commencement, plunges into his own peculiar element, and favours us with a series of arithmetical problems. These, at first, interest us by their novelty; but we soon find them altogether vain and nugatory, and then they grow inexpressibly tiresome.

2. The first of these is as petty as the contention about Hezron and Hamul; but it is far more preposterous. Bishop Colenso finds repeated commands in Exodus and Numbers, that "the whole congregation" shall appear before the door of the Tabernacle, or "before the Lord." He takes out his pencil, and begins to calculate. The whole width of the Tabernacle was eighteen feet; therefore he argues, that, "allowing two feet in width for each full-grown man, nine men could just have stood in front of it." And thus "the whole congregation, in ranks of nine each, allowing eighteen inches between each rank, would have reached a distance of more than

* If bishop Colenso had consulted Kennicott and Horsley, he might have found this position fully made out. Dr. Kennicott has shown, that the stay of Jacob in Padan-aram, often hastily supposed to have been twenty years, from Gen. xxxi. 41, must have been at least twice twenty years, to allow time for the transactions in Gen. xxix., xxx. He supposes Jacob to have been 57 at the time of his marriage, and not 77, as often supposed. But the real age may have been somewhat earlier. Thus, too, may we reconcile Gen. xxxi. 41 with xxx. 43.

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place. And, so stripped of the absurd details which bishop Colenso has thrown around it, we believe that ninety-nine men out of every hundred would reply, that they saw nothing "inconceivable" in it.

3. The next objection is only a duplicate of the last. That Moses should call the people around him, and read to them all the words of the law, is said to be "inconceivable," because the people were so many. Yet men of all kinds, learned men, critical men, as well as humble and teachable men, have read these plain averments of the Pentateuch for these many hundred years, and have found nothing inconceivable or incredible in them.

4. Then comes the question of the extent of the camp, and the difficulty of carrying on the ordinary affairs of life, in a mass of people "forming a moveable city of twelve miles square." But how is it that bishop Colenso forgets that the passage of the Israelites is not the only instance upon record, of the march of an enormous mass of people? Herodotus tells us, that the army of Xerxes consisted of 5,283,220 men. We do not hastily admit that statement; but we do not charge Herodotus with falsehood. Mr. Grote says, that "the disparaging remarks which it has drawn down upon Herodotus, are in no way merited." He adds, that "we may well believe, that the numbers of Xerxes' army were greater than were ever assembled in ancient times, or perhaps at any known epoch." Bishop Thirlwall takes the reduced estimate, of those who actually passed the Hellespont, at "1,700,000 foot, and 80,000 horse;" and adds, "There seems no sufficient ground for supposing that these estimates are greatly exaggerated." But if bishop Colenso had taken either of these estimates as the basis for a series of arithmetical conundrums, he would easily have satisfied himself that the stories of Herodotus were "unhistorical," and perhaps wholly untrue; and probably he would have gone on to say, as he has done in the case of the Pentateuch, that "the book, as a whole, could not possibly have been written by Herodotus, or by any one acquainted personally with the facts which it professed to describe."

One other remark, made by bishop Colenso, at the close of this sixth chapter, presents a sad proof of the carelessness with which many of his accusations have been penned. He copies Levit. iv. 11, 12, as commanding that "the priest shall carry forth without the camp, the skin of the bullock, his head, his legs," etc., "and burn him on the wood with fire." He then adds, "the offal of these sacrifices would have had to be carried by Aaron himself, or one of his sons, a distance of six miles." "The supposition involves an absurdity. But it is our duty to look plain facts in the face." (p. 40.)

Why, then, did not bishop Colenso look this plain fact in

the face? Why, before he built an objection on the narrow ground that "he," the priest, must carry forth the offal, did he not look, either to the Hebrew, or to the Septuagint? In the Hebrew, as Mr. Joseph McCaul has already reminded him, he would have found that the phrase "carry forth" would have been more literally translated, "cause to go forth," i. e., get rid of, or send away. In the Septuagint he would have found, that while in verses 7, 8, 9, "he," the priest, is constantly spoken of,—in v. 11, 12, the translator changes it to "they," meaning, obviously, the priest and his attendants. And so the bishop's supposed "absurdity" vanishes. He has found, in fact, what is vulgarly called "a mare's nest."

5, 6, 7. These next three objections are given in chapters vii., viii., ix. They are all petty, and of no value. Bishop Colenso is astonished that the numbers of the people in Exodus xxxviii. and in Numbers i. should be the same. As if it were at all improbable, that a census, once taken, should be kept, and used for calling over the people six months afterwards; the difference, probably, being too insignificant to be noticed. Then comes an objection to the statement, that the children of Israel "dwelt in tents." Bishop Colenso finds that 200,000 tents would have been necessary, and then asks, "How did they acquire these?" It has been replied, that most travellers in the East could inform bishop Colenso, that even now, the common Arab tent, for a whole family, consists of little more than a long shawl, stretched over a few sticks. The third objection is, that the children of Israel are said to have been "armed;" where did they get all these arms? Now, premising that a statement that a body of men were armed, and dwelt in tents, would never be taken to imply that every man had his sword, and shield, and javelin, and his own tent, we simply send bishop Colenso back once more to the case of Xerxes. 1,700,000 swords and spears, and 80,000 horses, would prove more perplexing than even the tents and arms of the Israelites. But really this sort of hole-picking is wretched work.

8. The tenth chapter is given to the Passover, and the eleventh to the march out of Egypt. In both, "incredibility" is the charge. But why more incredible than five hundred other statements, both in the Old and in the New Testament; or than a thousand other facts which we read in history? Even in the chronicles of our own little island, we read, that in 1297 king Edward I. sent over from the Netherlands a summons to his liegemen to meet him at York to proceed to Scotland to chastise Wallace. And we are assured that, even in the short days of January, there assembled at York 100,000 foot-soldiers, and 4000 horse. Now, remembering that York itself was only a town of less than 10,000 inhabitants, we might easily propose some of Bishop Colenso's questions: How were these 100,000 men and 4000 hor

Where did they find 20,000 tents? Who provided them with food and drink? &c. &c. Yet we start none of these difficulties; but, finding the statement in credible writers of the very time, we accept it as being something near to the truth.

9. Next we have a number of questions as to the maintenance of the children of Israel in the desert. The answer to this part of the case is very simple, and very easy. Bishop Colenso proves, from divers travellers, that the wilderness was a wilderness; and he then argues that how vast numbers of sheep and oxen could be maintained in it, is inconceivable, and the fact itself incredible. We shall not quarrel with his views of the matter any further than by observing, that those views are imperfect, and therefore untrue.

He first forgets that the bordering countries, Moab, Midian, Edom, &c., were then in a far more prosperous condition than they have ever been in modern times. The change to their present sterility has been the result of the Divine judgments, denounced in Jer. xlviii., Ezek. xxv., xxxv., Amos i., ii.; and it forms no inconsiderable element of the question. But his main omission consists in resting all his calculations on a supposed ordinary state of things. The passage of the Israelites is never represented in Scripture as a customary or ordinary transaction, but as wholly supernatural. Throughout the whole of Moses' address to the Israelites in Deuteronomy, this view of the case is constantly insisted on: "He knoweth thy walking through this great wilderness; these forty years the Lord thy God hath been with thee; thou hast lacked nothing." (Deut. ii. 7.) "Thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee these forty years in the wilderness. . . . Thy raiment waxed not old, neither did thy foot swell, these forty years." (viii. 2—4.) "I have led you forty years in the wilderness; your clothes are not waxen old upon you, and thy shoe is not waxen old upon thy foot. Ye have not eaten bread, nor drunk wine; that ye might know that I am the Lord." (xxix. 5, 6.)

Throughout Scripture the passage of the Israelites through the wilderness is spoken of as a wonderful and a Divine work. The angel who accompanied the Israelites (Exod. xxiii. 20) was "the Angel of the Covenant"; HE who, when on earth, by one moment's volition, made five loaves a sufficient provision for five thousand men; and, by a similar act of power, brought an hundred and fifty-three great fishes to the side of Peter's boat, where, previously, there was not one to be found. To measure the acts of such a Being as this by human limits and human experience, is the merest folly.

10. The next point—that the Israelites were almost too many for the promised land—is a palpable error, arising from neglect and oversight. The bishop looks only to the land

which the Israelites, blamably, were satisfied with possessing. But the territory promised to Abraham in Gen. xv., extended "from the river of Egypt, to the great river, — the river Euphrates." That they neglected to occupy this large dominion, was their sin. (See Judges ii.) But it in no way affects the original promise.

11. The next difficulty, like the last, is of the bishop's own making; it exists not in the Pentateuch itself. In Exodus xiii., it is recorded that "the Lord said unto Moses . . . It shall be when the Lord shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites; . . . thou shalt set apart unto the Lord all that openeth the matrix . . . the males shall be the Lord's." Thus, for a certain time, then future, all males that "opened the matrix" were to be set apart for the Lord's service.

But, in the second year after they had come out of Egypt, it pleased the Lord to make a new arrangement. He took the tribe of Levi, in the place of the first-born of all Israel. This occasioned a numbering of each,—the tribe of Levi, and the first-born,—in order that the exchange should be made quite equitable.

But who were "the first-born" that were then to be numbered? Not the men who had been born fifty or seventy years before, but those who had been born since the giving of that law. Clearly, the enactment, which, at its first enunciation, *looked forward*, could not be otherwise read.

On being numbered, the first-born of all Israel proved to be 22,273. This was among a population of about two millions. With this result bishop Colenso quarrels, and from it he draws all kinds of absurd results; such as, that "every mother of Israel must have had, on the average, forty-two sons!"—Results which certainly do not flow from anything said by Moses.

He tells us, that in London the whole number of births in a year is 96,304. The population of London may be about the same as that of the whole camp of Israel. But the period in the case of Israel, was not one year, but one year and a month, or two months, or more, added. If we take the whole number of births to have amounted to 110,000 or 120,000, and allow one-half to have been females, then we shall find that out of 60,000 male-births, more than 22,000 were the first-births of their mothers. And hence, the only practical result at which we arrive, is this,—that in the joy of their deliverance, a large number of the young people of Israel had married. This is the only solid result of bishop Colenso's inquiry, and we find nothing surprising in it. As to his wonderful supposition, that "every mother in Israel must have had forty-two sons," it is simply absurd. It rests on no basis whatever. Yet he concludes this chapter with the cool remark, that — "By this

time, surely, great doubt must have arisen in the minds of most readers, as to the historical veracity of sundry portions of the Pentateuch!"

12. But this last piece of arithmetical criticism introduces us to a large and substantial question, at which we rejoice. For, in truth, we are getting weary of bishop Colenso's arithmetical problems, and are glad to come, at last, to a question of some breadth and substance. At the close of the chapter on the first-born, he adds, that his reader's doubts as to the veracity of the Pentateuch "will be confirmed into a certain conviction, by its appearing plainly, from the data of the Pentateuch itself, that there could not have been any such population as this, to come out of Egypt,—in other words, that the children of Israel, at the time of the Exodus, could not, if only we attend to the distinct statements of the narrative, have amounted to two millions; that, in fact, the whole body of warriors could not have been two thousand." (p. 90.)

We say, that we rejoice to come to a plain, broad issue like this; for the bishop's success or failure on this point, may fairly be considered as a test or token of the value of his whole book. He rests, be it observed, on "the data of the Pentateuch itself," to show that the whole story of an exodus of 600,000 men, or of an aggregate of about two millions in all, is plainly incredible, and a mere fiction.

Three chapters are devoted to this question, — the 15th, 16th, and 17th. Of these, the 15th requires no notice, since it is devoted to a proof that the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt was 210 or 215 years; with which statement we do not quarrel. Having established this point, the bishop next goes on to prove, in chap. xvi., "that it is *quite impossible* that there should have been such a number of the people of Israel in Egypt at the time of the Exodus, as to have furnished 600,000 warriors in the prime of life, representing at least two millions of persons of all ages and sexes,—that is to say, it is impossible, if we will take the data to be derived from the Pentateuch itself." (p. 101.)

And how does he establish this position? By the most transparently fallacious course. He selects a few cases to prove that, from Jacob's migration, to the Exodus, was just four generations. He next assumes fifty-four males (from Gen. xlvi.) to be the root of the question;—he allows to them each four and a half sons, and he thence finds, that in Kohath's days, "there would be 54 males; in Amram's, 243; in the time of Moses and Aaron, 1094; and in that of Joshua and Eleazar, 4923;—that is to say, instead of 600,000 warriors in the prime of life, there could not have been 5000." (p. 103.) And thus, obviously, the books of Exodus and Numbers are

He then allows but four generation
supposition,) and so brings out his re

Now, at page 26, he had himself s
called a 'youth,' was more than twen
ing to the story, at the time of Jacob'
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Now, we do not agree with him in
is his own, and he might as well hav
the cases of Levi and Reuben. He
in their cases: "Let us suppose th
way from generation to generation."
been rather startling. If Benjamin,
ten sons, twenty-three years after,
the 46th year, the aggregate would h
69th, 10,000; in the 92nd, 100,000;
in the 138th, 10,000,000; and be
arrived, they might have peopled the
is the absurdity of arguing from
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The essential point in the bishop
were only four generations in 215 y
by selecting three or four cases o
lived to be 137; Kohath, his son,
137; and Moses, at the date of the
age. But Goshen, generally, was n
rians. Why does the bishop shut
plain facts?

Joseph's two sons were born t
famine came. (Gen. xli. 50.) It
famine that Jacob went down to E

what was the future prospect? Clearly it was, that, (to use bishop Colenso's words,) "supposing they increased in this way from generation to generation," the number of generations between Joseph and the Exodus would be ten or eleven, —not four.

And, in fact, in 1 Chron. vii. 22—27, we find a positive confirmation of this; as it is there stated, that Joshua's descent was thus traced:—"Joshua, the son of Nun, the son of Elishama, the son of Ammihud, the son of Laadan, the son of Tahan, the son of Telah, the son of Rephah, the son of Beriah, the son of Ephraim."

But this genealogy, since it opposes the bishop's five or six selected cases, he "dismisses, as most probably erroneous, and at all events as of no importance whatever." (p. 100.)

The sad truth is, that bishop Colenso seems unable to see, or to recognize, any fact except such as may serve his purpose. He finds five or six cases, in which men, living long, married late in life, and had few children. In these cases, four names bridge over the whole period of 215 years. But the cases of Benjamin, with his ten sons, born (the bishop thinks) before their father was two-and-twenty, and of Joseph, who saw four generations in his own household, by the time 75 years out of the 215 had expired, are fatal to the whole theory. We are told, also, both in Genesis and Exodus, that the children of Israel "grew and multiplied exceedingly." (Gen. xlvii. 27; Exod. i. 7.) But this would be impossible with a people having only four generations in 215 years, and having only four and a half sons in each family.

A very important circumstance in the case, but one which bishop Colenso drops wholly out of view, is, that at this very period a change was taking place, both in the duration of man's life, and also in the usual period of marriage. Abraham lived 175 years, Isaac 180, and Jacob 147. But Moses, in the 90th Psalm, says, "The days of our years are threescore and ten," or perhaps fourscore. And this shortening of life led to earlier marriages. Isaac married at forty, Esau at forty, Jacob still later in life. But bishop Colenso believes that Jacob's youngest son had ten sons by the time he was two and twenty, and he cannot avoid seeing that Ephraim, Joseph's youngest son, had children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, in little more than fifty years. Yet this great change is entirely left out of view in his calculations.

The truth is,—and bishop Colenso ought to have recognized it,—that no approach to certainty can be made in these matters by merely picking out a few isolated cases, and building up a system upon results so obtained. The laws of human increase have been investigated, and we have the ascertained facts, with the general principles deducible from them, in many

fifteen years. . . . According to a ratio
tality of 1 in 36, if the births be to the
to 1, the period of doubling will be
fifths."*

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all an extravagant belief that thei
eighteen or twenty years.

But with what figures should t
arithmetical computation? He ve
view the females and the servant
seems to believe, that almost all J
sons! Of the list given in Genesis xl
that the writer intends it to be und
were the *only* persons, and these
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families are never mentioned, exc
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the bishop, we suppose, would adm
daughters if the world was to be

Colenso should believe that eleven men in one family produced, by their eleven marriages, fifty-one sons and only one daughter, is only a splendid example of "the credulity of scepticism."

Having denied to Jacob any granddaughters, (except Serah daughter of Asher,) bishop Colenso next questions his having had any servants, and gives eight reasons at page 114, for thinking that he went down to Egypt with his sons and grandsons, and not a single attendant. One of these reasons is, that Joseph was sent alone to seek his brethren (Gen. xxxvii.), ergo, Jacob had no servants. But why did bishop Colenso forget Gen. xxviii., where Jacob is similarly sent forth alone, although, in chap. xxvi., it is positively declared of Isaac, that "he had great store of servants." The truth is, that bishop Colenso can see nothing in the Pentateuch except that which creates difficulties and leads to doubt. How could he overlook, or forget, such passages as these?—

In Gen. xiv., Abraham arms his own servants, 318 in number, and pursues and defeats the four kings.

In Gen. xxiii., the children of Heth say to him, "Thou art a mighty prince among us."

In Gen. xxvi., Isaac went forward, and grew till "he became very great."

In Gen. xxx., Jacob "increased exceedingly, and had much cattle, and maid-servants, and men-servants, and camels and asses."

In Gen. xxxii., he sends to Esau to say, "I have oxen, and asses, flocks, and men-servants, and women-servants."

In Gen. xxxiv., two sons of Jacob storm and take a city, capturing all their wealth, their sheep and oxen, their wives and children, and all their spoil.

In Gen. xxxv., Jacob came to Luz, "he and all the people that were with him."

Bishop Colenso must, at various times, have read all these passages. He sees also, at chap. xlvii., the plain words, "Joseph nourished his father, and his brethren, and *all his father's household;*" and yet, because in chap. xlvi. the names of only Jacob's own descendants are preserved, he casts into non-existence "all the household," and believes that Jacob and his sons came down into Egypt like a family of gypsies, each man with his ass, and with his children in the paniers. Verily, there are no bounds to the credulity of a sceptic!

But, to return to the question, What would be a rational and consistent view of the numbers of Jacob's family and household, when he went down to Egypt? We believe the following to be a low estimate:

We find Jacob attended by his eleven sons and fifty-one grandsons. In the lists of Adam's descendants, and of Noah's, we similarly find only the sons particularized; but we feel no

doubt that the sons of Noah and the sons of Jacob had many daughters as well as many sons. We believe, therefore, that the children and grandchildren of Jacob, who went with him into Egypt, were above one hundred in number, if the daughters are included. They probably amounted to about 110 or 120. For the "men-servants and women-servants," spoken of in Gen. xxxii., and for "all the people that were with him," alluded to in Gen. xxxv., we are willing to claim only three or four hundred, which is probably much below the truth. We conclude, therefore, that the whole "household of Jacob," which came with him into Egypt, amounted to at least five hundred persons, of all kinds, and of both sexes. And thus we have the first element for a computation of their after-increase.

Five hundred persons, or thereabouts, went down into Egypt, and they would find there some addition in the household of Joseph. To all these "the law of human increase" is to be applied. Mr. Malthus says, that men have sometimes doubled their numbers in fifteen years, or even in twelve and four-fifths. But we decline to adopt either of these extreme suppositions, and are willing to reckon upon a doubling in the longer period of eighteen years.

What will be the result of this sum: *i.e.*, of a population of 500, doubling every eighteen years, and numbered again at the end of 215 years? Any one may take out his pencil, and in less than one minute find the answer. The doublings will be twelve, and the total will be at least 2,048,000.

Where, then, is the "impossibility," which bishop Colenso so confidently asserts, "that there should have been such a number of the people of Israel in Egypt, at the time of the Exodus, as to furnish 600,000 warriors, representing at least 2,000,000 of persons of all sexes and ages." We take a moderate number at the starting-point; we adopt a far lower rate of increase than Mr. Malthus allows; and we have claimed nothing for the special promise of Jehovah, "I will there make of thee a great nation." And yet the total appears to be precisely correspondent with the recorded fact. The supposed difficulty vanishes; it was a chimera, and nothing more.

13. The 20th and 21st chapters hand us back to more of the bishop's arithmetical problems; and of these we have had quite enough. The priests and their duties constitute the chief topic. The priests had so many offerings to present, so many lambs or doves to kill or to eat; and how could they possibly get through all this labour? Where could so many as 250 young pigeons daily be obtained? Many of these questions and difficulties are merely the difficulties always raised by ignorance. All travellers tell us of the vast quantities of pigeons which come into the markets of Egypt; and Bewick, in his book on Natural History, observed, long ago, that a single

pair of pigeons would multiply, in four years, into 14,672. It is certain, also, that in many places, the duties of the priests include the duties of the priests and their assistants; and this is a sufficient answer to most of the bishop's queries and doubts.

14. As one of the final objections, bishop Colenso exclaims: —"How thankful we must be, that we are no longer obliged to believe, as a matter of fact, the story related in Numbers xxxi., where we are told that a force of 12,000 Israelites slew all the males of the Midianites, took captive all the females and children, seized all their cattle and flocks, and burnt all their cities," &c. He then adds,—"The tragedy of Cawnpore, where 300 were butchered, would sink to nothing, compared with such a massacre, if we were required to believe it."

Some one told Dr. Johnson that he did not know a certain thing, and that he was thankful he did not know it. The Doctor exclaimed, "You are thankful for your ignorance, are you?" To which the angry disputant replied, "Yes, sir, I am!" "Well, then," curtly replied the Doctor, "you have a great deal to be thankful for."

How much scepticism and unbelief bishop Colenso means to "be thankful for," we know not; but a little will be of small avail. For instance, what good will it do him to be thankful for his unbelief of Numbers xxxi., if he cannot disbelieve 2 Kings xix.? The wholesale slaying of 185,000 men in one night, was surely as terrible a "massacre" as that of Midian. But we will suppose him to stretch his unbelief so far as to reject the books of Kings as well as the books of Moses. A much harder task is yet before him. Does he believe that such a city as Jerusalem ever existed? Does he believe that it was destroyed by Titus? Does he believe that *eleven hundred thousand* persons, men, women, and children, perished in this siege, by the most horrible modes of destruction, and that all the survivors were sold into hopeless slavery?

Further, does he not know, that this dreadful visitation was foreseen and foretold by Him who was the Divine personification of Unspeakable Love? Does he not know that Jesus, foreseeing all this, could weep over the devoted city, but could not, or would not, spare it? Does he doubt that all this vast and immeasurable amount of human suffering and wretchedness was ordained of God, and executed by His special permission?

If he does not believe all this, we should deem it a waste of time to argue with him. But if he is not sceptical touching the deeds of Vespasian and Titus, we should like to know what he gains by disbelieving the books of Kings, or the books of Moses. If I believe that God shewed himself a God of vengeance in the greater case, what do I gain by rejecting the thought in the smaller?

We have here got out of the bogs and swamps of "Colenso's Arithmetic," and find ourselves on the higher ground of morals and theology. We feel a relief in so changing the atmosphere, and willingly confess that the only two points in the book which are worth a thought, are the old, well-trodden questions of the tolerance of slavery, and of the judgments poured forth on the Canaanites. We might, indeed, content ourselves with reminding the bishop that both of these questions had been worn threadbare before he was born; but we will not take refuge in such a plea. A few words on each of these two questions shall bring this article to a close.

It has pleased God to deal with mankind in the way of gradual improvement. When the children of Israel were separated from the rest of the nations as a peculiar people, they were sent to the law, as to a schoolmaster, to be gradually advanced. At that time, slavery and polygamy were universal among mankind; and our Lord has Himself told us that, in the treatment of wives, it was not attempted to bring them back to the purity of the first days of Paradise. "Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it was not so." (Matt. xix. 8.) The same might be said of slavery. Remembering how "stiff-necked a people" the Hebrews were, we can easily understand how stubbornly they would have resisted a command to adhere, through life, to one wife, and to free all their slaves. Hence, the Mosaic code only commenced that improvement which the Gospel has carried forward. And it is somewhat strange that the very man who, in Natal, tried to draw back from the purity of the Gospel into the greater license of Judaism, now cries out, in the matter of slavery, against the old system as intolerable, when compared with the new. Bishop Colenso desired to tolerate polygamy in his diocese, following, in this matter, the custom of Israel in ancient days; but when he finds in the laws of Moses a modified tolerance of slavery, his moral sense is revolted! Let him pay a visit to Virginia or Louisiana, and he may find clergymen, and even bishops, who will be shocked at his lax ideas on the law of marriage, but who will stoutly maintain the excellence of the Mosaic slave laws. An impartial man will see in all that Moses did, a great advance in the right direction. The wife and the slave both received protection. The absolute power exercised over slaves, even in civilized nations like Greece and Rome, was taken away. The power of punishment was left;—indeed, without it, slavery could scarcely exist; but it was limited, and man-stealing was made a capital offence. In lieu of indignantly wondering that the Mosaic code went no further than this, the bishop would have done better to have compared the laws of Moses with those of other nations of ancient days, and to have acknowledged the important improvement.

On the other and still larger question of God's government of the world, we are happy to find that bishop Colenso is not one of the Baden Powell school, believing that all things happen by an unalterable law or destiny, and so reducing the Deity to a mere name. He declares, again and again, his belief in a "God of Providence," (pp. 149, 151), and his certainty that there is such a thing as a "moral government of the world." This being so, the only question that remains is, whether there is any greater difficulty in the dealings and operations of God, which are described in the Bible, than we find in the dealings and operations of God in the world around us. Mr. Rogers has forcibly remarked that—

"He sends forth His pestilence, and produces horrors on which imagination dares not dwell; horrors not only physical, but indirectly moral; often transforming man into something like the fiend so many say he never can become. He sends His famine, and thousands perish,—men and women, and the child that knows not its right hand from its left,—in frightful agonies. He opens the mouth of a volcano, and buries the population of a city in torrents of burning lava. Diseases, in infinite forms, in endless variety of anguish, are racking and torturing myriads of human beings in all ages and countries; apparently without any reference to the moral worth or turpitude of those who suffer. All such phenomena in the works and ways of God are, to all appearance, no less opposed to our conceptions of equity and goodness, than the so-called 'difficulties of Scripture.'"

If Dr. Colenso had taken the obvious course of becoming a theologian before he became a bishop, he would have made up his mind on these points long before he went to Natal. He would have weighed and pondered the innumerable proofs, which surround us on every side, of the Benevolence of the Great Creator. He would then have tried to estimate the wondrous fact, that "God *SO* loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, to the end that men should not perish, but have everlasting life." Against these he might have placed the aforesaid "difficulties," whether those connected with the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, the temptation of Abraham, the destruction of the Canaanites, and the long-enduring punishment of Israel; or those which Mr. Rogers has pointed out, as existing in the ordinary government of the world. And unless he had differed from all other moral philosophers deserving the name, he would have seen and admitted, that the proofs of God's Love are irrefragable and overwhelming; while the facts which we merely cannot understand, are not in any degree comparable with the affirmative proofs. The fly perched upon the dome of St. Paul's, and trying to make out the architect's design, is only a faint resemblance of a human being, striving to grasp, to understand, and to pass sentence upon, the

* Defence of the Eclipse of Faith, p. 42.

justice and benevolence of God's government of the Universe. Surely we overlook, or neglect too much, the plain lessons of the book of Job. That most ancient and wonderful story was not handed down to us merely to perpetuate the vain efforts of Job and his three friends "to find out God." It told us in the plainest and most intelligible language:—

1. That "God is the king of all the earth," that "His eyes behold, His eyelids try, the children of men."

2. That the powers of darkness, as well as the angels of light, are all controlled by Him; and that, in the sense of an overruling permission, the prophet asked with truth and force, "Shall there be evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it?" (Amos iii. 6) a thought thus enlarged in another scripture, —"I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace and create evil: I the Lord do all these things." (Isaiah xlv. 7.)

3. That "to bring good out of evil" is His peculiar prerogative: and that, in Job's case, He "overcame evil with good:" just as He has promised to do to the end of time for all who follow in the steps of Job. "All things shall work together for good to them that love God; to them who are the called, according to His purpose."

What follows, then, but the final words of Elihu, the moderator, who interposed between Job and his friends; and who, with the suffering patriarch before him, thus concluded his argument: "Touching the Almighty, we cannot find him out; He is excellent in power, and in judgment, and in plenty of justice, He will not afflict." Words which are exceeded, however, in fulness and power, by the great apostle, when he exclaims, "O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God; how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out! For of Him, and through Him, and to Him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen."

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

20th Nov., 1862.

Dear Sir,—May I be permitted, through the medium of your pages, to suggest to my clerical brethren, that the present time is one that calls loudly on all the members of the Church for united prayer for a blessing on the Ministry. There is provision made by the Church or the special observance of seasons of united prayer and fasting.

Possibly the Ember seasons may not have been as carefully observed as they ought to have been; for if it had been otherwise, perhaps

there would not be cause to complain either of the paucity of men seeking employment in the ministry of the Church, or of the unfaithfulness of labourers actually employed. And it may be, that God is now calling us to remember that if we would have both a sufficient and a faithful ministry, we must go on our knees to seek it.

If there could be greater attention paid to the requirements of the Ember seasons — if all the Church would be instant both in self-humiliation and prayer, we might hope for unspeakable blessings. We might look for a direct answer to prayer, in the way of God bringing in more labourers to His ministry, and filling them with a better spirit. We might look for a larger blessing upon the souls and the labours of those who are already engaged in the work. If there are hindrances in the way of young men coming forward to offer themselves for the service of the sanctuary, we might hope that those hindrances would be shown to us more clearly, and that a blessing would attend our efforts to remove them.

Trusting that these words may have the effect of calling the attention of some few at least to the subject, I am, &c.,

F. M. C.

"ASSENT AND CONSENT."

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

THE terms of clerical subscription to the Book of Common Prayer appear to be at present the occasion of uneasiness to the minds of some of the clergy. Will the Editor of the Christian Observer afford space for a few thoughts on that subject, tending towards the quieting of consciences which the writer considers to be disturbed without adequate reason?

That nothing of human origin is perfect is a truism; but a remembrance of it may serve to satisfy us that the subscription of the clergy cannot have been intended to signify a belief that the Book of Common Prayer is absolutely perfect. This is also distinctly evidenced by the prefatory matter in the Prayer Book, which virtually repudiates any such assumption, and which is itself included in the assent and consent prescribed for subscription.

In the next place, it is worthy of notice that the difficulties which address themselves to men's consciences arise within certain and narrow limits, the circumstances of which are also remarkable. They are not to be found in the XXXIX. Articles, which, indeed, are a tower of defence against popish and neologian error, the condemnation of which is already prepared in those important documents. The only popish error which is not expressly rejected by them is that of prayers for the dead. But the Courts may yet be satisfied that that practice is virtually forbidden by the 22nd and 31st Articles, when they also remember the deliberate exclusion of it from the Liturgy as prepared at the Reformation, and preserved to this day.

Neither do these scruples arise out of anything contained in the Morning or Evening Prayer, the Litany, the Collects, Epistles and Gospels, or the Office for the Holy Communion. All these are in beautiful harmony with the XXXIX. Articles, and echo their doctrine; what the one declares dogmatically, the other employs as the ground-

work of its devotions. In all that concerns the general assembly of worshippers, in all that the minister's lips have to utter when leading the people in prayer, there is nothing to suggest hesitation to a sensitive mind, or which seems to ask for amendment for the truth's sake. The only approach to an exception to this broad statement is contained in certain clauses of the Athanasian Creed, appointed to be read on some of the Festivals, of which notice will be presently taken.

The difficulties, exclusively of this, are all to be found in the occasional offices and other formularies; yet not in all of these, and not pervading those in which they are found. The Edinburgh Reviewer (No. ccxxix., Jan., 1861) describes them as altogether five in number, and a society of revisionists, by reprinting that article, seems to accept that as a just enumeration of the causes of grave disquietude.

The five points are these: 1. The clauses, already referred to, in the Athanasian Creed. 2. The views of regeneration held in the Baptismal Offices, the Catechism, and the Order of Confirmation. 3. Absolution, as represented in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick. 4. The language of the Burial Service, when employed without due discrimination. 5. Certain expressions to be used by the bishops in the Ordination of Priests.

1. With regard to the Athanasian Creed, the present writer has no wish to conciliate those who object to the great truths which that creed maintains. He addresses himself only to such as think that the danger attributed to not holding the sum total of those truths is more utterly hopeless than the Scriptures warrant us to affirm. They judge it too much to say,—"without doubt he shall perish everlastingly,"— and again, "which, except a man believe faithfully he cannot be saved." The question is asked, Can we venture, in any words of our own, to say as much as this? Dr. Waterland, agreeing with other eminent critics, explains that the words are not intended to assert that every one who questions even the main doctrine which the creed maintains will be doomed to eternal perdition, and argues that they are designed to serve for a strong warning of an actual and terrible danger, which will be realized in full measure by many. The explanation amounts to this; that here is a general law, yet not incapable of admitting of exceptions. They also limit, and accurately limit, the condemnation to unbelief in the great doctrine of the Trinity in unity, and do not admit of its extension to the numerous enlargements of it, even though they are all necessary inferences from the primary doctrine itself. The proper question, however, is not whether the sentence pronounced be severe, but whether it be more severe than Christ's word would make it. Such solemn words as Mark xvi. 16, John iii. 18, 36, raise precisely the same difficulties; they are as decided, and as universal. With this before us, while we may still wish that some less unqualified condemnation had sufficed to be thrown as a shield around these great truths, or that we had not been called upon to pronounce it, and may still desire that it might be moderated,—we may yet see more of human reasoning than of faith in the hesitation we feel, to accept even these portions of that great protective formulary. We may still wish for some modification of the terms, or the omission of these clauses altogether, and yet not feel pained in conscience by

the obligation to use them, seeing how great the danger is, and how difficult to see on what scriptural grounds to rest a hope of even any exemptions from its extreme severity.

2. Occurring next in order in the pages of the Prayer-book stands the vexed question of Baptismal Regeneration, sometimes involving great principles, sometimes rather provoking a strife of words. Does it necessarily bring trouble to the consciences of those who deny that the grace of a new heart invariably attends upon the administration of that sacrament? It is something to remember that most High Churchmen, perhaps all of them, decline to admit that such consequences are ever produced in baptism, or represented to be produced in the terms of the service. The service itself, by the very prayers it contains, looks for such results, if they are ever to come, as prospective. There are Articles and portions of the Liturgy, (for example, the Commination service,) which are wholly at issue with such an interpretation. Surely here is some relief. That which would be the most objectionable interpretation cannot be the true one. What then is really meant by regeneration, as seemingly connected with baptism? A correspondent, in a recent number of the Christian Observer, shows that the conditional theory is better than the hypothetical. But there is yet another which mayhap is the truer. Let those who are disturbed in mind consider the double sense in which many scriptural expressions are used. The Jews are called the children of God, and are denied to be the children of God,—His people, and not His people,—Israel, yet not Israel,—possessing the inheritance, and yet disinherited. May not the language of the Catechism and of the Baptismal service have its two senses—its discriminating sense, and its wider and more general sense. The latter would include great privileges and solemn responsibility. It would include the covenant relation which the 27th Article connects essentially with baptism, representing that sacrament as "a sign of regeneration, or new birth, whereby [by which sign], as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the church, the promises of the forgiveness of sins, and of an adoption to be the sons of God, are visibly signed and sealed." Here is the avowal of a covenant relation. God seals His covenant to the child, or the adult, by baptism. And although they have their part to fulfil, yet surely their grafting into the church, and their admission to the privileges here specified, introduces them into a state which is new to the sinful and lost. This may be, and almost certainly was, the state intended to be signified by the word regeneration, in the Baptismal service. We may wish that it had not been represented by that word, because now at least it is ambiguous; and because the essential idea of it belongs, in Scripture, to the work of the Spirit in the heart. But we are only vexing ourselves about words, not about truths, if such be what is meant by regeneration in the Baptismal services. In favour of that interpretation, appeal may be made to those Services themselves, which do not anywhere signify that the person, or child, when baptised, is immediately endowed with a new heart, converted, enlightened, and regenerated by such a process as is described, for instance, in the First Epistle general of St. John. And here it may be observed, that a question about the accuracy or fitness of terms is a very different thing from a ques-

tion about divine truth, and one which ought not to be allowed to interfere with our happiness, though it may leave us still wishing that what is really meant had been expressed in terms less liable to be misunderstood.

3. Absolution, administered by the clergyman, is the next source of trouble to which attention may now be requested. It is remarkable that the ground of offence is found in a service which is provided for use only in cases of sickness; and that that form of absolution is to be repeated under conditions of so rare occurrence, that a clergyman may live to a great age, and die, without its ever passing from his lips. It is not unreasonable to argue that if, in the estimation of the Church of England, her clergy can forgive sins, their work of that nature would not be so limited and scanty. If such were her doctrine would the congregations ever meet and separate with no more than a declaration of God's pardoning mercy to the penitent? Would the Communion service contain nothing stronger, under the title of an absolution, than a prayer of benediction? With such thoughts in our minds, let us look to the particular absolution which has proved a stumbling-block, and which is found in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick. It is only to be pronounced over a true penitent, at his particular request, and avowedly on the faith of his repentance being sincere; these conditions being fulfilled, the minister pronounces the person absolved through God's great mercy, as he justly may. In a special and appropriate case, who need scruple to relieve an anxious mind, deeply penitent, and longing for divine mercy, by the use of these or such-like words? And why, then, should our minds be unsettled, because we subscribed our assent and consent to the Office which contains them?

4. The Burial service has its difficulties, felt, as they themselves testified not many years since, by upwards of four thousand of the clergy, of various schools in the Church. Nevertheless we may all at least assent cordially to the service as it was intended to be used. It is a service which was evidently constructed with a view to the burial of those who have died in the Lord, for whose case it is confessedly most appropriate. Those who complain of it do not demur to its doctrine, or to its use in the cases which it contemplates; but to its being misapplied. Some ask for discipline, that the service may be reserved for those to whom it properly belongs; others would prefer such a modification of terms as would adapt it for that general use which is now made of it; but only a perverse mind would look at that service, and assert that the Church assumes that all who die and are buried are also saved. As for the rest of the Prayer-book, it rises up in protest against such a reproach.

5. Lastly, there is the Ordination service, according to which, as it appears to some, power to forgive or retain sins is committed to those who are ordained priests. This difficulty is, in reality, one and the same in principle with that which we have already considered on the doctrine of Absolution. Out of this root absolution is supposed to grow. But is the authority which is given, authority to pardon, or is it not rather authority to declare and pronounce that pardon to God's people, being penitent? The answer may be sought in the result, in the Morning and Evening Prayer, and in the Communion Office. Even in that

strongest form of absolution which is found in the Visitation of the Sick, repentance is made an essential qualification for pardon,—not the priest's words, but the sick man's heart. All those exercises of the power conferred, when fairly and consistently interpreted, provide an explanation of the words of the Ordination service, as simply authorizing the presbyter to declare and pronounce the pardon which God has already granted the penitent. The daily exercise of the authority which has been imparted is the most just exposition of its real nature which we could hope to discover.

But it is not on this point only that the Ordination service raises scruples in sensitive minds. There are those other momentous words which the bishop utters, "Receive the Holy Ghost." Does the bishop, then, assume to himself the power of bestowing that great gift? At least it may be answered, that his words will admit of a different meaning,—that they may be no more than a desire, a benediction, or a prayer; and that they cannot be proved to have a stronger signification. Such being the case, is this a matter in which scruples ought to arise, and the conscience to be troubled?

The Edinburgh Review asserts, and we may accept the assertion as true, that these five "are unmistakeably the points wherein men feel their consciences offended or perplexed." The question now raised is, whether there is adequate reason for such offence and perplexity? It is suggested, in reply, that there is not. For to what do these five sources of disquietude amount? They concern (i.) the measure, or extent, of the peril which is unquestionably attendant upon an awful heresy; (ii.) the meaning to be attached to a word and its cognates, which admit of various explanations, and which evidently must be taken in the Prayer-book in a sense accordant with the Articles; (iii.) a particular form of absolution, which, however, when "allowed such just and favourable construction as in common equity ought to be allowed to all human writings," may be interpreted as agreeing in principle with the other and approved forms of absolution in the Prayer-book; (iv.) certain terms in the Burial service, not objected to as wrong in themselves, but as used inappropriately, which also were not intended to assert what is ascribed to them by objectors; (v.) a particular construction of certain words in the Ordination service, which yet are susceptible of a different and unobjectionable interpretation.

Such are the chief difficulties which do unhappily produce perplexity and distress in some minds, and provoke them to crave a revision of the Prayer-book, vexing them meanwhile with doubts as to the propriety of their subscription.

Now, it is natural that we should wish that there were no ambiguity in any of the expressions used in the Prayer-book, nothing liable to erroneous construction, nothing inviting it, and nothing susceptible of being represented as at issue with other parts, and requiring much consideration in order to our discerning its harmony with the rest. But surely, on these five points, (the gravest of the difficulties which have been raised,) if the explanations now offered be valid, the conscience ought not to be disturbed by the obligations involved in subscription. On the other hand, it is lawful to desire that these defects may be remedied. Only let us at the same time

remember what hazards would attend the process, how many would covet and demand other changes which would be palpable deteriorations, and how uncertain it would be whether any accommodation of our wishes would not be counterbalanced by far greater losses in doctrine and in devotional fervour. The Prayer-book is not perfect; it does not pretend to be so; but we fear that it would be issued far less perfect from any revisors' hands to whom it would be likely to be entrusted.

It only remains to notice the actual terms by which the clergy declare their assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer. These are as follows:—

"I, A. B., do willingly, and from my heart, subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion of the United Church of England and Ireland, and to the three Articles in the 36th Canon, and to all things therein contained."

Of those "three Articles," the second and third are—

"2. That the Book of Common Prayer, and of Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God; that it may lawfully so be used; and that he himself will use the form in the said book prescribed, in public prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and none others."

"3. That he alloweth the Book of Articles, agreed upon by &c. .... and that he acknowledgeth all and every the Articles therein contained, being in number nine-and-thirty, besides the ratification, to be agreeable to the Word of God."

There remains the Declaration which is to be read, before the congregation, by all newly instituted incumbents:—

"I, A. B., do here declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the book intituled The Book of Common Prayer," &c. &c.

Now, if the "just and favourable construction" which the Preface to the Prayer-book claims as due, "in common equity," for its interpretation, be exercised, mere verbal questions will not be allowed to raise scruples about the truthfulness of giving that unfeigned assent and consent. The Visitation and Ordination services, and the Athanasian Creed, if construed as here suggested, will not occasion any uneasiness. The Burial service, in itself approved, does not contain the provisions, with regard to its use, to which exception is taken, and which is owing to the state of the law.

The previously quoted forms of consent are somewhat less rigid in their terms than this, and therefore what is said on this last Declaration will apply to any difficulties which they are likely to raise. They seem, however, to be sufficient for every purpose. A solemn avowal that the book "containeth nothing contrary to the Word of God," and that it may "lawfully be used," united with willing and hearty subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, ought to be enough. And if these engagements were retained, and were openly read in the congregation, instead of the Declaration, ease might be afforded to unduly sensitive minds, and the Church would sustain no loss. The scruple which arises out of the notion that the Declaration asserts the Prayer-book to be perfect would have no foundation at all to rest upon, as indeed it has, at present, no tenable foundation.

One of the Assenters.

"RUSKIN AS A RELIGIOUS WRITER."

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—In reference to your able article on "Ruskin as a Religious Writer," allow me to call attention to one point which seems to have escaped your notice; I mean, the manifest change which has passed over Mr. Ruskin's own religious views during the ten years occupied in the production of *Modern Painters*. In the later volumes of the series, he no longer appears as the champion of Scriptural Protestant truth, but seems by gradual steps to have passed over into the ranks of those whom we too justly fear as its adversaries. In the fourth volume the term "inspiration" is used in a more than doubtful sense; but the change I speak of shows itself most distinctly in the fifth volume, whole chapters of which are devoted to the discussion of religious questions. For the sake of the many inexperienced readers who, on the testimony of the *Christian Observer*, may receive Mr. Ruskin as a writer who "means well," and, though eccentric, sound in the main, I beseech you to find room in your pages for the following extracts, which sufficiently speak for themselves.

In vol. v. pp. 203, 204, he thus expresses himself on the vital subject of revelation:—

"The soul of man is still a mirror wherein may be seen, darkly, the image of the mind of God. . . . A mirror dark, distorted, broken, use what blameful words you please of its state; yet, in the main, a true mirror, out of which alone, and by which alone, we can know anything of God at all. . . .

"If the sea is for ever invisible to you, something you may learn of it from the pool. Nothing, assuredly, any otherwise. 'But this poor miserable me! is *this*, then, all the book I have got to read about God in?' Yes, truly so. No other book, nor fragment of book, than that, will you ever find;—no velvet-bound missal, nor frankincensed manuscript; nothing hieroglyphic nor cuneiform; papyrus and pyramid are alike silent on this matter; nothing in the clouds above, nor in the earth beneath. *That flesh-bound volume is the only revelation that is, that was, or that can be.* In that is the image of God painted; in that is the law of God written; in that is the promise of God revealed. Know thyself; for through thyself only thou canst know God."

Contrast the following remarks on the Reformation with the vigorous protestantism of the earlier volumes:—

"In this faith (the Romish) it was possible to attain entire peace of mind,—to live calmly, and die hopefully,—is indisputable. But this possibility ceased at the Reformation. Henceforward human life became a school of debate, troubled and fearful. . . . A dark time for all men. We cannot now conceive it. The great horror of it lay in this,—that as in the trial-hour of the Greek, the heavens themselves seemed to have deceived those who had trusted in them.

"We had prayed with tears; we had loved with our hearts. There was no choice of way open to us, no guidance, from God or man, other than this; and behold, it was a lie. 'When He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He shall guide you into all truth.' And He has guided us into *no* truth. There can be no such Spirit. There is no Advocate, no Comforter. Has there been no Resurrection? . . . . Then came the Resurrection of Death. Never since man first saw him, face to face, had his terror been so great. 'Swallowed up in victory!' Alas! no! but king over all the earth. All faith, hope, and fond belief, were betrayed. Nothing of futurity was now sure but the grave." (Modern Painters, vol. v. pp. 235, 236.)

And further:—

"The strength of the Reformation lay entirely in its being a movement towards

purity of practice. The Catholic priesthood was hostile to it in proportion to the degree in which they had been *false to their own principles of moral action*, and had become corrupt and worldly in heart. The Reformers indeed cast out many absurdities, and demonstrated many fallacies, in the teaching of the Roman Catholic church. But they themselves introduced errors which rent the ranks, and finally arrested the march of the Reformation, and which paralyse the Protestant church to this day." (Vol. v. p. 254.)

In p. 297 he thus describes English Protestantism as it presented itself to the mind of Turner, contrasting it with the Romanism of Venice:—

"Not to be either obeyed, or combated, by an ignorant, yet clear-sighted youth; only to be scorned. And scorned not one whit the less, though also the dome dedicated to *it* looms high over distant winding of the Thames; as St. Mark's campanile rose, for goodly landmark, over mirage of lagoon. For St. Mark ruled over life: the Saint of London over death; St. Mark over St. Mark's Place, but St. Paul over St. Paul's Churchyard."

"So far as in it lay, this century has caused every one of its great men, whose hearts were kindest, and whose spirits most perceptive of the work of God, to die without hope; Scott, Keats, Byron, Shelley, Turner." (Three of them, be it observed, professed infidels.) "Great England, of the Iron-heart now, not of the Lion-heart; for these souls of her children an account may perhaps be one day required of her." .... "So far as *they* are concerned," (the infidels above named) "I do not fear for them; there being one Priest who never passes by. The longer I live, the more clearly I see how all souls are in His hand,—the mean and the great. Fallen on the earth in their baseness, or fading as the mist of morning in their goodness; still in the hand of the potter as the clay, and in the temple of their master as the cloud. It was not the mere bodily death that He conquered—that death had no sting. It was this spiritual death which He conquered—so that at last it should be swallowed up—mark the word—not in life, but in victory. As the dead body shall be raised to life, so also the defeated soul to victory, if only it has been fighting on its Master's side, has made no covenant with death, nor itself bowed its forehead for his seal." (How can such be "defeated souls?") "Blind from the prison-house, maimed from the battle, or mad from the tombs, their souls shall yet sit, astonished, at His feet who giveth peace."

Whatever this burst of passionate eloquence may mean, it is not the echo of that voice which says, the wicked "shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal." But let us hear Mr. Ruskin further, as he proceeds to hint, rather than state, his views respecting the world and its "Phases of Faith." The ironical insinuation of the following paragraph embodies in short summary the religious teaching of the whole volume:—

"Who *giveth* peace? Many a peace we have made and named for ourselves; but the falsest is in that marvellous thought, that we, of all generations of the earth, only know the right; and that to us, at last, and us alone, all the scheme of God, about the salvation of men, has been shown. This is the light in which we are walking. Those vain Greeks are gone down to their Persephone for ever—Egypt and Assyria, Elam and her multitude,—uncircumcised, their graves are round about them—Pathros and careless Ethiopia—filled with the slain. Rome, with her thirsty sword, and poison wine, how did she walk in her darkness! We only have no idolatries—ours are the seeing eyes; in our pure hands, at last, the seven-sealed book is laid: to our true tongues entrusted the preaching of a perfect Gospel. Who shall come after us? Is it not Peace? The poor Jew, Zimri, who slew his Master, there is no peace for him; but for us, tiara on head, may we not look out of the windows of heaven?"

Is this only the rashness of a writer who means well?

E. C.

REV. ROBT. McGHEE'S LETTER TO THE REV. J. H. NEWMAN, D.D.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,—May I ask the favour of your giving insertion to the following letter to Dr. Newman. Although some time has elapsed since his letters to which it refers were published, the subject must be always new to those who are ignorant of the real difference between the creeds of the Church of England and the Church of Rome.—I remain, your obedient servant, R. J. McGHEE.

Holywell Rectory, Nov. 6, 1862.

To the Rev. Dr. Newman, The Oratory, Birmingham.

Reverend Sir,—I have waited several weeks past in the hope that some hand more skilful and less unworthy than mine might have taken up the gauntlet cast down by you to all members of the Church of England, in your letters to the "Globe," and to the "Lincolnshire Express,"—letters which the celebrity of your name has caused to be copied in most of the leading newspapers. Not having seen any reply to them, I am impelled by a sense of duty to submit to your own consideration, and to that of all who have read your letters, the following proposition; and I trust that those newspapers which have copied your letters will give a place in their columns to this also.

You proclaim (and your former position and reputation for learning give weight to your words with many) that you have "an undoubted faith in the Creed of the Church of Rome in all its articles;" and you congratulate yourself upon your happiness, which you ardently desire should be shared by all dear to you, in having escaped from "the city of confusion and the house of bondage,"—by which appellations you designate the Church of England.

As a member of that Church, I need not say that I do not consider a desertion from her creed and doctrines, and an adherence to the creed and doctrines of the Church of Rome, as a subject of gratulation; inasmuch as the Church of England holds pure and unadulterated the faith of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, while the Church of Rome holds a creed unknown until the latter part of the sixteenth century, and which, consequently, being a novelty, has no claim upon the grounds either of antiquity, or of divine authority.

In confirmation of this statement, I offer the following proofs. I assert—

1. That the symbol of faith, commonly called "the Apostles' Creed," is a summary of all the articles of faith taught by the apostles as necessary to salvation.

2. That when, in order to meet the Arian heresy, it was necessary to *expand* this creed, the articles were not thereby *altered or changed*, but expressed in more full and scriptural detail at the two first General Councils of Nicæa, A.D. 321, and of Constantinople, A.D. 381; and that this expanded creed was ratified by the two next General Councils of Ephesus, A.D. 431, and of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. The Council of Ephesus having decreed as follows:—"Those who shall have dared to compose, or to profess, or to offer any other form of

forth are sufficient; it is not ... Such were their decrees on the Nicene Cr

3. That purity of creed being no saf doctrine by individuals, and demoralizati at the beginning of the sixteenth centu all Europe had become so corrupt in reformation was loudly demanded by al Continent commenced the business of council convened at Trent.

4. That the Council of Trent, in the t 4th, 1546, having stated that the Counc the extirpation of heretics, and for the proceeds:—"Therefore, that this its pi beginning and continuance by the gra decrees that before all things the profess following in this the examples of the sacred councils, were accustomed to opp sies in the beginning of their actions sometimes drew infidels to the faith, firmed the faithful." "Wherefore it c the holy Roman Church uses as the sur the faith of Christ necessarily agree, an against which the gates of hell shall those words in which it is read in follows." Then the Council recites th

5. That by this decree of the Cou putably established, that on the 4th contained *the summary of the whole* Churches in communion with the Se those throughout the whole Christia nishes an explicit contradiction to t

fession of faith, which has since that period been made the standard of the Church of Rome, and the test of admission to her communion.

7. That the Church of England commenced her reformation in the year 1537, and carried it on by means of her convocations through successive stages, in strict accordance with the prescriptive warnings of Holy Writ, her Acts of Convocation being ratified by Acts of Parliament, casting off all innovations and corruptions which had no foundation in Scripture, or in the creed which was, and had been from the earliest age, the acknowledged and universally received summary of Christian doctrine: and she concluded her reformation in the year 1562, retaining as her profession of faith, and the sole test of admission to her communion, that creed of the ancient and apostolic Church which is cited as such by the Council of Trent in the document before quoted.

I maintain that it is demonstrated by these facts, that while the modern Church of Rome claims for itself the title of "The ancient Catholic Church," and boasts of her descent from the apostles, and accuses the Church of England of having set up "a new religion" at the Reformation; the fact is, that the direct reverse is the case, since it is the Church of England which retains at this day, as the standard of her faith, and the test of admission to her communion, the creed of the ancient and apostolic Church; and it is the Church of Rome which has introduced and set up *a new religion*, a novel creed, as the standard of her faith, and the test of admission to her communion.

I now beg to propose to you, as a learned and devout member of the modern Church of Rome, the following questions, plainly deducible from the foregoing facts:—Is the statement *true*, contained in the third session of the Council of Trent, that the Nicene Creed was that summary used by the Church in which "all who profess the faith of Christ necessarily agree" up to the date February 4th, 1546?

Is the statement *true*, that it was this confession of faith, and not the apostle Peter, which was declared by that Council to be "that firm and only foundation against which the gates of hell shall never prevail"?

Is it true that "the Holy Fathers, in their sacred councils, were accustomed to oppose this shield against all heresies in the beginning of their actions, by which alone they both sometimes drew infidels to the faith, vanquished heretics, and confirmed the faithful"?

If you admit these statements to be true (and they are the words of your own infallible Councils), how can you with truth or consistency assert that that Church is "the city of confusion and the house of bondage," which retains the profession of faith which your Councils declare to be alone necessary to salvation? How can you not only profess, but offer to others, in direct contravention of the decrees and testimony of those Councils, a creed which was never propounded in the Church until the year after the last of those councils was closed, and moreover declare that no one can be saved who rejects this novel and unauthorized profession of faith?

If there is no salvation out of the new creed of 1564, where was the salvation of the whole Church, who are proved by the Council of Trent to have held the whole creed up to that year? If there was salvation in the old Church, that held the old creed up to that year,

must there not be the same salvation in the Church that holds the same old creed up to this day? What change can time make in the pure principles of Christian truth, or in the salvation they bring to the soul?

If the Church that held the old creed was the true Church up to that year, surely it must be the true Church that holds the same creed this year?

Finally, if the identity of a Church of this day with the Church of any former day must necessarily consist in the identity of the profession of the faith of both Churches; which Church at this period truly represents the Catholic and Apostolic Church of antiquity—the Church of England, which, according to the evidence of the Council of Trent, retains pure and unadulterated the creed of the ancient Church; or the Church of Rome, which denies the sufficiency of this creed for salvation, and has set up a novel creed, out of which she declares that there can be no salvation?

But there is a still more important query to be presented for solution. This new creed is the oath of the priests: you adopted it and subscribed it as your creed when you conformed to the Church of Rome; and you have taken it as an oath since you became a priest. This is one of its articles:—"All things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and general councils, and especially by the holy Synod of Trent, I indubitably receive and profess; and at the same time, all things contrary to them, and all heresies condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the Church, I likewise condemn, reject, and anathematize."

Now, allow me to submit, that if you receive on oath the decrees of the Council of Ephesus, does not that oath involve that all your bishops should be deposed from their episcopacy, and all your clergy, yourself among the number, from their office, for having dared to profess another form of faith different from the Nicene Creed?

If you receive the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, does not your oath involve that that creed is sufficient, and that it is not lawful to make any other?

If you receive on oath the decrees of the Council of Trent, does not that oath declare that the creed of the Church of England was the creed of all the Christian Churches up to the year 1546, and consequently, as she retains this creed unchanged to this day, that she is the true successor of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, and that the Church of Rome, and not the Church of England, has put forward *a new faith?*

In short, if the Councils you call infallible be true, in swearing to receive their decrees, must not that oath involve the denunciation of your bishops, your brethren, yourself, and of the very creed you have taken as an oath? Must it not involve that the creed of the Church you have left is "that firm and only foundation against which the gates of hell shall never prevail," and that the Church you have adopted is in reality the "city of confusion"?

I do not impute to you any intentional ethical wrong, but I ask you to consider and answer it as a logical fact. Must not a man who takes that oath renounce the councils he swears to observe, or renounce the creed that is the very oath he takes?

Is it in the power of human intellect to reconcile them? If you can do so, you may adopt the old phrase, "Roma locuta est—causa finita est;" but if not, we must reverse the adage, and say, "Roma obmutuit—causa finita est."

I am, Rev. Sir, your friend and servant in Christian truth,

R. J. McGHEE.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

Life and Writings of Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam. By W. Spedding. Vols. 1—7. Longman & Co.

Personal History of Lord Bacon. By William Hepworth Dixon. 1 vol., 8vo, 12s.

THE development of history, by means of biography, has characterized the last half century. This peculiarity has pervaded those well-known publications the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh Reviews*, and we are all familiar with specimens from the pen of Lord Macaulay, and others, on the book-stalls of our railway termini. The late lord Campbell tried his hand at this sort of historical writing, by Lives of "Lord Chancellors" and "Lord Chief Justices."

There may be nothing to find fault with in this *modus agendi;* but it is an obviously easy way of gratifying party bias in politics, and thus indulged, woefully contracts the moral perceptive powers by a sort of senseless sensitiveness. That strong, unmistakable Protestantism, which has ever been quick to feel, and is always alive to the insidious arts of Popery, is only bigotry and fanaticism. These remarks are borne out by Lord Macaulay's sketches of Cranmer and Lord Bacon, and by Lord Campbell's notice of Lord Bacon. A process of detraction is not difficult, when an acute mind concentrates its powers on any one unhappy victim, and the two distinguished writers we have named have amply succeeded in gratifying the spleen of liberalism in politics, and an almost vindictive dislike of earnest contention for the truth, if it happen to present itself under the form of Protestantism.

Adopting as proved historical fact Pope's sneer against Lord Bacon—

> The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind"—

we have a series of writers, comparatively of modern existence, eager to mislead the English mind, which, with fixed reverence, has been wont to regard Bacon among the wisest of men, and the ablest propounder and advocate of moral truth.

It is satisfactory when men are to be found confident in the intrinsic soundness of their cause, capable of rising above the flashy brilliancy of a Macaulay, and the slovenly matter-of-course conclusions of a Lord Campbell. We have such men in Mr. Spedding and Mr. William Hepworth Dixon, whose works we note as the occasion of this article. Three or four volumes of Mr. Spedding's work remain to be submitted to the public; it is therefore only needful to give Mr. Dixon's announcement of the value of Mr. Spedding's undertaking:—

"The appearance of this edition has drawn men's thoughts to the character of Bacon, as painted by his foes; and the instinct, strong as virtue, to reject the spume of satire and falsehood, has sprung at the voice of Mr. Spedding into lusty life. An editor, worthy of Bacon, has risen to purge his fame."

It is our wish to recommend Mr. Dixon's "Personal History" of Lord Bacon to all who will take pains to separate the precious from the vile, of what has been written on the character of this eminent man. Premising that Mr. Dixon does not always submit to the rules of refined taste, we feel that he has so honestly grappled with the almost stereotyped calumnies, in the History of Francis Bacon Lord Verulam and his Times, as to prevent all fastidiousness on this point, and we can thoroughly sympathize in his manly disclaimer of the libellous estimate of this star of the English Reformation; for such Bacon* deserves to be called. Whatever detracts from the moral claims of Bacon, Lord Verulam, damages the cause of truth; and we gladly adopt Mr. Dixon's words, who, after denouncing the illogical position taken by some writers, as a "lie against nature, which broke into high literary force with Pope,"—

"It was not," he says, "the only scum which, in Pope's day, frothed to the head. What man then believed in nobleness, even in intellect, unless that intellect were of the lowest type, or served the basest cause? The sole end of wit was defamation—the sole end of poetry, vice. Of pure genius there was little, of high virtue, less. When Bacon became the meanest of mankind, Raleigh was assailed, and Shakespeare driven from the stage. Rowe was tainting our national drama. St. John undoing our political philosophy. Hume training his mind, through doubts of God, for the task of painting the most manly passage of arms in all history, as our greatest blunder and our darkest shame. The age that took Voltaire to be its guide, found out that Bacon had been a rogue. Since then, he has been the prey of painters and pasquins; his offences deepening, darkening, as men have moved yet further and further from the springs of truth. Hume is comparatively fair to him. Hallam is less fair; though he will not, even for the sake of Pope, call Bacon the meanest of mankind. Lingard paints him with a more unctuous hate. Macaulay, in turn, is fierce and gay; his sketch of Rembrandt, power; his lights too high, his smears too black; noon on the brow, dusk in the heart. Nature never yet made such a man as Macaulay paints.

"But of all the sins against Francis Bacon, that of Lord Campbell is the last, and worst."

After a just recognition of Lord Campbell's claims to consideration and respect, he observes, "There is much in the life of Bacon which he does not know."

Our author then fairly throws down the gauntlet, and whether sympathies with popery, and half-democratic liberalism, will influence any one, or more, to do battle, remains to be seen. Mr. Dixon has embarked in an honourable conflict, and we believe him likely to remain master of the field:—

"If 'the wisest, meanest of mankind,' why did he not win his way to place? He sought it: never man with more passionate haste; for his big brain beat with a victorious consciousness of parts; he hungered as for food, to rule and bless mankind. The question must be met. While men of far lower birth and claims got posts of honour, solicitorships, judgeships, embassies, portfolios, how came this strong man to pass the age of forty-six, without gaining power of place? Can it have been because he was servile, and corrupt?"

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* In using the familiar term "Lord Bacon," we only adopt the constant form employed by all who have written of or concerning him. It may be as well to note, that he was never created Lord Bacon; his title in the peerage, continued by the Crown, was Francis L.

The early years of Bacon are well told. A youth of promise blossoms into vigorous and influential manhood, and in a parliamentary career of about seven years he sufficiently displayed his gifts of eloquence and truth to attract (1592) the constituency of Middlesex, for which county he was returned, though Lord Campbell says:—"In the Parliaments which met in 1586, and 1588, he had been returned to the House of Commons; but he does not seem to have made himself prominent by taking any decided part for or against the Crown." Mr. Dixon's overthrow of this depreciatory and incorrect assumption is complete. The truth is, that three previous Sessions had seen him a Member of the House of Commons, and it has pleased some of his would-be biographers to give the go-by to whatever attaches value and importance to his name. These three Sessions are represented by his traducers, as "not stirring." With generous indignation Mr. Dixon says:—

"Not stirring! Why, the three sessions in which Bacon serves his parliamentary apprenticeship, though slipped as void and waste by his biographers, abound in scenes of high and tragic conflict—scenes in which he plays an active and conspicuous part, and which colour and shape for him the course of his political life. These three sessions have to save the liberties of England, the faith of nearly half of Europe. They crush the Jesuits, they found the Defence Association, they send out Raleigh to plant new states, they lay Mary on the bier at Fotheringhay, they break and punish the Romanist conspiracies, they shatter and disperse the invincible Armada!"

At twenty-five years of age Bacon has won the ear of that (House of Commons) "fastidious House." In 1589 dates his firm ascendancy in the House of Commons, when he sits for Liverpool. His defamers date his public career from 1592, when elected for Middlesex. Looking at the hold on the men of his generation, "due," says Mr. Dixon, "less to an intellectual than a moral cause," we think it would have been only common justice had Lord Campbell given him the advantage of his obvious claims prior to 1592; but this would have been to identify the public estimate with Bacon's sound protestant, and habitually reverential principles. Yet "the slave of Whitgift, the dupe of Brown, can give ear to a Churchman who seeks reform of the Church, a lawyer eager to amend the law, a friend of the Crown pleading against feudal privileges, and unpopular powers." Is a change in the Church proposed by a colleague, which would tend to its destruction, he replies, —"Sir, the subject we talk of is the eye of England; if there be a speck or two in the eye, we endeavour to take them off; he would be a strange oculist who would pull out the eye." "Of no sect, he represents in Parliament the patriotic spirit of all sects. Not himself a Puritan, he pleads with Hastings for Reform; not a Roman Catholic, he lifts his voice against persecution for concerns of faith; not a courtier, he votes with Cecil for supplies. In one word, he is English"

In following Mr. Dixon's narrative, we deem it right to say, that, with earnestness worthy the cause, he has challenged the truth of certain slanders against queen Elizabeth, industriously circulated, and by many indolently acquiesced in, which, but for a positive distaste for everything connected with our national emancipation from Popery, would never have been started. We refer more particularly to the bitter scorn flung at the Queen, in respect of her manifestation of deep feeling for the wretched position of Mary Queen of Scots; and to the

well-known slander of her supposed amorous fondness for Essex. In both instances, the foul libels are overthrown. Space will not admit of extracts, but the subject of queen Elizabeth's moral pretensions well deserves careful reading and calm consideration. Mr. Dixon must be allowed to speak on the foul slander of her improper love of Essex:—

"That she loved him more than a lady of sixty years may love a cousin's grandchild, is a monstrous lie. No woman can believe it; no man but a monk could dream it. This lie against chastity and womanhood oozed from the pen of Father Parsons. It darkens the page of Lingard. The letters of Catherine's grandson to the queen, if bright with poetry, playfulness, and compliment, are, in tone and substance, dutiful and chaste. In the queen's letters to him there is not a line she might not have written to a son of her own."

This advocacy of the Queen is well-timed in a Memorial of Lord Bacon, drawn from existing state papers; for the false colouring of the bold and uncompromising maligners of the chief actors of the time, is so constantly exhibited, if only the Protestant cause can be damaged, that one scarcely knows where the truth of the question begins, or where it ends. The servile adoption of detractors' statements by modern writers is much to be deplored, because of its certain tendency to produce doubts of the accuracy of any alleged facts. It is impossible to give, to any great extent, illustrations of Mr. Dixon's admirable advocacy of his hero, and we can only hope our notice will induce a considerate perusal of his work; but we must ask for an effort to throw aside prejudice. It is folly not to judge of men, and their acts, of the period on which we are writing, according to the circumstances and moral estimates of their own times. The indignation, for example, against Calvin, in the affair of Servetus, should be thus weighed;—how can it be justly reasoned upon, but with reference to the utter intolerance of the age, arising mainly from the habits of thought engendered by Popery? The same may be said of Oliver Cromwell's share in beheading Charles the First, and we claim that Lord Bacon's easily questioned acts, which are animadverted on, should not be altogether judged by rules which regulate our own times, as if human affairs and human conduct were subject to these rules in the days of James the First. We disclaim this process of thoughtless reasoning. As a specimen of the style of dealing with this subject, we may remark, that Lord Campbell sees in the legal promotions, familiar to all, of Bacon, becoming Attorney-General on Coke's promotion to the King's Bench, only "a mean trick, a court intrigue, an affair of secret letters, of backstairs influence; in short, a dodge and a cheat!" Such was not the judgment of Bacon's contemporaries, for we find him chosen to represent the University of Cambridge after this promotion, although "he had left Cambridge early, and in disdain, and had not kept any friendly intercourse with its dons." He is elected also "for Ipswich, and the burgesses of St. Albans also elect him." "Only the new Attorney-General can boast a triple return. He decides to sit for Cambridge, a fact not named by Lord Campbell." What are we to say to all this? Are we to refer it to ignorance, or to a determination to vilify? One of the cogent remarks of Dr. Chalmers solves, we fear, the real animus:—"There may be," he says, "among us the most complacent toleration for a mitigated and misconceived Christianity, while there is no toleration whatever for the real Christianity

which certain historians have attached to Lord Bacon, are, his conduct in the affair of Essex, and that immediately involving his fall. The part he was *officially* compelled to take in the matter of Essex is, to some extent at least, explained and justified by Mr. Dixon, who admits that, "in this passage of Bacon's life, modern writers have been pleased to see an additional instance of Bacon's ingratitude; though it is historically certain that to the humane suppression of what was most black and base in the treasons of Essex was owing the fact, that his very name could be pronounced by an Englishman without execration."

The fact of Bacon's fall, the stock in trade of his maligners, is thus introduced to our notice by Mr. Dixon:—"Only seven months after printing the 'Greatest Birth of Time,' only three months after receiving in the king's presence the robe and the coronet, he was stripped of his honours, degraded from his great place, condemned to an enormous fine, and flung into the Tower."

We are well aware how very difficult it is to convince those who judge moral conduct after appearances, and who have accustomed themselves to receive as established truths the views of those who are regarded as of great authority in matters of history. It is troublesome to think and investigate. It may be fairly assumed, that this temper of mind has been indulged in by too many in the case of Lord Bacon's so-called fall. His confession is, and possibly by many will be, held as conclusive proof of his alleged delinquencies. Mr. Dixon originates an entirely different mode of thought, and, in our judgment, he does so successfully. The accusations against him exhibit complicated villainy, not to be surpassed, if even paralleled, in secular history. Under the earnest counsel of King James I., he yields. Hear Bacon's own brave statement of his case:—

"'I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years, but it was the justest censure that was in Parliament these two hundred years.' In letters to the king he writes, 'When I enter into myself, I find not the materials of such a tempest as is now come upon me. I have been never author of any immoderate counsel, but always desired to have things carried *suavibus modis*. I have been no avaricious oppressor of the people. I have been no haughty, intolerable, or hateful man in my conversation or carriage. I have inherited no hatred from my father; but am a patriot born. Whence should this be?"

Mr. Dixon well remarks:—

"That eye, so quick to see the power of truth, the beauty of nature, cannot see that it is crime enough that he has vexed Lady Buckingham by his independence, and that Williams wants his high place. Yet knowing his own heart he can say:—"I praise God for it, I never took penny for any benefice or ecclesiastical living.

"'I never took penny for releasing anything I stopped at the Seal.

"'I never took penny for any commission or things of that nature.

"'I never shared with any reward for any second or inferior profit.'"

Mr. Dixon, to our apprehension, deals correctly with the point of Bacon's confession. He says:—

"That this plea (the plea of guilty) was a technical confession forced upon him by circumstances, not a personal confession of guilt, as modern writers have assumed, is proved by the subsequent actions towards him of the Crown, and of Society." "No contemporary ever dreamed of treating him as a rogue. The sentence passed on Bacon was reversed by society even before it was cancelled by the Crown, and the wisest and noblest persons in the land continued to court and love him, even more in his adversity than they had done in the days of grandeur."

Every lover of truth will accord thanks to Mr. Dixon for his vindication of one of the "wisest, brightest," and most truthful of men. We consider the "Personal History of Lord Bacon" a work claiming admission to every well-furnished library. It is a high-minded instance of superiority over clamour and bigoted prejudice, and its value is not a little enhanced by the fact of being substantiated by existing documents of the period. It must not be forgotten, in endeavouring to form a judgment upon Bacon, that it never entered the brain of any man of his day, "that he had lost his virtue, because he had lost his place." The ascetic Selden looked to him as the first of men; the more genial Jonson expressed the common sentiment held toward him of all good scholars and true poets. "My conceit of his person," said Ben Jonson, after Bacon's death, "was never increased towards him by his place or honours; but I have and do reverence him for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever, by his work, one of the greatest of men, and most worthy of admiration that hath been in many ages. In his adversity I ever prayed that God would give him strength; for greatness he could not want. Neither could I condole in a word or syllable for him, as knowing no accident could do harm to virtue, but rather help to make it manifest."

We conclude by an avowal, which may be cavilled at, but the truth of which can be, and ought to be, maintained. Few who figured in the perilous days of queen Elizabeth and James I. as public men, more displayed, in personal conduct and character, the requirement, "Do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God," than Francis Bacon Lord Verulam.

OBITUARY.

THE LATE REV. C. S. BIRD, CHANCELLOR OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

With sincere sorrow we place upon our obituary record the name of this eminent servant of Christ. Mr. Bird was born at Everton, on the 28th of May, 1795, the son of a Liverpool merchant, of an old Cheshire family, which numbered among its ancestors John Bird, the first Protestant bishop of Chester, who was deposed by queen Mary: the name will be familiar to some of our readers in connexion with the late Primate. On leaving school, he applied himself to the study of law in Liverpool. His piety was deepened under the ministry of the Rev. R. P. Buddicom; and he became possessed with the desire of preaching the gospel of Christ, and determined in consequence to throw up the prospects which were then open to him, and to seek ordination. With this object in view, he entered Cambridge, in 1817. Though entirely unacquainted with algebra, he soon acquired proficiency in mathematics. In 1820 he graduated as third Wrangler and second Smith's Prizeman. In the same year he was elected a Fellow of his College. In 1821, the offer was made to him by Professor Mon[illegible]

Principalship of the new Royal College at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, but he declined it. In the autumn of that year, he took into Wales a party of young students, one of whom was the late Lord Macaulay. In 1822, he was ordained by Dr. Pelham, then bishop of Lincoln, and occupied himself as a tutor in preparing pupils for the Universities. In 1838, he took clerical duty at Mapledurham for a short time, under the late archbishop Sumner, who was then, and ever after, a firm friend. Mr. Bird always entertained a deep reverence for the sole authority of the Holy Scriptures in connection with the rule of faith. He was strongly attached to the pure doctrines of the Reformers, and when they were assailed in the series of tracts well known as the "Tracts for the Times," he took up his pen in their defence. As a controversial writer, his accuracy of thought, clearness of expression, and courtesy towards those whose opinions he controverted, were warmly appreciated.

Besides several other writings, he published "A Plea for the Reformation," in 1841; one of the first publications of importance in answer to the "Oxford Tracts." It placed him at once before the public as a controversialist of the first order. Bishop Kaye, in whose diocese he then held the curacy of Fawley, Bucks, showed his respect for him as a clergyman and as a writer, by offering him, in 1843, the vicarage of Gainsborough, which he gladly accepted. His first sermon was preached from 1 Cor. ii. 2, and was an appropriate prelude to a faithful and loving ministry of sixteen years. In the year 1859, at which time his health had begun to decline, the present bishop of Lincoln collated him to the chancellorship of Lincoln cathedral. He then resigned his charge in Gainsborough; and having entered upon his new office, continued, as far as his strength would permit, to seek fresh opportunities of usefulness. On his last Sabbath he preached in one of the churches in the City, and his last hours of comparative health were spent in careful preparation for future usefulness. Still animated by the simple and undoubting faith of his early life, he was writing from the feelings of his heart, and in happy anticipation of his eternal rest, a sermon from "Him that liveth and was dead, and is alive for evermore, and hath the keys of hell and of death" (Rev. i. 18), when the gate of death was opening for himself, to pass into the Saviour's presence. He calmly fell asleep in Jesus early in the morning of Sunday, Nov. 9; and his mortal remains were interred in Riseholme churchyard, on the following Friday, there to await the resurrection of the just.

In him the "Christian Observer" has lost a cordial friend, and a frequent and able contributor; and the Church of Christ a holy and distinguished minister, who lifted up the Cross, and as one who frequently heard him says in a private letter, "kept to ruin by the fall, redemption by Christ, and regeneration by the Holy Ghost." His illness was short, but he met the prospect of death with the joy of a true believer, took a cheerful leave of his wife and family, sank into a calm sleep, and swooned into a blissful eternity. He died at the age of sixty-seven; following his only brother, to whom he was affectionately attached, and from whose funeralhe had just returned home, after the lapse of a few weeks; and both are now with God.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

The distress in Lancashire increases, and as the severity of winter is felt, will no doubt continue to increase. It is not merely that supplies of cotton are wanted; there have been large importations from Bombay, and the stocks on hand in Liverpool are greater than they have been for a year past. It is evident that there is little desire on the part of the great mill-owners to resume working. Their indifference arises from two causes; the inferiority of Indian cotton, and the apprehension of a sudden fall of prices consequent on the changes which may at any time take place in the relations of the United and Confederate States, or which may arise from larger importations of cotton of a better kind from other parts of the world. But during this time of suspense the operative starves. During the last week or two public opinion seems to have been roused from its long and blamable indifference, and contributions upon a liberal scale are pouring in. But we still doubt whether private generosity will meet the terrible and daily-increasing distress—the distress of absolute want, which already involves probably half a million of souls in its deadly grasp, and is daily adding to the number of its victims. We suggested, many months ago, a loan from the national resources, to be charged upon the districts within which the famine exists, and repaid within a given period. The suggestion now begins to find favour, and we are persuaded that, unless affairs should take some brighter turn than we have reason to expect, it must be adopted when Parliament assembles. The distress has risen to a height which reflects great discredit upon our national character: all that we have done, and we have not even done that in every case, is to step in between extreme want and absolute starvation. We all compliment our suffering fellow-countrymen on their wonderful patience and submission, and yet we allow them to suffer the agonies of want. We say it with an indignation we have no wish to conceal, a set of brawling seditious papists would have been far more kindly treated.

A ray of hope seems at length to gleam upon America. The obstinacy, insolence, and contempt of justice and humanity of the Federal government have met with a sudden check where it was least expected. There has always been a party in the North to whom their proceedings were as hateful as to ourselves; but they were cowed and silenced; for moral courage is unhappily a feeble virtue there. But it has gathered strength at last; and the disgraceful misconduct of the war, together with the political misconduct and incapacity of President Lincoln and his cabinet, have added thousands to the list of the discontented. The elections for the next Congress, as well as the different State elections, which have just taken place, show a strangely altered state of feeling throughout the North. The war-party is in fact in a minority, and the inhuman proceedings and tyrannical violence of the government are denounced in public meetings held even in New York itself. At present the Republican or war party, with the President at its head, are in the throes of what is not unlikely to terminate in another revolution; and it seems far more probable that the

Federal States will break up into two or three republics, or military despotisms, than it has been at any time since the commencement of the war, that the North and South should ever be re-united. General McClellan has been once more suddenly dismissed; and the command of the great army of the Potomac is committed to General Burnside. We do not pretend to judge of military affairs, but it appears to us that the General is sacrificed to public clamour. The North wants a victory; the government cannot exist much longer without one. McClellan has been ordered to fight, and has refused so to do, on the plea that he wanted supplies; but no doubt under a conviction, which it was not prudent to avow, that with an army such as he commands it would have been madness to risk all in a battle with troops such as the Confederate generals could bring into the field. Whether general Burnside will repeat those useless, murderous slaughters, which, under the name of battles, have shocked the world during the last American campaign, remains to be seen; nor can we tell whether the war itself will be renewed. It seems to have come nearly to an end, from the mere want of materials to feed on. The fire has burnt out for want of fuel. Even the most ferocious of the war party will not enlist. Volunteers are not to be had at an enormous bounty; and the government dare not enforce the conscription. The tax-gatherer waits till the 1st of January, and every thing seems to threaten an impending crash. Even the dissolution of the whole fabric of the Republic in the North would not surprise us. Yet, such are the changes to which all democratic governments are liable in times of danger,—so violent, sudden, and often contrary to every reasonable conjecture,—that all this may mean nothing more than a conflict of parties. The French ambassador in London, after witnessing the uproar of a Westminster election, such as Westminster elections used to be, wrote home, it is said, that England was already in the midst of a revolution. Americans tell us we cannot understand them; and it is possible, just possible, that what seems to us in England a great political convulsion, may be little more than an ordinary electioneering contest, with its "words full of sound, and fury signifying nothing." But we put a far more serious construction upon, what seem to us, these ominous events.

If, in common with the whole of England, we view the American crisis with satisfaction, it is from no indifference to her real welfare. She has shown us within the last twelve months, that her own happiness, and the peace of the world, are likely to be promoted by the disruption of her huge republic. A state that has no respect for its own liberties, is not likely to respect the liberty of other states. A nation that carries on a civil war with a ferocity unknown except to savages, is not exactly the nation whose threats of foreign conquest will much longer be tolerated even by the most tolerant of her allies. The massacre of ten unoffending, unarmed Confederates in cold blood, on the plea that a Federalist, who was missing, was supposed to have been murdered, has sent a thrill of horror through Great Britain. This is not merely the language of newspapers and politicians; it is well that America should know that the indignation is much more wide and solemn; and that our oldest and best men are amongst the first to denounce it, as standing side by side with the massacres of

Dahomey in the appalling magnitude of its guilt, and as affording a proof of the wonderful patience and long suffering of Almighty God. It was in such terms that it was denounced from the pulpit on Sunday last, in a missionary sermon, by Mr. H. V. Elliott, of Brighton, which those who heard will not soon forget. Why are American Christians silent amidst such national crimes as this?

The Emperor Napoleon has formally proposed to England and Russia, that an offer of mediation be made on the part of the three great Powers, the basis of which should be the suspension of the blockade, and of hostilities on both sides, for six months, with a view to further negotiations for peace. Russia first, and then our own cabinet, have declined the proposal; though at the same time Russia declares her readiness to give to it her moral support, if it should be carried out; and England, expressing great respect for the Emperor's motives, and throwing in a courteous acknowledgment of his good offices rendered to us in the affair of the seizure of the Trent, thinks it expedient to wait; under the conviction that interference at present would be productive of no good result. On the whole, it is clear that the three courts are prepared to move whenever they can do so with a fair prospect of success, and this is all that we can reasonably desire. The madness of America must be allowed to exhaust itself, and then reason will be heard.

Amidst these scenes of home-suffering, and these daily reports of the most gigantic civil war that ever raged, events pass unnoticed which in quiet times would absorb the attention of Europe. Greece has passed through a complete but harmless revolution. The whole nation has united to dismiss king Otho, and the crown is vacant. It is said that it is likely to be offered by the unanimous voice of the people to our own Prince Alfred, and that our ambassador will not interfere,—which, it may be presumed, amounts to an intimation that if the offer be made, it will not be rejected. Such an offer, of course, would be highly flattering to us; and if it should be made and accepted, we cannot but indulge the hope that the interests of real liberty, of peace and commerce, and above all, of true religion and a purer faith, may be promoted by this sudden and most unlooked for extension of British influence in the classic lands of Greece.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

It has been suggested to us that the four papers on the Madagascar Missions should be re-printed. The writer of those papers is about to comply with the suggestion; and he will add much interesting information, which the space at his disposal did not allow him to introduce in our pages.

Our friends who advertise upon the cover very frequently lose time by directing their advertisements to the Editor instead of the Publisher. We beg their attention to this matter; and at the same time we express our obligation to those who give us their advertisements, or induce their friends to do so. We believe that our Magazine affords a very effectual means of placing advertisements before the public; and at the same time they add considerably to the interest with which the Christian Observer is taken up in many a remote nook and corner both in England and abroad. It is not merely on education, or religious subjects, though they are always welcome, that advertisements are appropriate, but upon almost every thing connected with the economy of a parish, or the comfort of a well-orde

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